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GENERAL HISTORY

OF

MUSIC,

80118

FROM THE

EARLIEST AGES to the PRESENT PERIOD.

BY

CHARLES BURNEY, Muſ. D. F. R.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

THE SECOND EDITION.

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MDCCLXXXIX.

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TO THE

QUEEN.

MADAM,

THE condeſcenſion with which your Majeſty has been pleaſed to permit your name to ſtand before the following Hiſtory, may juſtly reconcile the author to his favourite ſtudy, and convince him, that whatever may be ſaid by the profeſſors of ſeverer wiſdom, the hours which he has beſtowed upon Muſic have been neither diſhonourably, nor unprofitably ſpent.

THE ſcience of muſical ſounds, though it may have been depreciated, as appealing only to the ear,

and affording nothing more than a momentary and fugitive delight, may be with juſtice conſidered as the art that unites corporal with intellectual pleaſure, by a ſpecies of enjoyment which gratifies ſenſe, without weakening reaſon; and which, therefore, the Great may cultivate without debaſement, and the Good enjoy without depravation.

THOSE who have moſt diligently contemplated the ſtate of man, have found it beſet with vexations, which can neither be repelled by ſplendor, nor eluded by obſcurity; to the neceſſity of combating theſe intruſions of diſcontent, the miniſters of pleaſure were indebted for that kind reception, which they have perhaps too indiſcriminately obtained. Pleaſure and innocence ought never to be ſeparated; yet we ſeldom find them otherwiſe than at variance, except when Muſic brings them together.

To thoſe who know that Muſic is among your Majeſty recreations, it is not neceſſary to diſplay its purity, or aſſert its dignity. May it long amuſe your leiſure, not as a relief from evil, but as an augmentation of good; not as a diverſion from care, but as a variation of felicity. Such, Madam, is my ſincereſt

wiſh,

wiſh, in which I can, however, boaſt no peculiarity of reverence or zeal; for the virtues of your Majeſty are univerſally confeſſed; and however the inhabitants of the Britiſh empire may differ in their opinions upon other queſtions, they all behold your excellences with the ſame eye, and celebrate them with the ſame voice; and to that name which one nation is echoing to another, nothing can be added by the reſpectful admiration, and humble gratitude of,

MADAM,

your Majeſty's

moſt obedient

and moſt devoted Servant,

CHARLES BURNEY.

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PREFACE.

THE feeble beginnings of whatever afterwards becomes great or eminent, are intereſting to mankind. To artiſts, therefore, and to real lovers of art, nothing relative to the object of their employment or pleaſure is indifferent.

Sir Francis Bacon recommends hiſtories of art upon the principle of utility, as well as amuſement; and collecting into one view the progreſs of an art ſeems likely to enlarge the knowledge, and ſtimulate the emulation of artiſts, who may, by this means, be taken out of the beaten track of habit and common practice, to which their ideas are uſually confined.

The love of lengthened tones and modulated ſounds, different from thoſe of ſpeech, and regulated by a ſtated meaſure, ſeems a paſſion implanted in human nature throughout the globe; for we hear of no people, however wild and ſavage in other particulars, who have not muſic of ſome kind or other, with which we may ſuppoſe them to be greatly delighted, by their conſtant uſe of it upon occaſions the moſt oppoſite: in the temple, and the theatre; at funerals, and at weddings; to give dignity and ſolemnity to feſtivals, and to excite mirth, chearfulneſs, and activity, in the frolicſome dance. Muſic, indeed, like vegetation, flouriſhes differently in different climates; and in proportion to the culture and encouragement it receives; yet, to love ſuch muſic as our ears are

accuſtomed to, is an inſtinct ſo generally ſubſiſting in our nature, that it appears leſs wonderful it ſhould have been in the higheſt eſtimation at all times, and in every place, than that it ſhould hitherto never have had its progreſſive improvements and revolutions deduced through a regular hiſtory, by any Engliſh writer.

Indeed, though time has ſpared us a few ancient hiſtories of empires, republics, and individuals, yet no models of a *Hiſtory*, either *of Muſic*, or of any other *art* or *ſcience*, are come down to us, out of the many that antiquity produced. Plutarch's Dialogue on Muſic approaches the neareſt to hiſtory; but, though it abounds with particulars relative to the ſubject, it is ſo ſhort and defective, that it rather excites than gratifies curioſity.

Some of the writings of Ariſtotle and Ariſtoxenus that are loſt, though they were not expreſs hiſtories of muſic, would, nevertheleſs, had they been preſerved, have ſatisfied our doubts concerning ſeveral parts of ancient muſic, which are now left to conjecture.

" Ariſtotle, the diſciple of Plato, ſays Plutarch, regarded melody as ſomething noble, great, and divine." Now, as this paſſage is not to be found in the remaining works of Ariſtotle, it is imagined that Plutarch took it either from his *Treatiſe on Muſic (a)*, or the ſecond book of his Poetics, where he treated of the Flute and Cithara, both which works are loſt. And yet Kircher, in his *Muſurgia (b)*, ſpeaking of the ancient writers on Muſic, whoſe works he had conſulted among the manuſcripts in the Jeſuit's College Library at Rome, names Ariſtotle; but I

(a) Περὶ Μουσικῆς. (b) *Tom.* i. p. 545.

fought

ſought in vain for the Treatiſe which he had written expreſly on Muſic, nor could I find there any work by that philoſopher relative to the ſubject, except his Acouſtics (*c*).

Almoſt all the ancient philoſophers, eſpecially the Pythagoreans, Platoniſts, and Peripatetics, wrote treatiſes on Muſic, which are now loſt. Meurſius, in his notes on Ariſtoxenus, enumerates, among others, the following ancient writers on muſic, of whom we have nothing left but the names: Agenor, of Mytilene, mentioned by Ariſtoxenus (*d*), from whom ſprung a ſect of muſicians called *Agenorians*; as from Eratocles, the *Eratocleans*; from Epigonus, the *Epigonians*, and from Damon, who taught Socrates muſic, the *Damonians* (*e*).

But of all the ancient muſical writers, the name of no one is come down to us, of whoſe works I was in greater want than thoſe of the younger Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis, who flouriſhed, according to Suidas, under the emperor Adrian, and who wrote twenty-ſix books of the *Hiſtory of Muſicians*, in which he celebrated not only the great performers on the Flute and Cithara, but thoſe who had riſen to eminence by every ſpecies of poetry. He was, likewiſe, author of five books, written in defence of Muſic, and chiefly in refutation of what is alledged againſt it in Plato's Republic. Ariſtides Quintilianus (*f*) has, alſo, endeavoured to ſoften the ſeverity of ſome animadverſions againſt Muſic in the writings of Cicero (*g*); but though time has ſpared the defence of this author, yet it does not indemnify us for the loſs of that which Dionyſius junior left behind him; as teſtimonies are ſtill remaining of his having been a much more able writer than Ariſt. Quintilianus (*h*).

(*c*) Περι ακουστων.
(*d*) *Lib.* ii. p. 36.
(*e*) The liſt of Greek writers on the ſubject of Muſic, whoſe works are loſt, amounts, in Fabricius, to near thirty.
(*f*) P. 69, *et ſeq.*
(*g*) *In Politic.*
(*h*) *Vide Fabricium. Bib. Græc.* lib. iii. p. 10.

But though all the muſical hiſtories of the ancients are loſt, yet almoſt every country in Europe that has cultivated the polite arts, has, ſince the revival of learning, produced a hiſtory of Muſic, except our own. Italy can boaſt of two works under that title; one written in the latter end of the laſt century by Bontempi (*i*), and that of Padre Martini, in this (*k*). France has likewiſe two, one by Bonet (*l*), and one by M. de Blainville (*m*); and Germany has not only produced two hiſtories of Muſic in its own language, by Gaſpar Printz (*n*), and by M. Marpurg (*o*); but one in Latin, lately publiſhed in two volumes, 4to. by the prince abbot of St. Blaſius (*p*). Unluckily, thoſe of P. Martini, and M. Marpurg, are not yet finiſhed; and that of the learned abbot only concerns church muſic; ſo that though much has been done, much is ſtill left for diligence to do (*q*); and however I may reſpect the learning, and admire the induſtry and abilities of ſome of theſe writers, yet I ſaw the wants of Engliſh muſical readers through ſuch a different medium, that I have ſeldom imitated their arrangements, and never ſervilely copied their opinions. Printed materials lie open to us all; and as I ſpared no expence or pains either in acquiring or conſulting them, the merely citing the ſame paſſages

(*i*) *Hiſtoria Muſica.* In Perugia, fol. 1695.

(*k*) *Storia della Muſica*, 4to. In Bologna, 1757, and 1770.

(*l*) *Hiſtoire de la Muſique, et de ſes Effets.* 2 *Tom.* 12mo. Par. 1715, & Amſt. 1726.

(*m*) *Hiſtoire generale, critique et philologique de la Muſique.* à Paris. 1767.

(*n*) Hiſtoriſche Beſchreibung der Edlen Sing- und Klingkunſt, in 4to. gedrukt, zu Dreßden. 1690.

(*o*) Kritiſche einleitung in die Geſchichte und Lehrſäße der alten und neuen MUSIK. 4to. Berlin. 1759.

(*p*) *De Cantu et Muſica Sacra a prima Eccleſiæ ætate uſque ad preſens tempus.* Typis San-Blaſianis. 1774.

(*q*) The hiſtory of Muſic by M. Bonet is written upon a very narrow plan; for the ſecond volume contains nothing more than excluſive eulogiums of Lulli, and illiberal cenſures of every ſpecies of Italian muſic. And though the work of M. de Blainville is nominally a *General Hiſtory of Muſic*, yet, notwithſtanding the ſplendid promiſes in the title, the whole *hiſtorical*, *critical*, and *philological* parts of this work, are compriſed in leſs than half a thin quarto; the reſt of the volume being filled with a treatiſe on compoſition. The Muſical Dictionary of M. Rouſſeau, without promiſing any thing more than an explanation of terms peculiar to the theory and practice of Muſic, affords not only more amuſement, but more *hiſtorical information* relative to the art, than perhaps any book of the ſize that is extant.

from

from them, cannot convict me of plagiariſm. With reſpect likewiſe to manuſcript information, and inedited materials from foreign countries, few modern writers have perhaps expended more money and time, undergone greater fatigue, or more impaired their health in the ſearch of them, than myſelf.

And yet, though all will readily allow, *in general*, that perfection is not to be expected in the works of man; it is evident that, in *particular caſes*, little tenderneſs is ſhewn to imperfection in the moſt difficult and laborious undertakings.

If I might preſume to hope, however, for any unuſual indulgence from the public with reſpect to this work, it muſt be from the peculiarity of my circumſtances during the time it was in hand; for it may with the utmoſt truth be ſaid, that it was compoſed in moments ſtolen from ſleep, from refection, and from an occupation which required all my attention, during more than twelve hours a day, for a great part of the year.

If it be aſked, why I entered on ſo arduous a taſk, knowing the diſadvantages I muſt labour under, my anſwer is, that it was neither with a view to rival others, nor to expoſe the defects of former attempts, but merely to fill up, as well I was able, a chaſm in Engliſh literature. I knew that a hiſtory of Muſic was wanted by my countrymen, and was utterly ignorant that any one elſe had undertaken to ſupply it; yet, to confeſs the truth, I did, at firſt imagine, though I have been long convinced of my miſtake, that, with many years practice and experience in muſical matters, ſome reading, and the poſſeſſion of a great number of books on the ſubject, I ſhould have been able to compile ſuch a hiſtory as was wanted, at my leiſure hours, without great labour or expence.

But,

But, after I had embarked, the further I ſailed, the greater ſeemed my diſtance from the port: doubts of my own abilities, and reſpect for the public, abated my confidence; my ideas of what would be required at my hands were enlarged beyond my powers of fulfilling them, eſpecially in the narrow limits of two volumes, and in the little time I had allowed myſelf, which was made ſtill leſs by ſickneſs.

A work like this, in which it is neceſſary to give authorities for every fact that is aſſerted, advances infinitely ſlower, with all the diligence that can be beſtowed upon it, than one of mere imagination, or one conſiſting of recent circumſtances, within the knowledge and memory of the writer. The difference in point of time and labour is as great as in building a houſe with ſcarce materials produced in remote regions of the world, or with bricks made upon the ſpot, and timber from a neighbouring wood; and I have frequently ſpent more time in aſcertaining a date, or ſeeking a ſhort, and, in itſelf, a trivial paſſage, than would have been requiſite to fill many pages with conjecture and declamation.

However, after reading, or at leaſt conſulting, an almoſt innumerable quantity of old and ſcarce books on the ſubject, of which the dulneſs and pedantry were almoſt petrific, and among which, where I hoped to find the moſt information, I found but little, and where I expected but little, I was ſeldom diſappointed; at length, wearied and diſguſted at the ſmall ſucceſs of my reſearches, I ſhut my books, and began to examine myſelf as to my muſical principles; hoping that the good I had met with in the courſe of my reading was by this time digeſted, and incorporated in my own ideas; and that the many years I had ſpent in practice, theory, and meditation, might entitle me to ſome freedom of thought, unſhackled by the trammels of authority.

Concerning

Concerning the muſic of the Greeks and Romans, about which the learned talk ſo much, it is impoſſible to ſpeak with certainty; however, the chief part of what I have to ſay with reſpect to its theory and practice, is thrown into a *Preliminary Diſſertation*, in order that the narrative might not be interrupted by diſcuſſions concerning dark and diſputable points, which will be generally unintereſting even to muſical readers; and in which it is very doubtful, whether I ſhall be able either to amuſe or ſatisfy the learned.

It is, indeed, with great and almoſt hopeleſs diffidence, that I enter upon this part of my work; as I can hardly animate myſelf with the expectation of ſucceeding in enquiries which have foiled the moſt learned men of the two or three laſt centuries. But it has been remarked by Tartini, in ſpeaking of ancient muſic, that doubt, difficulty, and obſcurity, ſhould not be imputed to the author, but to the ſubject, ſince they are in its very eſſence: for what, beſides conjecture, is now left us, concerning things ſo tranſient as ſound, and ſo evaneſcent as taſte?

The land of conjecture, however, is ſo extenſive and unappropriated, that every new cultivator has a right to break up freſh ground, or to ſeize upon any ſpot that has long lain fallow, without the ſanction of a grant from any one who may arrogate to himſelf the ſovereignty of the whole, or of any neglected part of it. But though no one has an excluſive right to theſe imaginary regions, yet the public has a juſt power of cenſuring the methods of improvement adopted by any new inhabitant, and of condemning ſuch productions as may be deemed unfit for uſe.

The opinions of mankind ſeldom agree, concerning the moſt common and obvious things; and conſequently will be ſtill leſs likely

likely to coincide about others, that are reducible to no ſtandard of truth or excellence, but are ſubject to the lawleſs controul of every individual who ſhall think fit to condemn them, either with, or without underſtanding them.

Dr. Johnſon has well ſaid, that "thoſe who think they have "done much, ſee but little to do;" and with reſpect to ancient muſic, I believe thoſe who have taken the greateſt pains to inveſtigate the ſubject, are the leaſt ſatisfied with the ſucceſs of their labours.

What the ancient muſic really was, it is not eaſy to determine; the whole is now become a matter of faith; but of this we are certain, that it was ſomething with which mankind was extremely delighted: for not only the poets, but the hiſtorians and philoſophers of the beſt ages of Greece and Rome, are as diffuſe in its praiſes, as of thoſe arts concerning which ſufficient remains are come down to us, to evince the truth of their panegyrics. And ſo great was the ſenſibility of the ancient Greeks, and ſo accentuated and refined their language, that they ſeem to have been, in both reſpects, to the reſt of the world, what the modern Italians are at preſent; for of theſe laſt, the language itſelf is muſic, and their ears are ſo poliſhed and accuſtomed to ſweet ſounds, that they are rendered faſtidious judges of melody, both by habit and education.

But as to the ſuperior or inferior degree of excellence in the ancient muſic, compared with the modern, it is now as impoſſible to determine, as it is *to hear both ſides*.

Indeed it is ſo entirely loſt, that the ſtudy of it is become as unprofitable as learning a dead language, in which there are no books;

books; and yet this ſtudy has given riſe to ſo much pedantry, and to ſuch an ambition in modern muſical authors, to be thought well verſed in the writings of the ancients upon muſic, that their treatiſes are rendered both diſguſting and unintelligible by it. *Words* only are come down to us without *things*. We have ſo few remains of ancient Muſic by which to illuſtrate its rules, that we cannot, as in Painting, Poetry, Sculpture, or Architecture, judge of it, or profit by examples; and to ſeveral of theſe terms which are crammed into our books, we are utterly unable to affix any preciſe or uſeful meaning. To write, therefore, in favour of ancient muſic now, is like the emperor Julian's defending paganiſm, when mankind had given it up as indefenſible, and had attached themſelves to another religion.

However, it is, perhaps, a fortunate circumſtance for modern muſic that the ancient is loſt, as it might not have ſuited the genius of our language, and might have tied us down to precedent; as the writers of modern Latin never dare hazard a ſingle thought or expreſſion without claſſical authority.

The ſubject itſelf of ancient muſic is ſo dark, and writers concerning it are ſo diſcordant in their opinions, that every intelligent reader who finds *how little there is to be known*, has reaſon to lament that there ſtill remains *ſo much to be ſaid*. Indeed, I ſhould have been glad to have waved all diſcuſſion about it: for, to ſay the truth, the ſtudy of ancient muſic is now become the buſineſs of an Antiquary more than of a Muſician. But in every hiſtory of muſic extant, in other languages, the practice had been ſo conſtant for the author to make a diſplay of what he knew, and what he did *not* know concerning ancient muſic, that it ſeemed abſolutely neceſſary for me to ſay ſomething about it, if it were only to prove, that if I have not been more ſucceſsful in my enquiries

quiries than my predeceſſors, I have not been leſs diligent. And it appeared likewiſe neceſſary, before I attempted a hiſtory of ancient Greek muſic, to endeavour to inveſtigate its properties, or at leaſt to tell the little I knew of it, and ingenuouſly to confeſs my ignorance and doubts about the reſt.

Indeed it was once my intention to begin my hiſtory with the invention of the *preſent muſical ſcale* and counterpoint; for

"What can we reaſon, but from what we know?"

But it was impoſſible to read a great number of books upon the ſubject, without meeting with conjectures, and it was not eaſy to peruſe theſe, without forming others of my own. If thoſe which I have hazarded ſhould throw any light upon the ſubject, it will enable my readers to travel through the dark maze of inquiry with more facility, and conſequently leſs diſguſt; and if I fail in my reſearches, and leave both the ſubject and them where I found them, as the expectation which I encourage is but ſmall, ſo it is hoped will be their diſappointment. For with reſpect to all I have to ſay, I muſt confeſs that the Spaniſh motto, adopted by Francis le Vayer, is wholly applicable.

De las coſas mas ſeguras
La mas ſeguras es dudar (*r*).

In wading through innumerable volumes, with promiſing titles, and ſubmitting to the drudgery *of all ſuch reading as was never read*, I frequently found that thoſe who were moſt diffuſe upon the ſubject, knew leaſt of the matter; and that technical jargon, and unintelligible pedantry ſo loaded each page, that not an eligible thought could be found, in exploring thouſands of them. Indeed my reſearches were ſometimes ſo unſucceſsful, that I ſeemed

(*r*) The moſt ſecure of all ſecure things, is to doubt.

to

to reſemble a wretch in the ſtreet, raking the kennels for an old ruſty nail. However, the ardour of enquiry was now and then revived by congenial ideas, and by gleams of light emitted from penetration and intelligence; and theſe will be gratefully acknowledged, whenever they afford aſſiſtance.

There are already more profound books on the ſubject of ancient, as well as modern Muſic, than have ever been read; it was time to try to treat it in ſuch a manner as was likely to engage the attention of thoſe that are unable, or unwilling, to read treatiſes written, for the moſt part, by perſons who were more ambitious of appearing learned themſelves, than of making others ſo. Indeed, I have long ſince found it neceſſary to read with caution the ſplendid aſſertions of writers concerning muſic, till I was convinced of their knowledge of the ſubject; for I have frequently detected ancients as well as moderns, whoſe fame ſets them almoſt above cenſure, of utter ignorance in this particular, while they have thought it neceſſary to *talk about it*. Apuleius, Pauſanias, and Athenæus, among the ancients, were certainly muſicians; but it is not ſo evident that Cicero, Horace, and others who have interſperſed many paſſages concerning Muſic in their works underſtood the ſubject any more than our Addiſon, Pope, and Swift. Among theſe, the two firſt have written odes on St Cecilia's day, in which they manifeſt the *entire ſeparation* of Muſic and Poetry, and ſhew the poſſibility of writing well on what is neither felt nor underſtood. For Pope, who received not the leaſt pleaſure from Muſic himſelf, by the help of his friends, was enabled to deſcribe its power with all the rapture and ſublimity of a great genius, *muſic-mad*. This appears not only in his Ode on St. Cecilia, but in ſpeaking of Handel, in the Dunciad.

Muſic and its admirers were ever contemned by him and Swift; but, having neither taſte nor judgment in this art, they were ſurely unqualified to cenſure it. Few conquerors ever aimed at *univerſal monarchy*, compared with the number of authors who have wiſhed to be thought poſſeſſed of *univerſal knowledge*; and yet theſe great writers, who diſcover, in what is within their competence, a vigour of mind, and elevation of genius, which inclines mankind to regard them as beings of a ſuperior order, whenever they hope by the power of thinking to ſupply the place of knowledge, diſcover an imbecillity, which degrades them into common characters.

I will not, however, over-rate muſical ſenſations ſo far as to ſay, with the poet, that the man who cannot enjoy them "*is fit for treaſons, ſtratagems, and ſpoils*;" there being, perhaps, among mankind, as many perſons of bad hearts that are poſſeſſed of a love and genius for muſic, as there are of good, that have neither talents nor feeling for it: but I will venture to ſay, that it has been admired and cultivated by great and eminent perſons at all times and in every country, where arts have been cheriſhed: and though there may be no particular connection between correctneſs of ear, and rectitude of mind, yet, without the leaſt hyperbole it may be ſaid, that, *cæteris paribus*, the man who is capable of being affected by ſweet ſounds, is a being *more perfectly organized*, than he who is inſenſible to, or offended by them.

But, as the Conſtable in Much ado about Nothing ſays, "theſe are gifts which God gives," and lovers of muſic ſhould be content with their own ſuperior happineſs, and not take offence at others for enjoying leſs pleaſure than themſelves. However, it is no uncommon thing for the rich to treat the poor with as much inſolence, as if it were a crime not to be born to a great eſtate; yet,

yet, on the other hand, to be proud of beggary and want, is too ridiculous for cenſure.

With reſpect to the preſent work, there may, perhaps, be many readers who wiſh and expect to find in it a deep and well digeſted treatiſe on the theory and practice of muſic: while others, leſs eager after ſuch information, will be ſeeking for mere amuſement in the narrative. I wiſh it had been in my plan and power fully to ſatisfy either party; but a hiſtory is neither a body of laws, nor a novel. I have blended together theory and practice, facts and explanations, incidents, cauſes, conſequences, conjectures, and confeſſions of ignorance, juſt as the ſubject produced them. Many new materials concerning the art of Muſic in the remote times of which this volume treats, can hardly be expected. The collecting into one point the moſt intereſting circumſtances relative to its practice and profeſſors; its connection with religion; with war; with the ſtage; with public feſtivals, and private amuſements, have principally employed me: and as the hiſtorian of a great and powerful empire marks its limits and reſources; its acquiſitions and loſſes; its enemies and allies; I have endeavoured to point out the boundaries of muſic, and its influence on our paſſions; its early ſubſervience to poetry, its ſetting up a ſeparate intereſt, and afterwards aiming at independence; the heroes who have fought its battles, and the victories they have obtained.

If the titles of my chapters ſhould appear too general and miſcellaneous, and the diviſions and ſections of my work too few; if method and minute exactneſs in the diſtribution of its ſeveral ſubjects and parts ſhould ſeem wanting; the whole is, perhaps, the more likely to be read for theſe deficiencies; for a hiſtory, of which the contents are ſymmetrically digeſted, ſeparated by chapters,

ters, and ſub-divided into ſections, may be eaſily conſulted, but is no more likely to be read throughout, than a dictionary.

My ſubject has been ſo often deformed by unſkilful writers, that many readers, even among thoſe who love and underſtand muſic, are afraid of it. My wiſh, therefore, is not to be approached with awe and reverence for my depth and erudition, but to bring on a familiar acquaintance with them, by talking in common language of what has hitherto worn the face of gloom and myſtery, and been too much "ſicklied o'er with the pale caſt of thought;" and though the mixing biographical anecdotes, in order to engage attention, may by ſome be condemned, as below the dignity of ſcience, yet I would rather be pronounced trivial than tireſome; for Muſic being, at beſt, but an amuſement, its hiſtory merits not, in reading, the labour of intenſe application, which ſhould be reſerved for more grave and important concerns.

I have never, from a vain diſplay of erudition, loaded my page with Greek; on the contrary, unleſs ſome diſputable point ſeemed to render it neceſſary, or the paſſage was both remarkable and ſhort, I have induſtriouſly avoided it, by referring my learned readers to the original text. The modeſty of citation may, however, be carried to exceſs; for quotations of remarkable paſſages are very amuſing and ſatisfactory to learned readers, and often prevent ſuſpicions of miſrepreſentation. There is no pedantry in a margin; and the ancients are perhaps never ſo entertaining as in the fragment way of quotation. As I pretend not to ſuch a profound and critical knowledge in the Greek language as to depend entirely upon myſelf, in obſcure and conteſted paſſages, I have, when ſuch occurred, generally had recourſe to the labours of the beſt tranſlators and commentators, or the counſel of a learned friend. And here, in order to ſatisfy the ſentiments of friend-

friendſhip, as well as thoſe of gratitude, I muſt publicly acknowledge my obligations to the zeal, intelligence, taſte, and erudition of the reverend Mr. Twining; a gentleman whoſe leaſt merit is being perfectly acquainted with every branch of theoretical and practical muſic.

As ancient Greek Muſic had its *technical terms*, as well as the modern Italian, with which many excellent ſcholars and tranſlators from that language, for want of an acquaintance with Muſic, and Greek muſical writers, have been utter ſtrangers, I may venture to obſerve that I have tried, and I hope not always without ſucceſs, to trace theſe terms in ancient authors, in order to diſcover their original acceptation.

It would be a falſe, and perhaps offenſive modeſty, if I were here to trouble the reader with apologies for the length and frequency of quotations from the Iliad and Odyſſey, and other ancient poets beſides Homer; as it will be ſhewn, that hiſtory has no other materials to work upon in times of high antiquity, than thoſe poems, which have always been regarded as hiſtorical; proſe compoſitions having been utterly unknown in Greece for 300 years after moſt of them were written (*s*).

I have never had recourſe to conjecture, when facts were to be found. In the hiſtorical and biographical parts, I have aſſerted nothing without vouchers; and I have made the ancients tell their own ſtory as often as was poſſible, without diſputing with them the knowledge of their own hiſtory, as many moderns have done; for I cannot help ſuppoſing them to have been full as well ac-

(*s*) Cadmus Mileſius, whom antiquity allowed to have been the inventor of hiſtory *in proſe*, flouriſhed, according to Sir Iſaac Newton, 559 years B. C. and Herodotus, the oldeſt Greek hiſtorian whoſe writings are preſerved, died 484 years before the ſame æra.

quainted

quainted with their own affairs 2000 years ago, as we are at preſent. An ancient Greek might, with almoſt equal propriety, have pretended to foretell what we *ſhould be*, at the diſtance of 2000 years, as we determine now what they then *were*.

Indeed it was my intention, when I firſt entered upon this work, to trace the genealogy of Muſic in a *right line*, without either meddling with the collateral branches of the family, or violating the reverence of antiquity. I wiſhed and determined to proportion my labour to my powers, and I was unawares ſeduced into a courſe of reading and conjecture, upon matters beyond the reach of human ken, by the chief ſubject of my enquiries being ſo extenſively diffuſed through all the regions of literature, and all the ages of the world. I found ancient Muſic ſo intimately connected with Poetry, Mythology, Government, Manners, and Science in general, that wholly to ſeparate it from them, ſeemed to me like taking a ſingle figure out of a group, in an hiſtorical picture; or a ſingle character out of a drama, of which the propriety depends upon the dialogue and the incidents. If, therefore, a number of figures appear in the back-ground, I hope they will give *relief*, and ſomewhat keep off the dryneſs and fatigue which a ſingle ſubject in a long work, or a ſingle figure, if often repeated, though in different points of view, is apt to produce.

DEFI-

DEFINITIONS.

Ancient writers upon ſcience uſually began with definitions; and as it is poſſible that this work may fall into the hands of perſons wholly unacquainted with the elements of Muſic, a few preliminary explanations of ſuch difficulties as are moſt likely to occur to them, may ſomewhat facilitate the peruſal of the technical parts of my enquiries.

MUSIC *is an innocent luxury, unneceſſary, indeed, to our exiſtence, but a great improvement and gratification of the ſenſe of hearing. It conſiſts, at preſent, of* MELODY, TIME, CONSONANCE, *and* DISSONANCE.

By MELODY *is implied a ſeries of ſounds more fixed, and generally more lengthened, than thoſe of common ſpeech; arranged with grace, and, with reſpect to* TIME, *of proportional lengths, ſuch as the mind can eaſily meaſure, and the voice expreſs. Theſe ſounds are regulated by a ſcale, conſiſting of tones and ſemitones; but admit a variety of arrangement as unbounded as imagination.*

CONSONANCE *is derived from a coincidence of two or more ſounds, which being heard together, by their agreement and union, afford to ears capable of judging and feeling, a delight of a moſt grateful kind. The combination and ſucceſſion of* Concords *or Sounds in* Conſonance, *conſtitute* HARMONY; *as the ſelection and texture of* Single Sounds *produce* MELODY.

DISSONANCE *is the want of that agreeable union between two or more ſounds, which conſtitutes Conſonance: in muſical compoſition it is occaſioned by the ſuſpenſion or anticipation of ſome ſound before, or*

after, it becomes a Concord. It is the DOLCE PICCANTE *of Muſic, and operates on the ear as a poignant ſauce on the palate: it is a zeſt, without which the auditory ſenſe would be as much cloyed as the appetite, if it had nothing to feed on but ſweets.*

Of MUSICAL TONES the moſt grateful to the ear *are ſuch as are produced by the vocal organ. And, next to ſinging, the moſt pleaſing kinds are thoſe which approach the neareſt to voeal; ſuch as can be ſuſtained, ſwelled, and diminiſhed, at pleaſure. Of theſe, the firſt in rank are ſuch as the moſt excellent performers produce from the Violin, Flute, and Hautbois. If it were to be aſked what inſtrument is capable of affording the* GREATEST EFFECTS? *I ſhould anſwer, the Organ; which can not only imitate a number of other inſtruments, but is ſo comprehenſive as to poſſeſs the power of a numerous orcheſtra. It is, however, very remote from perfection, as it wants expreſſion, and a more perfect intonation.*

With reſpect to EXCELLENCE OF STYLE AND COMPOSITION, *it may perhaps be ſaid that to practiſed ears the moſt pleaſing Muſic is ſuch as has the merit of novelty, added to refinement, and ingenious contrivance; and to the ignorant, ſuch as is moſt familiar and common.*

Other terms uſed in Modern Muſic, as well as thoſe peculiar to the Ancient, are generally defined, the firſt time they occur, in the courſe of the work.

DISSER-

Plate 1.

G.B. Cipriani inv. F.B. Bartolozzi sculp.

DISSERTATION

ON THE

MUSIC

OF THE

ANCIENTS.

SECTION I.

Of the Notation or Tablature of Ancient Muſic, including its Scales, Intervals, Syſtems, and Diagrams.

THE muſic of the ancients, according to Euclid, Alypius, and Martianus Capella, was divided into ſeven conſtituent parts: theſe were *Sounds*, *Intervals*, *Syſtems*, *Genera*, *Modes*, *Mutations*, and *Melopœia*, or the compoſition of melody. To theſe diviſions, which comprehended only what was denominated Harmonics, or the Science of Muſic, ſtrictly ſo called, were added five other requiſites, no leſs eſſential for a muſician to know, than the preceding ſeven: and theſe were, *Rhythm*, or the regulation of cadences in all kinds of movement; *Metre*, or the meaſure of verſes; *Organic*, or the inſtrumental art; *Hypocritic*, or geſture; and *Poetic*, or the compoſition of verſes. And ſtill to theſe diviſions, Ariſtides Quintilianus, and ſome other muſical writers, add *Odicum*, or *the Art of Singing*; which, indeed, ſeems of more importance to Muſic, than either the *Organic* or *Hypocritic art*. In order to communicate to my readers all the information I am able, upon ſo dark and difficult a ſubject, I ſhall

conſider the muſic of the ancient Greeks under ſuch heads only as abſolutely concern Muſic, according to our acceptation of the word; for it is plain that ſeveral of its ancient diviſions more immediately belonged to Poetry. Indeed theſe two arts were at firſt ſo intimately connected, and ſo dependant on each other, that rules for poetry were, in general, rules for muſic; and the properties and effects of both were ſo much confounded together, that it is extremely difficult to diſentangle them.

Leaving therefore, for the preſent, all other diſtinctions, diviſions, and ſubdiviſions, with which ancient muſical treatiſes abound, I ſhall proceed to fulfil the title of this ſection.

In the ſtudy of Modern Muſic, the firſt objects of enquiry are the names by which the ſeveral ſounds in the ſcale are expreſſed; and, if we regard muſic as a language, the Scale or Gammut may be called its Alphabet.

Plutarch ſays, that it is not ſufficient for a muſician to know what kind of muſic ſhould be ſet to any particular poem; he ſhould likewiſe know how to write it down in all the *Genera (b)*, that is to ſay, in the *Diatonic* or natural ſcale, conſiſting of tones and ſemitones, as at preſent; in the *Chromatic*, in which the ſcale was divided into ſemitones, and minor thirds; and in the *Enharmonic* genus, moving by quarter tones, and major thirds, as will be explained hereafter.

It does not appear from hiſtory, that the Egyptians, Phœnicians, Hebrews, or any ancient people, who cultivated the arts, except the Greeks and Romans, had *muſical characters*; and theſe had no other ſymbols of ſound than the letters of their alphabet, which likewiſe ſerved them for arithmetical numbers and chronological dates.

As the notation of the Greeks was imagined in the infancy of the art of muſic, when the flute had but few holes, and the lyre but few ſtrings, the ſimplicity of expreſſing the octave of any ſound by the ſame ſign, as in modern muſic, was not thought of; the moſt ancient and conſtant boundary of muſical tones having

(*b*) De Muſica.

been

been the *Diateſſeron*, or fourth, the extremes of which interval were fixed, though the intermediate ſounds were mutable: and in the manner of tuning theſe conſiſted the difference of intervals in the ſeveral genera (*c*).

The Greek ſcale, in the time of Ariſtoxenus, the oldeſt writer upon muſic, whoſe works are come down to us (*d*), extended to two octaves, and was called *Syſtema perfectum, maximum immutatum*; the great, the perfect, the immutable ſyſtem; becauſe its extremities formed a perfect conſonance, including all the ſimple, double, direct, and inverted concords, with all the particular ſyſtems; and it was the opinion of the ancients that this diſdiapaſon, or double octave, was the greateſt interval which could be received in melody.

This whole ſyſtem was compoſed of five *tetrachords*, or different ſeries of four ſounds, and one note added at the bottom of the ſcale to complete the double octave; whence the ſtring which produced this ſound was called προσλαμβανομενος, *Proſlambanomenos*, or note ſubjoined to the ſcale; for though this was conſtantly the loweſt ſound in all the modes, it was not included in the tetrachords (*e*).

All theſe ſounds had different denominations in the ſyſtem, like our *Gammut*, A *re*, B *mi*, C *fa ut*, &c. beſides two different characters, one vocal, and the other inſtrumental, appropriated to each ſound in the ſeveral modes and genera, for the purpoſe of writing down melodies.

That the fourth was a favourite and important interval in the muſic of the ancients, is plain from the great ſyſtem of two octaves having been compoſed of five of theſe tetrachords, in the ſame manner as the ſcale of Guido is of different hexachords.

The firſt tetrachord is called by the Greek muſicians *Hypaton*, or principal; the ſounds of which are denominated:

1. *Hypate hypaton*, principal of principals;

(*c*) See Sect. II.

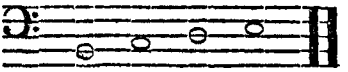
(*d*) He flouriſhed three hundred and forty years before Chriſt.

(*e*) How this great ſyſtem, from three or four ſounds only, was extended to a double octave, and by whom, will be related in the courſe of the hiſtory.

2. *Pary-*

2. *Parypate hypaton*, next the principal;

3. *Lichanos hypaton*, or index of principals; from its having been played with the index or fore-finger. This third ſound of the firſt tetrachord in the Diatonic genus, was likewiſe called *Hypaton Diatonos*.

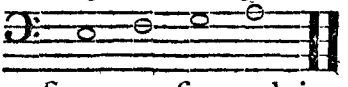
4. *Hypate meſon*, or principal of the middle or mean tetrachord; for this ſound not only ſerved as the laſt or higheſt note of the firſt tetrachord, but as the firſt or loweſt of the ſecond; whence theſe two tetrachords were called conjoint, or connected. Theſe four denominations of the ſounds in the firſt tetrachord may be compared with the terms B *mi*, C *fa ut*, D *ſol re*, and E *la mi*, in the Guido ſcale; or with the ſounds 

The ſounds of the *Meſon*, or middle tetrachord, were placed in the following order:

Hypate Meſon, or principal of the mean tetrachord;

Parypate Meſon, next to the middle principal;

Lichanos Meſon;

Meſe, or middle, as this ſound completes the ſecond tetrachord, and is the centre of the whole ſyſtem. The ſounds of this tetrachord correſpond with thoſe which in the baſe of the ſcale of Guido, are called E *la mi*, F *fa ut*, G *ſol re ut*, and A *la mi re*, which are equivalent to 

The *Meſe* in ancient muſic was of equal importance with the key note in modern muſic: being an octave above the *Proſlambanomenos*, which was the loweſt ſound of the ancient modes, and a kind of key note to them all.

Euclid calls *Meſe* the ſound by which all other ſounds are regulated. And Ariſtotle, in his XXXVIth problem, ſect. 19, ſays that all the tones of a ſcale are accommodated, or tuned, to the *Meſe*. The ſame author likewiſe tells us, problem XX. that all melody, whether it moves above or below the *Meſe*, has a natural tendency to that ſound.

The third tetrachord, beginning by the laſt note of the ſecond, was

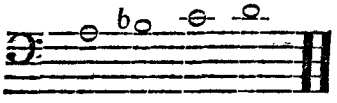
was thence called *Synemmenon*, the *united*, or *conjunct* tetrachord; the ſounds of which proceed in the following order:

Meſe;

Trite Synemmenon, or third ſtring of this tetrachord from the top;

Paranete Synemmenon, penultima of this tetrachord;

Nete Synemmenon, laſt of the *Synemmenon* tetrachord; the four ſounds of which correſpond with thoſe in the centre of our gammut, that are called A *la mi re*, B *fa*, C *ſol fa ut*, and D *la ſol re*, or

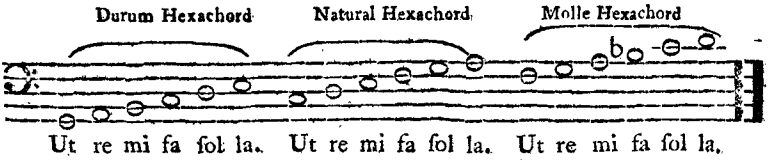


(f)

The fourth tetrachord, aſcending, is called *Diezeugmenon*, disjunct, or ſeparated, as it begins at B natural, which is not a note in common with any one in the other tetrachords. But though this ſyſtem of four ſounds is only an octave higher than that of the firſt tetrachord, and though the next is but a replicate of the ſecond, I ſhall preſent them to the reader, as the ſeveral ſounds of which they are compoſed have in the Greek muſic different denominations.

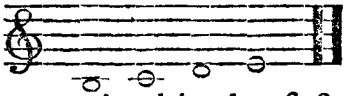
The firſt ſound of the ſecond octave, or ſeries of eight ſounds in the ancient great ſyſtem, is *Meſe*, and the firſt of the fourth tetrachord begins with the note

(f) After aſcending regularly thus far, up to D, by three conjoint tetrachords, the fourth tetrachord in the great ſyſtem is begun by *deſcending* a minor third to B natural, the octave above the firſt ſound of the loweſt tetrachord. Something of this *dodging* kind is to be found in the ſcale of Guido, divided into hexachords: for, after aſcending ſix notes regularly in the *durum hexachord*, it is neceſſary to deſcend a major third, if we would begin the *natural hexachord*; and when the natural hexachord is completed, if we would begin at the *Molle*, it can only be done by a leap of a third below. This will beſt appear by an example in notes:



It appears from the Greek tetrachords, as well as from this example, that neither the ancients nor the early moderns admitted the *ſharp ſeventh* of a key into their ſcales.

Para-

Parameſe, near the *Meſe*, or middle ſound; the next is called *Trite Diezeugmenon*, or third ſtring of this tetrachord from the top: then follows the *Paranete Diezeugmenon*; and laſtly, the *Nete Diezeugmenon*, or final ſound of this tetrachord, which includes the ſounds B *mi*, C *ſol fa ut*, D *la ſol re*, and E *la mi*, in the middle of the Guido ſcale, or 

The laſt ſound of the fourth tetrachord is the firſt of the fifth, which is called the *Hyperbolæon*, or ſupreme tetrachord; the ſounds of which aſcend in the following order:

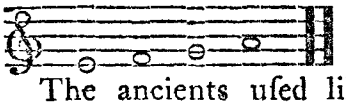
Nete Diezeugmenon, laſt of the diezeugmenon tetrachord;

Trite Hyperbolæon, third ſtring of the hyperbolæon tetrachord;

Paranete Hyperbolæon, penultima of the ſupreme tetrachord;

Nete Hyperbolæon laſt of the ſupreme, or higheſt tetrachord, and of the great ſyſtem, or diagram.

This laſt tetrachord being added to the ſcale long after its firſt formation, was called *Hyperbolæon*, from its ſounds being more acute than the reſt, and beyond the common bounds of the ſcale; in the ſame manner, as, with us, the notes above D in the treble are ſaid to be *in alt*. This tetrachord includes the ſounds E *la mi*, F *fa ut*, G *ſol re ut*, and A *la mi re*, or



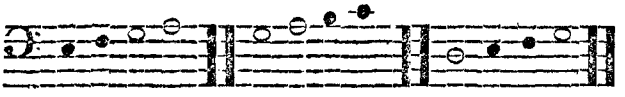
The ancients uſed likewiſe four different monoſyllables ending with different vowels, by way of *ſolmiſation*, for the exerciſe of the voice in ſinging; like our *mi, fa, ſol, la*. Theſe were, for the firſt note of each tetrachord, τα, for the ſecond τη, for the third τω, and for the fourth, if it did not ſerve as the firſt of the adjoining and relative tetrachord, τε; but if it began a new tetrachord, it was called by the firſt name, τα.

The repetition of theſe monoſyllables is a further proof that the *fourth* in the ancient muſic ſerved as a boundary to a ſyſtem of four ſounds, in the ſame manner as a hexachord did in the Guido ſcale, and as an octave does for eight ſounds in the more modern practice.

Any

Any interval between the terms of which one or more ſounds intervened, was by the ancients called a *Syſtem:* EG, for example, conſtituted a ſyſtem of a third minor; EA, of a fourth; EB, of a fifth, &c.

Theſe ſmaller ſyſtems were of different ſpecies; thus there were three kinds of tetrachords, that differed in melody by the poſition of the ſemitone, which was ſometimes at the beginning, ſometimes at the end, and ſometimes in the middle: as in the following example, where the black notes are ſemitones, and the white, tones.



As the Greeks uſed all the four and twenty letters of their alphabet for muſical characters, or ſymbols of ſound; and as their moſt extenſive ſyſtem or ſcale did not exceed two octaves, or fifteen ſounds, it ſhould ſeem as if their ſimple alphabet was more than ſufficient to expreſs them; for their muſic being at firſt only a notation of their poetry, the rhythm, or air, muſt have been determined by the metre of the verſes, without the aſſiſtance of ſigns of proportion peculiar to muſic. But ſuppoſing it was neceſſary for them to have different characters to expreſs the different feet of the verſe, it is certain that vocal muſic was in no want of them; and inſtrumental being chiefly vocal muſic played by inſtruments, had likewiſe no need of them, when the words were written, or the player knew them by heart.

However, in order to multiply theſe characters, the letters of their alphabet were ſometimes written in capitals, and ſometimes ſmall; ſome were entire, ſome mutilated, ſome doubled, and ſome lengthened; and beſides theſe diſtinctions in the form of the letters, they had others of ſituation, ſometimes turning them to the right, ſometimes to the left; ſometimes inverting, and ſometimes placing them horizontally; for inſtance, the letter *Gamma*, by theſe expedients, ſerved to expreſs ſeven different ſounds: Γ L ⅂ ⊟ ⊟ ⊥⊥ ⊥⊥. Some of the letters were alſo barred, or accented, in order to

change their ſymbolical import; and theſe ſtill not ſufficing, they made the common grave and acute accents ſerve as ſpecific muſical notes.

It is a matter that has been long diſputed among the learned, whether *Accents* were originally *Muſical Characters*, or marks of *Proſody*. It is in vain to ſet about determining a queſtion concerning which the proofs on both ſides are ſo numerous (*g*). But as muſic had characters different from accents ſo early as the time of Terpander, to whom the invention is given by the Oxford Marbles, which place this event about ſix hundred and ſeventy years before Chriſt; and as accents for proſody are likewiſe proved to be of high antiquity, it ſeems as if there could have been no neceſſity for the ancients to uſe one for the other.

But it has already been remarked that the letters of the alphabet, though turned, diſtorted, and mutilated, ſo many different ways, were inſufficient to expreſs the ſounds of all the modes in the three genera; ſo that recourſe was had to *accents*, as the ſcale became more extended, in order to augment the number of characters. And Alypius, in the enumeration of the notes in the enharmonic genus, tells us, that *Trite Synemmenon* is repreſented by *Beta* and the *acute accent*; and *Paranete Synemmenon enarmonios* by *Alpha*, and the *grave accent* (*h*).

This is a proof that the accents were known at the time of Alypius, and were then uſed chiefly for proſody, not muſic, for which they were only called in occaſionally. Indeed they are mentioned as accentual marks by writers of much higher antiquity than Alypius; for not only Cicero and Plutarch, but Ariſtotle and Plato,

(*g*) See Gally and Spelman *againſt accents*, and Primatt and Forſter in *defence* of them. Mr. Weſt is firmly of opinion "that accents were originally *muſical notes*, ſet over words to direct the ſeveral *tones* and inflexions of the voice, requiſite to give the whole ſentence its proper harmony and cadence." Pind. vol. ii. And the abbé du Bos, who frequently by a peremptory deciſion cuts the knot of ſuch difficulties as he is unable to untie, aſſerts, without ſufficient proof, that as poets originally ſet their own verſes, they placed for this purpoſe a figure, or *accent*, over each ſyllable. So that, according to this writer, we are at preſent, not only in poſſeſſion of the *poetry* of Homer, Pindar, Anacreon, and Sappho, but their *muſic*.—Why then do we complain of the total loſs of Greek muſic? See Reflex. Critique, c. iii. p. 85.

(*h*) Βητα και οξεια, Β΄: —αλφα και βαρεια, Α΄. Alyp. Edit. Meibom. p. 56.

ſpeak

ſpeak of them as merely regarding the elevation and depreſſion of the voice in ſpeech. However, in the early Greek and Roman miſſals, as will be ſhewn hereafter, the muſical characters uſed in *Canto Fermo*, ſeem to have been only *lengthened accents*.

Theſe various modifications of letters and accents in the Greek notation compoſed in all one hundred and twenty different characters, which were ſtill conſiderably multiplied in practice; for each of theſe characters ſerving many purpoſes in the vocal as well as inſtrumental tablature or gammut, and being changed and varied according to the different modes and genera, as the names of our notes are changed by different cleffs and keys, the one hundred and twenty Greek characters produced one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty notes (*i*)!

Two rows of theſe characters were uſually placed over the words of a lyric poem; the upper row ſerving for the voice, and the lower for inſtruments.

If we had not the teſtimony of all the Greek writers who have mentioned theſe characters, for their uſe and deſtination, it would be natural to ſuppoſe that the double row of different letters placed over each other, and above the words of a poem, were intended to expreſs *different parts*, with reſpect to *harmony*; as with us, in modern muſic, the treble notes are written over the baſe, and the firſt treble over the ſecond; but Alypius, who is extremely minute in his inſtructions concerning the uſe of theſe characters, in all theſe modes, tells us, in expreſs terms, that the upper line of the notes is for the words, and the lower for the lyre (*k*). And he afterwards proves

(*i*) Not contented with uſing all the letters of the alphabet, in every poſſible ſituation, as ſymbols of ſound, the Greeks mutilated and diſtorted them in order to augment their number; juſt as the ancient Ægyptians, in their animal idolatry and religious ceremonies, "beſides the adoration of almoſt every thing exiſting, worſhipped a thouſand chimeras of their own creation, ſome with human bodies, and the head or feet of beaſts; others with brutal bodies, and the head or feet of men; while others again were a fantaſtical compound of the ſeveral parts of beaſts, birds, and reptiles, terreſtrial and aquatic." Div. Leg. vol. iii. p. 178.

(*k*) Σημεια τα μεν ανω, της λεξεως· τα δε κατω της κρουσεως. Introd. Muſ. Edit. Meibom. p. 2. We are told, not only by Alypius, but by Gaudentius, p. 23, that of the two rows of letters uſed for muſical characters, the upper is for the words, that is, *to be ſung*, and the under *to be played*.

them to have been unisons to each other, both by his definitions, and by placing them opposite to the same sound in all the scales.

In this author, the notes of the great system of the Lydian mode in the diatonic genus, are ranged in the following order:

Ƶ ⊤ R Φ C P M I Θ Γ Ʊ Z E Ʊ Θ ⅄ M′ I
⊢ Γ L F C ∪ ⊓ ∢ V N Z ⊏ ⊔ Z η ⊦ ⊓ ∢′ (*l*)

And these he defines in such a manner as leaves no room to doubt of the identity of their signification.

Ƶ⊢ *Proslambanomenos*, an imperfect *Zeta*, and a *Tau* placed horizontally.

⊤ Γ *Hypate Hypaton* an averted *Gamma*, and a *Gamma* direct.

R L *Parypate Hypaton*, an imperfect *Beta*, and a *Gamma* inverted.

Φ F *Hypaton Diatonos*, a *Phi*, and a *Digamma*.

C C *Hypate Meson*, *Sigma* and *Sigma*.

P ∪ *Parypate Meson*, *Rho*, and *Sigma* inverted.

M ⊓ *Meson Diatonos*, *Mu*, and a lengthened *Pi*.

I ∢ *Mese*, *Iota*, and a horizontal *Lambda*.

Θ V *Trite Synemmenon*, *Theta*, and an inverted *Lambda*.

Γ N *Synemmenon Diatonos*, *Gamma* and *Nu*.

Ʊ Z *Nete Synemmenon*, an inverted *Omega* and a *Zeta*.

Z ⊏ *Paramese*, *Zeta*, and *Pi* placed horizontally.

E ⊔ *Trite Diezeugmenon*, *Epsilon*, and an inverted *Pi*.

Ʊ Z *Diezeugmenon Diatonos*, as Nete Synemmenon, which was the same string in the lyre.

Θ η *Nete Diezeugmenon*, horizontal *Phi*, and a small *Eta* lengthened.

⅄ ⊦ *Trite hyperbolæon*, an inverted *Upsilon*, and an imperfect *Alpha*.

M′ ⊓′ *Hyperbolæon Diatonos*, *Mu*, and a lengthened *Pi*, accented.

(*l*) It is somewhat strange that the notes for the voice in ancient music, should be placed *above* those for the lyre, and consequently further from the words. Meibomius, in his preface, has, however, given a curious reason for this custom, from a fragment of Bacchius, senior: "The upper line of notes is for the poem, the lower for the lyre; because the mouth, which alone gives utterance to the words, is placed by nature above the hands, which produce tones from the instrument."

Nete

I ⊰' *Nete Hyperbolæon*, *Iota*, and an accented *Lambda*, placed horizontally.

It is from the indefatigable labour of the learned Meibomius, in his Commentaries upon the ancient Greek Muſicians, particularly Alypius, that we are able to decypher theſe characters; which, before his time, had been ſo altered, corrupted, disfigured, and confounded, by the ignorance or negligence of the tranſcribers of ancient manuſcripts, that they were rendered wholly unintelligible.

In examining the three diagrams of Alypius, where the notation of all the fifteen modes in each genus is given, I have frequently tried to find ſome rule for the uſe of different kinds of letters, or reaſon for the confuſion in which they appear in the ſcale. I thought it would have furniſhed ſomething of an hiſtorical deduction, if I could have diſcovered that the ſimple letters of the alphabet were uſed in a regular ſeries, to expreſs the ſounds aſcending or deſcending, in any one mode of the ſeveral genera. For it was natural to ſuppoſe, that in the firſt uſe of the alphabet for notes as well as numbers, the order would have been regular; and if ſuch a regularity could have been found, in any mode of the three genera, it might have been preſumed that ſuch mode was the *firſt* to which the alphabetic characters had been applied.

Indeed ſomething like regularity appears, in paſſing the eye obliquely upwards from *Meſe* to Nete hyperbolæon, in all the genera, particularly in the enharmonic diagram, where the letters proceed by quarter tones, as is generally the caſe, but with many exceptions: I tried in vain to find the *rule* for theſe exceptions. All the notes in the horizontal range of the ſeveral diagrams, are at the ſame *pitch*; but they are frequently expreſſed by different characters, for which I have been able to aſſign no ſolid reaſon. And, on the contrary, notes of a *different* pitch are ſometimes expreſſed by the *ſame* character, for which I am equally unable to account. The letters and ſcale go on in a direct ſeries of quarter-tones for ſome time; but afterwards, a letter is, unaccountably, either omitted or repeated, which interrupts all regularity. I rather ſuſpect, however, that theſe perplexities may ariſe from the modes

modes being a ſemitone above each other. Ptolemy, lib. II. cap. 2. ſpeaks of the inconvenience of this arrangement of modes, owing to the neceſſity of altering in ſome of them the tuning of all the ſtrings. I ſuſpect likewiſe, that where the *ſame* note, in the *ſame* horizontal line, is expreſſed by different characters, it was to ſuit the lyre; and that the two different ſounds were expreſſed with the *ſame* mark, to ſuit the fingers.

After a long and painful meditation upon theſe diagrams, all that I am able to diſcover like *regularity* and *conſtancy* in them, is in the following particulars:

1. In all the three genera the ſimple alphabet is uſed for the upper octave of the *Diſdiapaſon*, beginning with A at the ſemitone *above Nete hyperbolæon*, and always ending with *Omega* in *Meſe*. From thence downwards the ſecond alphabet is uſed, (*m*) conſiſting of the diſguiſed, and mutilated letters, but in the ſame regular order of the alphabet, beginning always from *Meſe*, and ending with the divided *Phi* ⊅ ⊂ in proſlambanomenos of the Hypodorian mode.

The order of the letters in theſe ſeveral inſtances is broken and interrupted, but no where, that I have been able to diſcover, reverſed or promiſcuous. Then from the ſemitone above *Nete hyperbolæon* upwards, to dd, the octave of *Nete ſynemmenon*, ſix other characters are uſed, and theſe are ſtill the ſix laſt letters of the alphabet in a different dreſs: if theſe are traced downwards from ⊥ ∀, to ΩZ, they will be found as regular as the former letters.

To complete the *three octaves and one tone*, in giving all the fifteen modes intire, there ſtill remain thirteen characters more, which are repeated from the firſt alphabet of *ſimple* letters, except the ϒ at the top: after *that* character, they deſcend regularly from A\′ to OK′, diſtinguiſhed only by an accent. The plain alphabet therefore is uſed down to *Meſe*, and the diſguiſed alphabet from meſe to proſlambanomenos. Six new diſguiſed letters, however, appear from the octave above *Trite ſynemmenon*, up to the octave above *Nete ſynemmenon*: and thirteen old ones, with the

(*m*) Vide Meibom. in Præf.

addition

addition only of a *virgula*, from that found up to the double octave above *Parameſe*.

2. In the enharmonic and chromatic genera the characters are exactly the ſame, and in the ſame perpendicular order, in all the modes; only the *chromatic Lichani*, the diſtinguiſhing ſtrings of each genus, are marked, as Meibomius obſerves, with a *daſh*, to diſtinguiſh them from the *enharmonic Lichani* (*n*).

3. In all the three diagrams the ſtrings, except the *Lichani*, have the ſame characters: this will appear in examining any of the modes aſcending or deſcending *perpendicularly*, and miſſing the *red* characters, which are the *Lichani*; for the order of the reſt, which are *black*, will be found exactly the ſame in all the genera. Thus much ſeems fixed and conſtant in all the diagrams of Alypius, as publiſhed by Meibomius, and upon which theſe remarks are intended as a commentary.

With reſpect to the multiplicity of characters, it is natural to ſuppoſe that the Greeks began their notation when their compaſs was ſmall: as that was extended, they were forced by degrees to augment the number of their muſical characters. And when this method of notation by the letters of the alphabet was once eſtabliſhed, nothing was more obvious than to repeat the ſame letters, which admitted of ſuch eaſy variation, by poſition, mutilation, and accents. The order of inſtrumental notes is much more wild and unaccountable than that of the vocal, to which theſe remarks have been hitherto confined.

I am fearful of ſwelling my book too much with theſe conjectural explications, though there is ſcarce a ſingle circumſtance relative to ancient muſic which does not require them. However, amidſt ſo much doubt and obſcurity, two points ſeem clearly demonſtrable: firſt, that the enharmonic genus moving in *dieſes*, or quarter-tones, is the moſt regular in its notation; which encourages a belief that this genus, however unnatural and difficult to us, muſt have been not only very ancient, but the firſt that was expreſſed in writing; and conſequently, at ſome one period of

(*n*) The third ſtring aſcending, of each of the two loweſt tetrachords, is called *Lichanos*.

time,

time, muſt have been in the *moſt general uſe* (*o*). Secondly, that it muſt have been uſual to read the general ſcales, or diagrams, backwards, *deſcending*, from acute to grave; which, as all the ancient modes were in what we ſhould call *minor keys*, muſt have been more agreeable to the ear than aſcending, for want of a ſharp-ſeventh. This, however, does not imply that the tetrachords were *always* read in that order; for theſe being much more ancient than the alphabetic notation, had been long tuned and regulated from *grave* to *acute*.

The neglect of theſe diſtinctions will introduce a univerſal ſcepticiſm concerning every part of ancient muſic. But provided the intervals are determined, it is of as ſmall conſequence whether the ſcale is read from the top to the bottom, or the bottom to the top, as whether a child is taught to repeat the modern gammut from G in the treble, or G in the baſe.

The ſcales of Ariſtoxenus, Euclid, and Alypius, begin at *Proſlambanomenos*, it is true; but though this note is firſt named in the deſcriptions and definitions of the ſounds of the ſeveral ſyſtems, and conſequently ſtands *higheſt in the page* where it is mentioned, yet it does not follow that it was the moſt acute ſound in the ſcale, or that it was produced by the ſhorteſt ſtring in the ancient lyre (*p*). But ſo diſputable is every thing that concerns Greek muſic, that it has even been doubted whether this leading note was the higheſt or loweſt of the ſcale.

Galilei, Zarlino, Bontempi, Tevo, M. Rouſſeau, Dr. Brown, and others, have aſſerted, that the terms *high* and *low*, had different acceptations among the ancients, from thoſe in which they are underſtood by the moderns, without guarding, as they ought to have done, againſt ſuch conſequences, with reſpect to the ſituation of the ſcale, as it was natural for the reader to draw from that aſſertion.

(*o*) See Sect. II.

(*p*) If a verbal deſcription of the modern gammut were given in writing, without notes, it would have the ſame appearance: Γ ut, A re, B mi, C fa ut, D ſol re, E la mi, F fa ut, G ſol re ut, A la mi re, B fa B mi, C ſol fa ut, &c.

Dr.

Dr. Pepuſch aſſerts roundly, and without the leaſt modification of doubt, or even condeſcending to alledge a ſingle reaſon or proof in defence of his opinion, that "it was uſual among the Greeks to conſider a *deſcending* as well as an *aſcending* ſcale; the former proceeding from acute to grave, preciſely by the ſame intervals as the latter did from grave to acute. The *firſt* ſound of each was the *Proſlambanomenos* (*q*)."

No inſtances of theſe *inverted* ſcales are to be found, however, in Ariſtoxenus, Euclid, or any of the oldeſt and beſt writers. Boethius, Bryennius, and ſame other of the more modern compilers, have, indeed, puzzled the cauſe by ambiguous expreſſions, which ſeem to bear ſuch conſtruction (*r*); and Dr. Pepuſch, the oracle of his time, who equalled at leaſt that of Delphos by the darkneſs of his decrees, readily jumped to any concluſion that would involve a muſical queſtion in myſterious and artificial difficulty.

It ſeems as if all this perplexity and confuſion had ariſen from the want of preciſion in the muſical nomenclature of the Greeks. The prepoſitions ὑπο, *ſub*, ὑπερ, *ſuper*, and the adjectives ὑπατος, *ſummus*, and νητος, *imus*, have manifeſtly been applied to ſounds more to expreſs their ſituation in the lyre and diagrams, than the length of the ſtrings, or the gravity and acuteneſs of their tones.

Dr. Wallis, in his Appendix to Ptolemy's Harmonics (*s*), explains this difficulty in the following manner.

"The Greeks called *Hypate*, *ſupreme*, though it is the loweſt ſound or ſtring of the tetrachord; and *Nete*, *laſt*, or *loweſt*, though the moſt acute. (This Henry Stephens acknowledges at the word νητη, which he defines *ultimam ſeu imam:* and *paranete*, *imæ proximam):* therefore thoſe who firſt made uſe of theſe names, applied them differently from us, calling grave, *high*, and acute, *low*. And thus Nicomachus, p. 6, calls Saturn the higheſt of the planets, *Hypate*; and the moon, the loweſt, with reſpect to us, *Nete*. Boethius, likewiſe, in his Treatiſe on Muſic, places, in all his diagrams, the low ſounds at the top, and the high ones at the

(*q*) Phil. Tranſ. No. ccccl.xxxi. p. 226, and Martyn's Abridg. Vol. X. Part 1. p. 261.

(*r*) Meibom. in Gaudent. p. 33, et Wallis in Bryennio, p. 364, et ſeq.

(*s*) P. 159. Fol. Ed.

bottom. But, he concludes, that we muſt not attend to the original import of theſe words, *ſummus* and *imus*, but underſtand *Hypate* and *Nete* as *firſt* and *laſt*, or *principal* and *extreme*, as Ariſtides Quintilianus has done, p. 10."

In the firſt, or Mercurian lyre, the longeſt ſtring, which produced the loweſt ſound, from being placed higheſt in the inſtrument, as is the caſe with the modern harp, was called *Hypate*, the higheſt ſound, and *Nete*, for the ſame reaſon, was afterwards, upon the extenſion of the ſcale, called *loweſt*, though the moſt acute. *Trite*, the third ſtring from the top of the two laſt tetrachords, had its name, as in our violins, by compariſon with the ſmalleſt ſtrings. From a paſſage in Ariſtides Quintilianus (*t*), it ſeems as if the Greeks, in naming and numbering the notes of their ſcale, made it a rule always to go *towards Meſe*, and end with it, as being the regulator of the other notes, and ſituated in the *medium* of the voice. This is confirmed by the problem of Ariſtotle already cited, and this confirms what has been already obſerved of the order of the alphabetic notation, in which *Meſe* is always expreſſed by *Omega*. It ſeems, therefore, as if the Greeks *aſcended* the lower octave of the diſdiapaſon, and *deſcended* the upper one; otherwiſe it is not eaſy to ſee why the ſtrings of the upper octave ſhould have names referring, as they evidently do, to a *deſcending* ſeries, and in an order *oppoſite* to thoſe of the *lower* octave (*u*).

Παρα, in the compound names of the notes, evidently means *next in order*; *Parypate*, in the *lower* octave, then is *aſcent*; *Paranete*, in the *upper* octave, plainly *deſcent*. The ſame is implied in *Trite*. But the term *Nete*, laſt, looks very like *aſcent* again—*And darkneſs was upon the face of the deep!*—Theſe contradictions may account in ſome degree for the great perplexity about the ſcale; they are curious however, and as well worth obſerving, perhaps, as any matters of this kind.

(*t*) P. 11, at the top. Quintil. p. 11, which ſeems ſolid.
(*u*) See Meibomius's note upon Ariſt.

I have

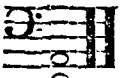
I have, indeed, from the ſeemingly aukward and uncouth melody produced by the Greek ſcales *aſcending*, been ſometimes inclined to think that if they were reverſed with reſpect to intervals, it would be much more agreeable to our ears, and explain away many difficulties; but ſoon found that it would leave others ſtill more inſuperable behind: put *Proſlambanomenos* out of the queſtion, as a note that might be added indifferently to the top or bottom of the ſcale, and compare the intervals of our diatonic ſcale in C natural deſcending, with that of the Greek in the Hypodorian mode aſcending, and the intervals will be found to be the ſame.

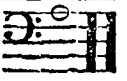
This hypotheſis might have been defended by many paſſages in the Greek writers; yet ſtubborn facts would have ariſen againſt it, by which, in the end, it would be totally overthrown.

The perplexity concerning the ſcale is a ſubject that required more time and meditation than I was able to beſtow upon it; however, I was very unwilling to leave it, till I had diſcovered by ſome indiſputable rule, how to determine the queſtion, as the few fragments left of Greek muſic, by a miſtake in this particular, would be as much injured as a poem, by reading it backwards.

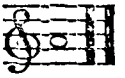
At length, an infallible rule preſented itſelf to me, in the works of the great Euclid, who has been regarded for ſo many ages as the legiſlator of mathematicians, and whoſe writings have been their code. In his ſection of the Canon (*x*), p. 37, Edit. Meibom. he repreſents *Proſlambanomenos* by the *whole ſtring*: ſo that, if any thing concerning ancient muſic can be made certain, it is, that this whole ſtring repreſented the *loweſt ſound* in the Greek ſcale, which, in the Hyperdorian mode, was equivalent to the

(*x*) By *Canon* muſt here be underſtood a *ſingle ſtring*, which being interſected by moveable bridges, ſerves as a *rule* or *law*, for determining muſical intervals, and the exact proportion of ſound to ſound.

note A - - - - - - - - - 

Half the ſtring, *Meſe*, its octave, a, - - - 

Third part, *Nete diezeugmenon*, fifth of the octave, e,

And the fourth part of the ſtring, *Nete hyperbolæon*, the double octave, aa, - - - - - - 

which include all the concords that the ancients admitted. Eight ninths of the ſtring are allotted to the ſound *Hypate Bareia Gravis*, which is B in the baſe, one tone higher than *Proſlambanomenos*, or A.

This ſection therefore of the line, repreſenting the ſound A, muſt put an end to every doubt concerning the order of the ſcale, which may have ariſen from the inverted application of the words *high* and *low*, conſtantly occurring in all the more ancient and authentic Greek writers on muſic.

And now having done with the ſcale, let us return to the tablature.

The multiplicity of notes in ancient Greek muſic muſt certainly have made it a very long and laborious ſtudy, even at a time when the art itſelf was in reality very ſimple. Hence it is not ſurpriſing to find that Plato (*y*), though he was unwilling that youth ſhould beſtow too much time upon muſic, allowed them to ſacrifice three years to it, merely in learning the elements; and thought that he had reduced this ſtudy to its ſhorteſt period: but at the end of this time, a ſtudent could hardly be capable of naming all the notes, and of ſinging an air *at ſight*, as we call it, in all keys and in all the genera, accompanying himſelf at the ſame time upon the lyre; much leſs could it be expected that he ſhould be correct in every ſpecies of rhythm; that he ſhould be maſter of taſte and expreſſion; or be able to compoſe a melody himſelf to a new lyric poem.

(*y*) De Legib. lib. vii.

It

It was much more difficult to ſing from the tablature, than to follow a voice or inſtrument, as it is far more perplexing to read the Chineſe language than to ſpeak it, on account of the great multiplicity of characters. However, if we could find Greek muſic now, we ſhould be able to read it, contrary to the general opinion, which is, that the ancient notation is utterly loſt. But though we can perhaps decypher it as exactly as the Greeks themſelves could have done, yet to divide it into phraſes, to accentuate, and to give it the original and true expreſſion, are things, at preſent, impoſſible, and ever will remain ſo. For it is with the muſic of every country as with the language; to read it with the eye, and to give it utterance, are different things; and we can arrive at no greater certainty about the expreſſion of a dead muſic, than the pronunciation of a dead language.

"It is aſtoniſhing however, ſays M. Burette (*z*), that the ancient Greeks, with all their genius, and in the courſe of ſo many ages as muſic was cultivated by them, never invented a ſhorter and more commodious way of expreſſing ſounds in writing, than by ſixteen hundred and twenty notes; nor ever thought of ſimplifying their tablature, by making the ſame characters ſerve both for voices and inſtruments. It will perhaps be ſaid that this diſtinction of tablature ſtill ſubſiſts with us, for the lute, and for ſome other inſtruments; but this diſtinction is almoſt aboliſhed (*a*)." And yet, notwithſtanding the great ſimplicity of our tablature, compared with that of the ancients, it muſt be owned that the modern characters are ſo numerous and difficult to underſtand, and retain in the memory, that a ſtudent in muſic has the voice and ear formed long before the eye is able to read them. And it may be affirmed, that the attention to the rules of muſic is more difficult than the execution.

(*z*) *Mem. de Litter.* tom. v. p. 182.

(*a*) M. Burette has preſented to the Academy of Inſcriptions and *Belles Lettres* at Paris, a great number of well written memoirs upon almoſt every part of ancient muſic. When the enquiries of this learned academician ſeem ſucceſsful, and ſatisfy my mind by the ſolution of difficulties, I ſhall freely avail myſelf of his diligence and erudition; at other times, I ſhall either attempt to explain theſe difficulties myſelf, or ſhall frankly confeſs my ignorance and inability to furniſh my readers with any ſatisfactory information concerning them.

It

It would be therefore curious to calculate the difficulties of ancient and modern muſic ſeparately, that by a comparative view we might be enabled to determine which had the greater number.

With reſpect to thoſe of notation, their being ſo much more numerous in the ancient muſic than the modern, is, perhaps, more imaginary than real.

For though the ancients had one hundred and twenty different characters for ſound only, without including time, which characters, by changes in the modes and genera, were multiplied to ſixteen hundred and twenty; yet, if we compare theſe changes with ſuch as are produced by our ſeven clefs, in which each note is ſubject to the accidents of flats and ſharps, the memory will appear to be little leſs burthened by modern than by ancient muſical notation.

Our compaſs is indeed much more extenſive than that of the Greeks; but if we confine it to three octaves only, which was the extent of the whole range of modes in the great ſyſtem of the ancients, we ſhall have ſeven changes for each of the twenty-two natural ſounds, which amount in all to one hundred and fifty-four, without the accidents of flats and ſharps; and theſe being nearly double that number, the whole will amount to about four hundred and fifty-five different repreſentations of the ſemitones contained in three octaves, without enumerating either extreme ſharps, or double flats.

Let us, after this, conſider the difference of intonation occaſioned by temperament, between the keys of C natural and C ſharp with ſeven ſharps; of D natural with two ſharps, and of D flat with five flats; differences which are certainly diſtinctions and difficulties in our notation, as C♯ and D b are not only different ſounds upon perfect inſtruments, but expreſſed by different characters in our tablature. Let us likewiſe conſider the different ſituation of the ſounds in all our twenty-four keys; taking into the account, at the ſame time, the great number of our different characters for the duration of theſe ſounds; and the ſimplicity of modern notation will not appear ſo much ſuperior to the ancient as has been imagined.

But

But muſic is a modern art with us, as it is only a few centuries ſince the preſent ſyſtem is ſuppoſed to have been invented; whereas ancient muſic flouriſhed and was cultivated ſome thouſand years before that period. It is therefore by no means ſurpriſing, that ours has not yet acquired every poſſible convenience of notation. However, notwithſtanding the defects of modern muſic in ſome particulars, I may venture to affirm that it has arrived at a very great degree of perfection; and I appeal for the truth of this aſſertion to the daily experience of perſons of good taſte and refined ears.

In order to furniſh my readers with a comparative view of the ancient and modern muſical ſyſtems, I ſhall here inſert a general diagram of both, conſtructed by the learned Meibomius, in his notes upon Euclid.

The Perfect Syſtem of the Moderns compared with the great and General Syſtem of the Ancients.

Greek appellatives.	Notation of the ſounds in the Hypodorian mode.			Ancient Solmiſation.		Modern Solmiſation, attributed to Guido.					Roman letters of which the capitals were firſt uſed by St. Gregory.			Clefs	Greek names to the ſounds of the 2d octave.
		M′ Π	M Π		τᾱ					la			ee		
		⊥ ⅄	⊥ ⅄	τᾱ	τ῱				la	ſol		dd	[illegible]d		
		⋇ ⅄	Φ ⅄	τ῱	τῆ				ſol ♮	fa		cc	cc		
		B /	Ш Z	τῆ	τᾱ				fa	mi		bb	♮ ♮		
		Γ N		τε̄				la	mi	re		aa			Nete hyperbolæon
		H ⅄		τ῱				ſol	re	ut		g		𝄞	Paranete Hyperb. or Hyp. diat.
		Λ ⅄		τῆ				fa	ut			f			Trite hyp.
		M Π		τᾱ			la	mi				e			Nete diezeug.
Nete Synemmenon	Γ C	Γ Ɔ	τᾱ	τ῱		la	ſol	re			d	d			Paranete diez. or Diez. diat.
Synem. diat.	T ⅂	Υ ⅃	τ῱	τῆ		ſol ♮	fa	ut			c	c		𝄫	Trite diez.
Trite Synem.	Ψ ⅄	Φ ⊢	τῆ	τᾱ		fa	mi				b	♮			Parameſe.
Mese	Ω ⅄		τε̄		la	mi	re				a				
Meſon diat. or Lichanos Meſon	⅄ T		τ῱		ſol	re	ut				G				
Parypate Meſon	⅄ E		τῆ		fa	ut					F			𝄢	
Hypate Meſon	I E		τᾱ	la	mi						E				
Hyp. diatonos, or Lichanos Hyp.	η H		τ῱	ſol	re						D				
Paryp. hypaton	b ɜ		τῆ	fa	ut						C				
Hypate hypaton	ʒ ɛ		τᾱ	mi							B				
Proſlambanomenos	⅄ ⅄		τε̄	re							A				
	⅄ ⅄		τω	ut							Γ				

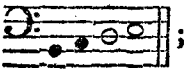
SECTION II.

Of the three Genera, Diatonic, Chromatic, and Enharmonic.

IN modern muſic the *Genera* are but two: *Diatonic* and *Chromatic*. Theſe conſiſt in the manner of arranging the tones and ſemitones of which melody is compoſed (*a*).

In ancient muſic, not only the tone was divided into two, as with us, but the ſemitone by a *Dieſis* or *Quarter-tone*. Theſe three kinds of interval, the tone, ſemitone, and *Dieſis*, conſtituted the difference of the three genèra.

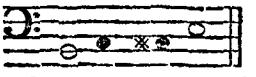
It has been already obſerved that the fourth was the conſtant boundary of ſounds in the muſic of the ancients; and that its extremes, or higheſt and loweſt ſounds, were *ſtantes*, *immobiles*, or fixed. As the octave in modern muſic admits of no change, but is tuned as perfect as poſſible, ſo the fourth in ancient muſic was never allowed to deviate from perfection. The different genera therefore were characteriſed by the changes that were made in the two middle ſounds of the tetrachord, which were ſtyled *mobiles*, mutable. So that a *Genus* is defined by Euclid, the diviſion and diſpoſition of the tetrachord with reſpect to the intervals of the four ſounds of which it is compoſed; and Pappus Alexandrinus ſays, that the *Genera* conſiſted only in different diviſions of the tetrachord.

In the *Diatonic Genus*, the melody proceeded by a ſemitone, and two tones, as B C D E  ; and it was from the

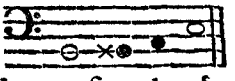
(*a*) When no more than two ſemitones occur in the courſe of an octave, the melody may properly be ſtyled genuine *Diatonic*.

Indeed the *Chromatic* in uſe at preſent can hardly be compared with that of the ancients; for with them every accidental flat or ſharp which led to a new mode or key, would have been called a change of *Genus*. With us, however, a mere change of modulation, though it occaſions a change of key, is not a change of *genus*; for while the ſounds made uſe of in harmony and melody can be referred to any *one key*, the *Diatonic genus* is ſuppoſed to be preſerved: it is only a regular ſucceſſion of two or more *ſemitones*, aſcending or deſcending, that conſtitutes *modern Chromatic*.

ſucceſſion of *two tones*, that this genus acquired the name of *Diatonic*. As the term is derived from διὰ, *by*, and τονος, *tone*; that is, paſſing from one tone to another; which in the Greek muſic was never done but in the diatonic genus.

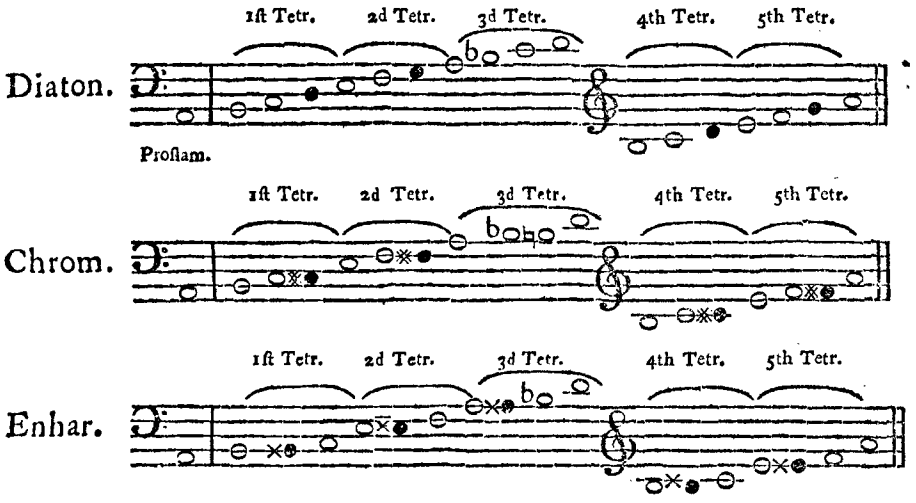
The *Chromatic* proceeded by two ſucceſſive *ſemitones*, and a hemiditone, or minor third, as B C C♯ E 

This modulation holding the middle place between the diatonic and enharmonic, has been ſuppoſed by Martianus Capella and Bryennius, to derive its name from χρωμα, *colour*; for as the gradations between black and white are called colours, ſo this genus being placed between the diatonic and enharmonic, is called *Chromatic*. M. Rouſſeau tell us, in his Dictionary, that this genus uſed to be written in *coloured notes*, but without giving any authority in ſupport of this opinion.

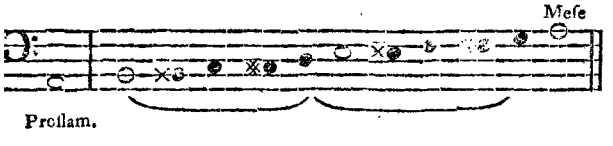
The *Enharmonic* tetrachord proceeded by two *quarter* tones, and a major third, B B × C E  This genus is often called by Ariſtoxenus, and others, ſimply ἁρμονια, *harmonia*, that is, well arranged and ordered.

Each of the three genera had ſome ſounds in its ſcale that were peculiar and characteriſtic, and ſome that were in common with the other two. For inſtance, B C E F A Bb and d, were uſed in all the three genera, whereas D G were peculiar to the diatonic, C♯ and F♯ to the chromatic, and B × E × and A × to the enharmonic. A complete ſcale of each genus in modern notes will explain this matter better than words.

Diatonic.



Hence it appears that the regular *diatonic* ſcale conſiſted, like the modern, of *tones* and *ſemitones*; the *chromatic*, of *ſemitones* and *minor thirds*; and the *enharmonic*, of *quarter-tones* and *major thirds*; diſtinctions which ſeem to have been long religiouſly obſerved in Greece; as the lyre was allowed but four ſtrings to each tetrachord, and flutes were bored in a particular manner for each genus, in which no proviſion was made for producing the tones peculiar to the other two. However, in Euclid's time, we find that a *mixed genus*, as he calls it, had been admitted into practice. This author, the cleareſt and moſt ſatisfactory, as far as he goes, of all the ancients who have treated of muſic, has given us the following extraordinary ſcale of ſounds uſed in the mixed genus.



By which it appears that ſix ſtrings are wanting to fill up the Diateſſaron, or interval of a fourth, which, in any one of the three pure and uncompounded genera, had occaſion but for four; and the octaves from proſlambanomenos to meſe, which in the pure diatonic, chromatic, or enharmonic, had but eight ſtrings, in the mixed genus muſt have been ſupplied with twelve. So that a

remark made by Perrault (*b*) concerning the ſuperiority of the modern ſcale over the ancient, in having a greater number of ſounds in the compaſs of a fourth, is not ſo much in our favour as it at firſt appears; the number of notes being equal in both: with this difference, that the ancients had no G ſharp, or E flat, and the moderns have no *Dieſis*, or interval of a quarter-tone, between B C, E F, or A and B b.

Ariſtoxenus tells us that the diviſion and bounds of the genera were not accurately fixed till his time; and Ariſtides Quintilianus ſpeaks of ſeveral genera, or ſpecies of intervals, which were of the higheſt antiquity; yet ſo wild and irregular, that after the art of muſic was brought to a greater degree of perfection, and the laws of the three principal genera were ſettled, they had been totally diſuſed by the beſt muſicians. The ſame author aſſerts, that it is of theſe barbarous diviſions of the ſcale, or old *Harmonies*, as they were called, and not the common modes of the ſame names, that Plato ſpeaks in his Republic, where he admits ſome of them, and rejects others.

The ancients attributed peculiar effects to each genus, and ſpeak of many characteriſtic diſtinctions of genera, which now appear to be wholly fanciful and imaginary. Theſe, if they ever had exiſtence, were, perhaps, deſtroyed by modern harmony. Ariſtides Quintilianus, p. 111, tells us, that

The *diatonic* is manly, and auſtere;

The *chromatic* ſweet, and pathetic; and

The *enharmonic* animating, and mild.

Vitruvius, ſpeaking of the *enharmonic*, ſays, that it is [illegible] ticular manner *grave* and *majeſtic* (*c*).

And Plutarch, in his firſt Eſſay againſt Colotes the Epicurean, aſks, "Why does the chromatic genus melt and diſſolve, and the

(*b*) *Eſſais Phyſiques*, tom. ii.

(*c*) *Cantus ejus maximè gravem, et egregiam habet auctoritatem.*

Perhaps the idea of a major-key, which the *enharmonic ditone* muſt impreſs upon the ear, may have contributed to the notion of muſic in that genus being *animating*; but how it could be at the ſame time *grave* and *ſoothing*, *animating* and *mild*, is not eaſy to conceive. This genus was never known to the Romans, having been loſt before they attempted the polite arts.

enhar-

enharmonic brace the nerves, and compoſe the mind, after being diſturbed?"

Ariſtides Quintilianus, in another place (*d*), ſays of the genera, that the *diatonic* is the moſt natural, becauſe all who have ears, though uninſtructed in muſic, are capable of ſinging it.

The *chromatic* is *more* (*e*) artificial, for it can be ſung only by ſuch as are adepts in muſic.

The *enharmonic* is the *moſt* refined and difficult of all, and has been received and practiſed only by the greateſt artiſts.

The ancients have related ſuch wonders of this long-loſt, and long-lamented genus, that a particular diſcuſſion ſeems neceſſary here concerning its exiſtence and properties. There is nothing ſo difficult to the conception of modern muſicians, as that pleaſing effects ſhould ever have been produced by intervals, which they themſelves are unable to form, and to which, if they could form and introduce them into *melody*, no *harmony* could be given, that would be agreeable to the ear, or the rules of counterpoint.

And there are ſo many inconſiſtencies in the accounts of ancient authors concerning this kind of muſic, that nothing but an hypotheſis can reconcile them to probability. With the permiſſion, therefore, of my readers, I ſhall venture to throw together my conjectures upon this ſubject in that form; aſſuring them, at the ſame time, that it is the only hypotheſis which I intend to hazard in the courſe of this work.

Old Enharmonic.

FROM ſeveral paſſages in ancient authors who have written upon muſic, it appears that there were two kinds of *enharmonic* melodies in uſe among the Greeks; in the moſt ancient of which we do not find that the *Dieſis* or *Quarter-tone*, ever had admiſſion.

(*d*) P. 19. Edit. Meibom.

(*e*) A learned friend has propoſed a natural and eaſy correction of the text in this paſſage, which, as it ſtands in Meibomius, is ſcarce intelligible. It conſiſts only in a tranſpoſition of the terminations of the two laſt characteriſtic adjectives.

miſſion. This I ſhall diſtinguiſh, in the courſe of the following eſſay, by the title of *Old Enharmonic*. The other, in which the ſemitone was divided, and which ſeems to have been a refinement upon this, I ſhall call *New Enharmonic*.

"The number of *four ſtrings*, from which the tetrachord derived its name, ſays M. Rouſſeau (*a*), was ſo far from being eſſential, that we find tetrachords in ancient muſic which had only *three*. Such, for ſome time, were the *enharmonic* tetrachords." He mentions the ſame circumſtance in ſpeaking of the invention of the *enharmonic genus* by Olympus (*b*).

Now, as the only ſource of theſe aſſertions ſeems to be a paſſage in Plutarch's Dialogue on Muſic, which is really curious, I ſhall here inſert as faithful a tranſlation of it as poſſible.

"Olympus, as Ariſtoxenus informs us (*c*), is thought by mu-" ſicians to have invented the *enharmonic genus:* for before his " time, all was *diatonic* and *chromatic*. He is ſuppoſed to have " hit upon the invention *in ſome ſuch way* as *this:* while he was " preluding in the diatonic genus, it is imagined that paſſing fre-" quently in his melody from *Parameſe*, and from *Meſe* to *Parhy-" pate Meſon*, *ſkipping over the Lichanos*, he obſerved the beauty " of the *effect:* *το καλλος του ηθους*, *effect*, *manner*, or *expreſſion*, and " forming then the whole ſyſtem (of the octachord or heptachord, " as I underſtand it) according to this analogy (*d*), and being ſtruck " with it, he adopted and compoſed in it, in the Dorian mode, " without touching any ſtring *peculiar* to the diatonic, to the " chromatic, or indeed to the *enharmonic*; and ſuch were his *en-" harmonic melodies*. For the *firſt* of theſe they reckon to have " been the *nome* or melody called *Spondean*; in which melody " *none of the diviſions* of the tetrachord (i. e. the *genera*) *ſhow " their peculiar characters* (*e*)." (* *).

(*a*) Dict. de Muſ. Art. TETRACHORDE.

(*b*) Art. ENHARMONIQUE.

(*c*) In a work that is not extant.

(*d*) That is, miſſing the third ſound, *aſcending*, in every tetrachord which he uſed. What kind of melody would be produced from ſuch a mutilated ſcale, will be ſhewn further on.

(*e*) This is, plainly, *enharmonic*, *without the quarter-tone*.—Here a long unintelligible parentheſis is omitted.

"For

" For the *cloſe enharmonic* εναρμονιον πυκνον, *now in uſe (f)*, ſeems " not to have been invented by this muſician; as any one may " eaſily be convinced, that attends to a performer on the flute, " who plays in the old-faſhioned ſtyle: for ſuch players chuſe to " make the ſemitone an *uncompounded interval*. Such then were " the *original enharmonic* melodies; but, afterwards, the *ſemitone* " *was divided*, in the Lydian, and Phrygian modes. Thus it ap- " pears that Olympus improved the art, by introducing a man- " ner that was new and unknown to former muſicians, and was " the great leader and author of the *genuine* and beautiful *Greek* " *muſic (g)*."

M. Burette, who has publiſhed the whole Dialogue of Plutarch, with a tranſlation, and an ample commentary, in the Memoirs of the Academy of Inſcriptions and Belles Lettres, ſeems unable to account for Olympus touching *no ſound peculiar* to any one of the three genera: however, nothing in the Dialogue is clearer, than that Plutarch means to ſay that the three notes uſed by Olympus in each tetrachord were common to *all* the genera: he neither introduced *Lichanos diatonos*, which is peculiar to the *diatonic*; nor *Lichanos chromaticos*; nor even, ſays Plutarch, the ſound *now* eſſential to the *enharmonic*; that is, neither D natural, C ſharp, nor the enharmonic B ×.

But M. Burette confounds the *old* enharmonic with the *new*. He will have the *ſpondean* melody to have been in the *Phrygian*

(*f*) That is, *with* the *Dieſis*, or true enharmonic quarter-tone.

(*g*) Ὀλυμπος δε, (ως Αριστοξενος φησιν) υπολαμβανεται υπο των μουσικων τα εναρμονια γενης ευρεσης γενεσθαι. τα γαρ προ εκεινου παλαια, διατονα και χρωματικα ην. υπονοουσι δε την ευρεσιν τοι αυλην τινα γενεσθαι. αναστρεφομενον τον Ολυμπον εν τω διατονω, και διαβιβαζοντα το μελος πολλακις επι την διατονον παρυπατην, τοτε μεν απο της παραμεσης, τοτε δε απο της μεσης, και παραβαινοντα την διατονον λιχανον καταμαθειν το καλλος τω ηθους, και ουτω το εκ της αναλογιας συνεχικος συστημα θαυμασαι και αποδεξαμενον, εν τουτω ποιειν επι τα Δωρια τονα ουδε γαρ των του διατονου ιδιων ετε των του χρωματος απτεσθαι, αλλα εδε των της αρμονιας. εἶναι δ'αυτῳ τα πρωτα των εναρμονιων τον αυτα. Τιθεασι γαρ τουτων πρωτον τον σπονδειον, εν ῳ ουδεμια των διαιρεσεων το ιδιον εμφαινει. * το γαρ εν ταις μεσαις εναρμονιον πυκνον, ῳ νυν χρωνται, ε δοκει τω ποιητε ειναι. ραδιον δ'εστι συνιδειν, εαν τις αρχαικως τινος αυλητου ακουση. ασυνθετον γαρ βουλεται ειναι, και το εν ταις μεσαις ημιτονιον. τα μεν ουν πρωτα των εναρμονιων, τοιαυτα. υστερον δε το ημιτονιον διηρεθη, εντε τοις Λυδιοις, και εν τοις Φρυγιοις. Φαινεται δ'Ολυμπος αυξησας μουσικην, τω αγνωτον τι, και αγνουμενον υπο των εμπροσθεν εισαγαγειν, και αρχηγος γενεσθαι της Ελληνικης και καλης μουσικης.

mode

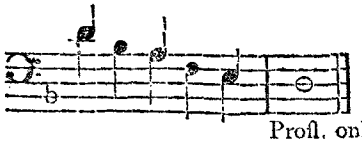
mode mentioned by Ariſtides Quintilianus, p. 21; though in that the *Dieſis is* admitted; and Plutarch ſays expreſsly that this old melody did *not* admit any *characteriſtics* of the genera. And all this he does merely to explain an unintelligible parentheſis, which is better omitted, unleſs ſome ſenſe could be given to it that would not militate with the reſt of the text, which is clear and intelligible without it.

M. Burette muſt be allowed the merit of great diligence and learning; but he does not ſeem always to have been poſſeſſed of an equal ſhare of ſagacity, or with courage ſufficient to confeſs himſelf unable to explain inexplicable paſſages in his author. He never ſees a difficulty; he explains all. Hence, amidſt great erudition, and knowledge of antiquity, there are a thouſand unintelligible explanations in his notes upon Plutarch. *En ecrivant*, ſaid Fontenelle, *j'ai toujours taché de m'entendre.*—An admirable rule! which every writer ought to adopt.

Thus much is ſaid, not with a view to depreciate the merit of M. Burette, to whom almoſt all late writers on muſic have had great obligations, and whoſe labours have been of ſingular ſervice to myſelf, among the reſt; but to ſhew how few authors are to be always followed implicitly, or read without precaution.

The paſſage of Plutarch relative to *Old Enharmonic* is rendered fairly, and as near *literally* as poſſible. It muſt be remembered that the Dorian mode, in which Olympus is ſaid to have compoſed his melodies, anſwers to our key of D natural. Now, in the tetrachords of this mode, if we omit every third ſound, we ſhall have the following melody, whether Olympus had two conjunct, or two disjunct tetrachords for his ſyſtem.

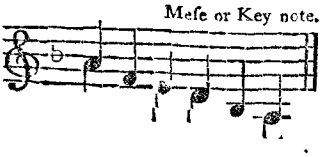
Conj.



Proſl. only wanting to complete the octave.

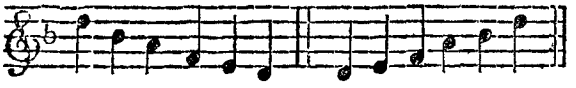
Meſe or Key note.

Disj.



Both

Both theſe ſcales contain only the intervals to be found in the following octave.

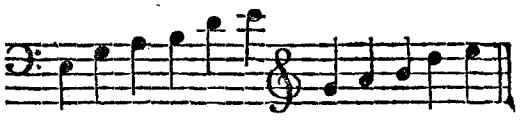


Now this is exactly the old Scots ſcale in the minor key; a circumſtance which muſt ſtrike every one who reads the paſſage of Plutarch, that is at all acquainted with the intervals of the Greek ſcale, and with Scots muſic.

The abbé Rouſſier, in the ſecond article of his *Memoire ſur la Muſique des Anciens*, ſpeaks of an old Chineſe ſcale of ſix notes, mentioned by Rameau. It is preſerved in numbers; and, according to Rameau's interpretation, who applies the numbers to aſcending fifths, they produce the very identical Scots ſcale, adding only a note to complete the octave. C, D, E, G, A, cc. The abbé contends that Rameau is wrong; and indeed the argument he uſes againſt him concerning lengths aud vibrations, Sect. XXI. does ſeem plauſible; but the abbé had the *intereſt of a ſyſtem* to biaſs him in determining this matter, which Rameau had not. It muſt be confeſſed, at leaſt, that Rameau's interpretation forms the more *probable* and natural ſcale: becauſe, like the Scots, and the *Old Enharmonic*, it leaves out the *fourth* and *ſeventh* of the key. The only ſpecimen of Chineſe muſic which M. Rouſſeau has given in his Dictionary, from Du Halde, ſeems to confirm Rameau's ſcale: for except in one paſſage, at the beginning of the third bar, where F natural comes in ſo aukwardly, as to raiſe a ſuſpicion that it has been inſerted by a miſtake of the engraver, the *fourth* and *ſeventh* of the key are ſcrupulouſly miſſed throughout; and nothing can be more Scottiſh than the whole caſt of the air.

All the ſpecimens that I have been able to collect of Chineſe melody, ſeveral of which will be given among the examples of national muſic in the ſecond volume, are of this caſt. Indeed they muſt be ſo, in compliance with the conſtruction of their inſtruments, in which there are *no ſemitones*. One of theſe I ſaw when I was laſt at Paris: it was in the poſſeſſion of the abbé

Arnaud of the French Academy, and was a kind of *Sticcado*, conſiſting of bars of wood of different lengths, as ſonorous as if they had been of metal: theſe were placed acroſs a hollow veſſel reſembling the hulk of a ſhip. The compaſs was two octaves, and the intervals were arranged in the following order:



Now no muſic can be compoſed from ſuch a ſcale that will not remind us of the melody of Scotland, which will hereafter be proved of a much higher antiquity than has generally been imagined.

With reſpect to the muſic of China, Dr. Lind, an excellent judge of the ſubject, and philoſophically curious about every thing that relates to it, after reſiding a conſiderable time in that country, aſſured me that all the melodies he had heard there bore a ſtrong reſemblance to the *old Scots tunes*. And Dr. Ruſſel has favoured me with twelve Chineſe airs, that were brought from China by his brother, the late Claud Ruſſel, Eſq. of the Bengal council; all which confirm what has been ſaid of the want of ſemitones in the Chineſe ſcale, and of the ſtrong reſemblance between theſe airs, and thoſe of Scotland, by the omiſſion of the 4th and 7th of the key. Theſe airs are all in common time, and have words to them.

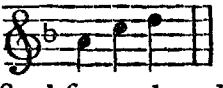
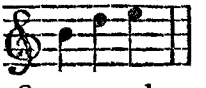
I muſt add that ſince the publication of the firſt edition of this volume, I have received anſwers to ſome muſical queries which I ſent to Canton, in China. Theſe were tranſlated into French and Italian, and tranſmitted to Pekin, and into a province remote from that capital. One of theſe queries concerned the Chineſe *Muſical Scale*, which an Italian miſſionary, who has reſided at Pekin more than thirty years, and is a good muſician, affirms to be *without Semitones (g)*.

But to return to the *old* enharmonic of Olympus. What degree of authority is to be allowed to the paſſage in Plutarch concerning the manner of its invention, I will not pretend to deter-

(g) *La Cineſi nella loro Muſica non hanno* Semituoni.

mine

mine. No other author whatever, that I have been able to conſult, tells this ſtory; though many beſides Ariſtoxenus, from whom Plutarch quotes the account, have attributed to Olympus the invention of the enharmonic genus. But if there had been two ſorts of enharmonic, an ancient and a modern, it may ſeem ſomewhat ſtrange that not *one* of the many authors who treat of the genera, ſhould ſay a word to this purpoſe. We may obſerve, however, that it came more in the way of an *hiſtorical* than a *technical* treatiſe; and this Dialogue of Plutarch is the only hiſtorical tract upon muſic that is come down to us *(h)*. Indeed the account is not given in ſuch terms as would make us ſuppoſe it merely the hypotheſis of an individual; but rather an old traditional opinion current among all the muſicians.

But the *Lichanos*, or third ſound from the bottom of a tetrachord, ſeems not to have been the only one which the old Grecian harpers and pipers were fond of miſſing in their melodies. Plutarch obſerves (*i*), that in what he calls the σπονδειακῳ, σπονδειαζοντι τροπῳ, they abſtained from the uſe of *Trite*, or third ſound from the top of a tetrachord, ſkipping over which, aſcending, they uſed to "διαβιβαζειν το μελος," i. e. "*carry the melody over to Paranete.*"  or 

I muſt juſt obſerve that the octave produced by miſſing the *third* note downwards in two tetrachords, as the ſecond was miſſed in the enharmonic of Olympus, gives exactly the Chineſe ſcale of the abbe Rouſſier (*k*), and that of the inſtrument in the poſſeſſion of the abbé Arnaud.

Now what is τροπος σπονδειαζων, the ſpondean mode or manner? It looks as if it was the ſame thing as the *ſpondean* melody, that is, the *libation tune* of Olympus, one of thoſe which were ſtill extant in Plutarch's time; for he ſays "the Greeks now uſe them upon feſtivals."

(h) The book of Ariſtoxenus, which Plutarch quotes as his authority, was, according to M. Burette, *hiſtorical*. Mem. de Lit. tom. x. p. 309.

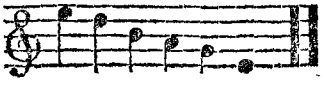
(i) Ib. 136.

(k) Vide p. 24, of the Mem.

Plutarch talks likewiſe of the old maſters omitting *Nete*, the higheſt ſound of a tetrachord; not through ignorance, ſays he, for they uſed both that and *Trite* in their inſtrumental muſic; but in their vocal melody, "it would have been a diſgrace to a muſician to have uſed the *Nete*;" perhaps from the impropriety of ſtraining the voice in the execution of a note that was too high for its natural compaſs, *Nete* being the laſt and higheſt note of the ſcale in all the modes.

The perplexity occaſioned by the change of names according to the gradual extenſion of the ſyſtem, and the uncertainty what ſyſtem is really here underſtood, whether heptachord or octachord, disjunct or conjunct, throws undoubtedly a thick fog over all this account in Plutarch's Dialogue. However, I ſtill think it by far the moſt curious paſſage about the ancient muſic that I have ever met with: as it is the *only* one that tends to any thing *like* a deſcription of what old Greek melody was. All the rules for it in Ariſtoxenus furniſh not a ſingle idea. The accounts of the *genera* do indeed give us an idea of the intervals in each; yet it is an idea that we know not what to do with. But when we hear of conſtantly ſkipping notes in a diatonic ſcale, we really do acquire *ſome* idea, however general.

There is nothing that gives a ſtronger character, or ἦθος, as the Greeks called it, to a melody, than the conſtant or *uſual* omiſſion of particular notes in the ſcale. Suppoſe it uncertain from this paſſage *what* notes were miſſed; yet the general fact, that theſe old muſicians, compoſers of the ancient genuine Greek muſic, which Plato, Ariſtotle, and all the writers ſpeak of as ſo excellent and ſuperior to the more modern, *did* delight to break the diatonic progreſſion, to διαβιβαζειν, or *ſtride* over certain notes in the melody, ſeems pretty clear: and this ſurely renders it highly probable, that the caſt of the old national Greek airs was much like that of the old Scots muſic. If they had melodies where the *Lichanos* was omitted, they muſt have been *very* like; but even the *Trite* omitted gives ſtill a ſtrong Scottiſh tincture to an air



: for if we ſuppoſe the key note to be G inſtead

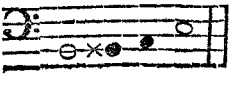
inſtead of E; a major key inſtead of a minor, this omiſſion gives preciſely the Scots ſcale. And I believe, in general, that the omiſſion of any notes in the ſcale, producing ſkips of *thirds*, will have much the ſame effect on the ear.

The Chineſe ſcale, take it which way we will, is certainly very Scottiſh. It is not my intention to inſinuate by this that the one nation had its muſic from the other, or that either was obliged to ancient Greece for its melody; though there is a ſtrong reſemblance in all three. The ſimilarity, however, at leaſt proves them all to be more natural than they at firſt ſeem to be, as well as more ancient. The Chineſe are extremely tenacious of old cuſtoms, and equally enemies to innovation with the ancient Ægyptians, which favours the idea of the high antiquity of this ſimple muſic; and as there is reaſon to believe it very like that of the moſt ancient Greek melodies, it is not difficult to ſuppoſe it to be a ſpecies of muſic that is natural to a people of ſimple manners during the infancy of civilization and arts among them. In this and in other perplexing points, it is my ſincere wiſh to leave the mind of my reader ſomething, at leaſt, *like* an idea to *faſten* upon; and what conveys the fulleſt conviction to my own mind, I ſhall, in general, adhere to, without unhinging all belief, by quoting a crowd of heterogeneous opinions upon the ſame ſubject. Beſides, if I wiſhed to give all the chaos of commentatorſhip, I could not, for want of room.

I ſhall therefore proceed to ſpeak of the more artful and

Modern Enharmonic.

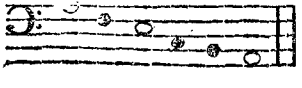
THE account already given of the invention of Olympus ſeems not only to furniſh ſome idea of the *old* Greek melody, but helps, I think, to make the *true* enharmonic with the *Dieſis*, ſomewhat leſs inconceivable than it would be without this idea of its origin.

If we take the enharmonic tetrachord  by itſelf,

ſelf, it appears wholly ſtrange and unaccountable; not only from the divided ſemitone, but from the ſkip of a *Ditone*, which the melody was confined to in its progreſs, after the two *Dieſes* in *aſcending*, or before them, in *deſcending*. M. Burette accounts for this rule, from the limited number of ſtrings: "The tetrachord had but four ſtrings, ſays he; three of theſe were occupied by the ſemitone and its diviſion: it was therefore matter of neceſſity to ſkip to the upper note of the tetrachord, a ſtable ſound, which could not be diſpenſed with." This may, of neceſſity, have been the caſe during the early ages of muſic in Greece; but afterwards the cuſtom muſt have been continued through choice, and in compliance with venerable and eſtabliſhed melodies uſed in religious ceremonies, which admitted of no change for many ages. And it is eaſy to conceive that after a nation has been long accuſtomed to the omiſſion of certain ſounds in their melodies, they will not ſoon be reconciled to the uſe of them. This is the caſe in the muſic of Scotland, where no ancient tune is thought to be genuine, unleſs certain ſounds are omitted.

But the reaſon aſſigned by M. Burette for the omiſſion of certain ſounds in the chromatic and enharmonic genera, for want of a ſufficient number of ſtrings in the *Lyre*, is invalidated by a paſſage in Ariſtoxenus, p. 28, where he lays down the ſame rule for the *voice*, and where the lyre is out of the queſtion, as he is expreſsly conſidering the *natural vocal ſucceſſion*. Indeed the voice and lyre were alternately ſubſervient to each other. In very early times the lyre ſeems to have governed the voice, and to have regulated its intervals and compaſs by the ſmall number of ſtrings with which it was furniſhed; though, afterwards, the extent of the voice long bounded the ſcale of inſtruments by which it was accompanied.

The ſtory of Olympus, however, accounts reaſonably for the continuance of wide intervals in the enharmonic genus; the firſt ſcale of which being, according to Plutarch, this:



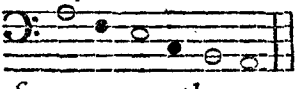
was certainly a natural and pleaſing melody, though

though of an antique and melancholy caſt. Now according to this relation, which I firmly think I believe, for

——————— *l'uom ſuole*
Dar facile credenza à quel che vuole,

the *Dieſis* was, at firſt, inſerted into melodies of this kind, as a ſort of accidental *grace*, though in later times it became eſſential to the genus (*l*). Even at the period when Plutarch wrote his Dialogue, we find there were old-faſhioned players on the flute, who omitted the *diviſion* of the ſemitone, in playing muſic that was ſtill reckoned *enharmonic*; the obſervation would otherwiſe have no meaning.

How this *quarter-tone* could be managed ſo as to be rendered pleaſing, ſtill remains a myſtery; yet the *difficulty* of ſplitting a ſemitone into two equal parts, or even dividing it into more minute tervals, is leſs, perhaps, than has been imagined. When it is practiſed by a capital ſinger, or a good performer on the violin, or hautbois, at a pauſe, how wide it ſeems!

When the *Dieſis* is thus conſidered as a grace, or a note of taſte, it renders the genus not only conceivable, but practicable; for then the *natural outline*  of the *Old Enharmonic* ſtill remains in full force upon the ear.

But there are other difficulties concerning the *enharmonic*, which this account, in a great meaſure, clears up. Plutarch expreſsly ſays, p. 162, that among the old artiſts the *enharmonic* was ſolely, or almoſt ſolely, in uſe, and that "*they gave themſelves no trouble about diatonic or chromatic.*" And Ariſtoxenus ſays the ſame: his expreſſion is, that "*they had no idea of them.*" M. Burette would confine this preference to theoriſts and writers on the ſubject; but nothing can be clearer than that there was an age when the *enharmonic*, *ſome kind of enharmonic*, at leaſt, was practically

(*l*) The muſical reader muſt recollect the origin of ſeveral faſhionable licences and innovations in modern muſic, which, though uſed and tolerated at firſt only as notes of taſte and embelliſhment, are now become eſſential to good melody.

pre-

preferred to the other genera; and it is more than probable that this age was the early time of muſic in Greece, when the art was confeſſedly in its moſt *ſimple* ſtate; when muſic was, according to all the deſcriptions of Plato, Plutarch, and others, ſolemn, majeſtic, and uſed for no other than ſolemn and majeſtic purpoſes.

Plutarch expreſsly ſays, that the *ancients* were *attached* to the enharmonic, δια σεμνοτητα, that is, on "*account of its gravity.*" The whole drift of his Dialogue is to apologize for the old muſicians, the very practiſers of the enharmonic, upon the ſcore of its ſimplicity, and to ſhew that it proceeded not from ignorance, but from choice.

The *chromatic*, agreeably to this idea, is every where ſpoken of as a more refined and new-fangled thing. Plutarch, p. 140, mentions a number of old muſicians, who *purpoſely abſtained* from the chromatic, as if it was a wicked modern innovation. It is mentioned as ſuch in the curious decree of the Spartans againſt Timotheus; nay, it is even ſaid, in the copy of that decree, at the end of the Oxford Aratus, that "he ſubſtituted *his chromatic* inſtead of *their enharmonic*;" though ſome tranſlators have omitted theſe words, perhaps becauſe they could not conceive how the enharmonic could poſſibly be more ſimple muſic. A paſſage in Ariſtoxenus, p. 23, ſeems to admit the ſame conſtruction; where, ſpeaking of the innovators of his time, and their tuning the enharmonic, which was then expiring, like the chromatic, he ſays, the reaſon was, that they always wanted to γλυκαινειν, that is, *to put more ſugar in their muſic.*

How can we reconcile all this with the common *genealogy* of the genera, 1. Diatonic, 2. Chromatic, 3. Enharmonic? Or with the general idea of the Enharmonic being the *laſt* and almoſt *impracticable* refinement of the art?

But if, as the account of Plutarch ſays, the ſimple melody of Olympus was called Enharmonic, it is at leaſt very natural to ſuſpect that all this may be meant of *that* enharmonic, which was certainly more ſimple than the *Chromatic*, and even than the *ſtrict Diatonic*, by conjoint degrees; as the fourth and ſeventh, the two notes of the ſcale that are of the moſt difficult intonation, were

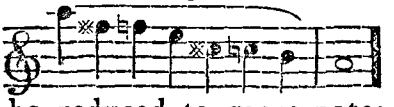
not

not admitted into its melodies. The fourth is ſo aukward an interval, that it is not only difficult to ſound it correctly upon wind inſtruments, but ſuch as I have obſerved few *natural* unguided fingers are able to ſing in tune. The ſame may be ſaid of the ſeventh, which in deſcending, the ear rather requires to be ſharp: it ſeems only for the ſake of the ſixth that it is ſometimes made flat in minor-keys; on which account Rameau conſiders it merely as a *paſſing-note*, ſerving only to lead more ſmoothly to the ſixth, and which ſhould not, properly, be taken account of in the *fundamental baſe*.

This *ſuſpicion*, which is all I ſhall venture to call it, naturally therefore preſents itſelf: not that I would willingly lean harder upon it than it will bear. All the writers agree that the diatonic and chromatic exiſted *before* the enharmonic; but by the expreſſions they uſe, and by talking of φυσις, *nature* (*n*). they ſeem to mean the new and *difficult enharmonic*, and rather to ſpeak according to what they thought *naturally muſt* have been, than upon any *hiſtorical* certainty concerning a matter ſo remote, even from the oldeſt writer on muſic, Ariſtoxenus.

However, ſetting *this* ſuſpicion aſide, the account given by Plutarch ſeems ſtill greatly to help to clear up the myſtery; becauſe it ſhews us, that even after the introduction of the *Dieſis*, the enharmonic, by preſerving the old Olympic form of the melody, might ſtill be regarded as more pleaſing, natural, and ſimple, than the other genera: at leaſt than the *chromatic*, which, though its *Dieſis*, or ſemitone, be in itſelf eaſier to form and to ſing than the other, is yet, taking in all circumſtances, more unnatural, more diſtracting to the ear, more complicated as to the fundamental baſe, which guides the ear of modern muſicians, than the *enharmonic*; the σεμνοτης,, or *gravity*, of which, and the *ſimplicity implied* in it, muſt have conſiſted, not in the *divided* ſemitone, which ſome muſicians, even in Plutarch's time, we ſee, omitted, but in the old favourite *Scottiſh melody*, which then ſubſiſted: the quarter-tone

(*n*) See Ariſtox. p. 19, and Plut. p. 138.

that had crept into it being probably regarded as an accidental embelliſhment of the air, which upon the whole was to the ear what Plutarch, p. 136, calls τριχορδον και ἁπλεν; that is, "*three-ſtringed, and ſimple.*" At leaſt it ſeems more eaſy to conceive the execution of the enharmonic poſſible *as mere melody*, than the ancient chromatic, where harmony ſeems wanting to guide the ear, and which has the appearance of being both in a major and minor key at the ſame time:  And none of theſe ſounds can eaſily be reduced to mere notes of taſte, all are fundamentally conſequential to the harmony, and leave no natural *outline* of melody for the ear to ſeize, like the *Enharmonic*.

SECTION III.

Of the Modes.

A *Mode*, in ancient muſic, was equivalent to a *Key*, in the modern (*a*). And Bryennius ſays in expreſs terms, page 481 (*b*), that the *tones* or *modes* differ from each other in nothing elſe but the being ſituated in a higher or lower pitch of the voice or inſtrument; which is but ſaying that the modes differed from each other only by tranſpoſition.

Ariſtoxenus admitted of but thirteen modes, though ſubſequent muſicians allowed of fifteen; and this is the number of which Alypius has given us a diagram in all the three genera.

Theſe are placed by every muſical writer, anterior to Ptolemy, at the diſtance of half a tone from each other. And as it is generally agreed that the loweſt of the Greek modes, which was called *Hypodorian*, had its *proſlambanomenos*, or loweſt ſound, in that part of the modern ſcale which is expreſſed by A upon the

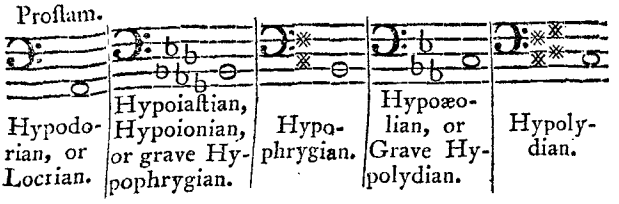
(*a*) Τονος, τροπος, *modus*, *mode*, *tone*, and *key*, are ſynonimous terms, both in ancient and modern muſic.

(*b*) Edit. Wallis.

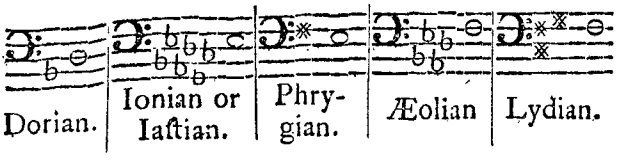
firſt ſpace in the baſe, the following table will convey an idea to the muſical reader of the comparative ſituation of the reſt.

TABLE of the MODES.

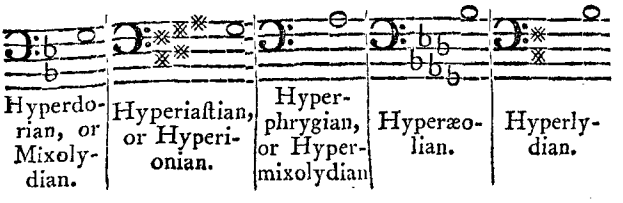
Grave Modes.



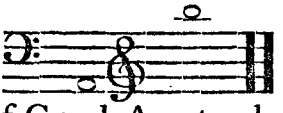
Middle and original Modes.



Acute.



It was with reaſon that Ariſtoxenus refuſed admiſſion to the two laſt of the fifteen modes, which are only octaves of the ſecond and third, as the thirteenth is of the firſt.

A ſcale of two octaves being allowed to each of theſe modes, the whole extent and compaſs of the fifteen was from *Proſlambanomenos*, in the Hypodorian mode, to *Nete hyperbolæon*, in the Hyperlydian, three octaves and a tone, from our A in the baſe, to B in the treble 

As the keys of C and A natural are repreſentatives of all other keys in modern muſic, the ſcales which have been given, page 25, to exemplify the *Genera*, will ſhew the intervals of the Hypodorian mode, and ſerve as types of all other modes admitted into the muſic of the ancient Greeks.

Pliny tells us that the three firſt, and original modes were the *Phrygian*, *Dorian*, and *Lydian*; ſo named after the ſeveral countries where they were invented and chiefly uſed; though Heraclides of Pontus aſſerts that the *Æolian*, *Dorian*, and *Ionian*, were of the moſt ancient and general uſe among the firſt inhabitants of Greece. However that may have been, it ſeems probable that the five modes mentioned by theſe two authors were in uſe long before the reſt, which, in proceſs of time, as the muſical ſcale was extended by new improvements and new inſtruments, were placed above and below them, and diſtinguiſhed by the prepoſitions ὑπο and ὑπερ, *under* and *upper*.

There is a paſſage in Ariſtides Quintilianus, p. 23, which ſeems to point out ſomething like *connection* and *relation* between the five original modes, and thoſe above and below them. He ſays, after having enumerated the fifteen modes, "By this means, *each mode* has βαρυτητα, και μεσοτητα, και ὀξυτητα, its *bottom*, its *middle*, and its *top*, or its grave, mean, and acute."

This ſeems to imply that the three modes of DORIAN, Hypodorian, and Hyperdorian, for inſtance, were conſidered, in a manner, as one: and as if the two modes belonging to each of the five middle ones, a fourth above, and a fourth below, were regarded as neceſſary *adjuncts*, without which they were not complete.

Purſuing this idea, if we place the five moſt ancient and original modes in the middle, between the lower and the higher modes of the ſame name, they will have very much the appearance of our relative keys in modern muſic.

Fourth below.	Principal.	Fourth above.
Hypodorian,	DORIAN,	Hyperdorian.
Hypoiaſtian,	IASTIAN,	Hyperiaſtian.
Hypophrygian,	PHRYGIAN,	Hyperphrygian, or Hypermixolydian.
Hypoæolian,	ÆOLIAN,	Hyperæolian.
Hypolydian,	LYDIAN,	Hyperlydian.

Theſe

Theſe anſwer to the following keys in preſent uſe:

A,	D,	G.
Bb	Eb,	Ab.
B,	E,	A.
C,	F,	Bb.
C♯,	F♯,	B.

And amount to the ſame thing as our fifth above, and fifth below a key. Indeed if the ears of the Greeks were not totally different from ours, theſe muſt have been the firſt and moſt natural modulations.

It is worth obſerving, that though the modes in the diagrams of Alypius are placed at the diſtance only of half a tone from each other, yet, in giving the notation of each, he ranks them in the following order, in all the genera.

LYDIAN,	Hypolydian,	Hyperlydian.
ÆOLIAN,	Hypoæolian,	Hyperæolian.
PHRYGIAN,	Hypophrygian,	Hyperphrygian.
IASTIAN,	Hypoiaſtian,	Hyperiaſtian.
DORIAN,	Hypodorian.	Hyperdorian.

It is very remarkable that all the ancient modes or keys were *minor*, which muſt have given a melancholy caſt to their melody in general; and however ſtrange this may appear, it is as certain as any point concerning ancient muſic can be, that no proviſion was made for a major-key in any of the ancient treatiſes or ſyſtems that are come down to us.

But one nation may be prejudiced, by long habit, to a major ſcale, another to a minor; as well as to certain ſkips in their melody, like the Scots; and to a certain meaſure, like the Poles.

This is not the place to reaſon upon the ſubject; but taking the fact for granted, it makes the relations of the modes, by fourths, the more natural. For Tartini's obſervation ſeems true, that the change into the fourth of a minor key is much more agreeable than into that of a major. Indeed the ancients could ſcarce have any other change conſiſtently with their rule of modulation, which ſays,

ſays, that the tranſition ſhould be by *conſonant* intervals. Now the octave producing no change, there remains only the fourth or fifth above or below; for the third was a *diſſonant* interval in their theory.

It is ſome ſatisfaction, however, to find the Greek rules for modulation, their *change*, κατα τονον, ſo nearly correſpond with our own. When Ptolemy, page 131 (*m*) recommends the taking thoſe keys firſt that are at *conſonant diſtances*, and tells us that the tranſition from one tone to another *next* to it, is diſagreeable, it accords very well with our modern doctrine and practice, and with Rameau's rule for a *relative ſucceſſion* of chords. Indeed there is a paſſage in Euclid that is ſtill leſs equivocal: he ſays, page 21, ſpeaking of *modulation*, "Tranſitions are made, ſome by conſonant, and "ſome by diſſonant intervals; and of theſe ſome are more, and "ſome leſs, melodious. The moſt melodious are thoſe in which "there is *moſt connection*; where the two modes have *moſt in com-*"*mon*: thoſe are leſs melodious, which have leſs participation." He goes on to explain in what this *communio* conſiſts; the text is obſcure; but I think a meaning is diſcoverable, which has eſcaped Meibomius, both in tranſlating, and in commenting, the paſſage.

Every writer on the ſubject of muſic, till the time of Ptolemy, regarded the fourth as the *firſt concord*, and dividing all the fifteen modes into tetrachords, regulated the ſcale in all the genera, by that interval. But Ptolemy, about the year one hundred and thirty of the Chriſtian æra, and four hundred and fifty years from the time in which Ariſtoxenus flouriſhed, propoſed a new doctrine and reform in the ancient muſical ſyſtem; in which he reduced the fifteen modes to ſeven, and made the diapaſon, or octave, the regulator of his ſcales, not by abandoning the tetrachords, for he regulated the genera by thoſe intervals in the ſame manner as his predeceſſors; but in his reduction of the modes he kept them within the bounds of the *octave*, and made their number equal to the *ſpecies of diapaſon*. The ancient names of Dorian, Hypodo-

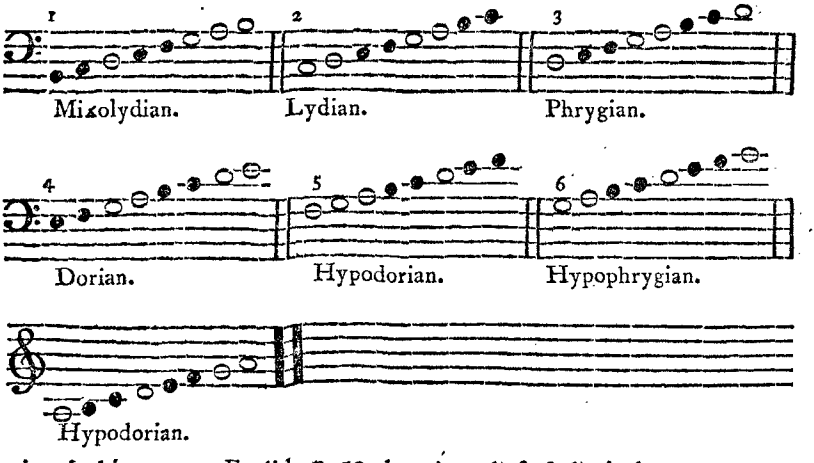
(*m*) Cap. 9. lib. ii.

rian,

rian, Lydian, Hypolydian, Phrygian, Hypophrygian, and Mixolydian, he retained, as well as their *relative places* or *diſtances* from each other; but it has been miſrepreſented as his intention to alter the *pitch* of all the modes, by raiſing the *Proſlambanomenos* of each a fifth higher. The only ground for this opinion is in the eleventh chapter of his ſecond book, where having occaſion to exemplify in *ſome one* octave, the manner in which the *Meſes* of his ſeven modes would occupy all its notes, he choſe that octave between e and E, as he ſays himſelf, preferably to any other part of the Greek ſcale, on account of its convenience; as it was ſituated in the middle of the ſcale and voice. But there is not the leaſt reaſon to conclude that he meant to propoſe any *reform*, or to diſturb, in *this* reſpect, the eſtabliſhed *doctrine* and *practice*.

Lemma Roſſi, Bontempi, and moſt of the writers who have mentioned the modes of Ptolemy, have ſuppoſed them to have conſiſted only in different ſpecies of octaves in one key (*n*). But Dr. Wallis, who has tranſlated into Latin the Harmonics of Ptolemy, and reduced his modes to modern notes, makes them all conſiſt of tranſpoſitions of the *Dorian* mode, which Ptolemy calls the firſt, and which Dr. Wallis, after him, has written in the

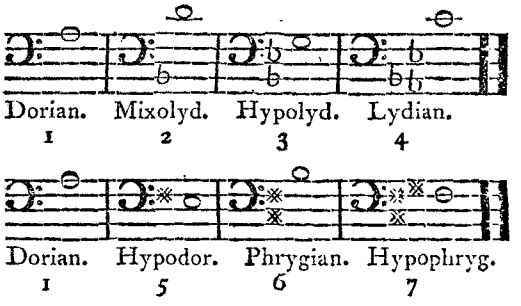
(*n*) Euclid, and Gaudentius after him, have given ſeven ſpecies of octave in one key, which however they call by the names of ſeven of the modes.



Meibomius, in his notes on Euclid, P. 59, has given theſe ſcales in letters,

minor

minor key of A natural, placing it in that part of the ſcale which in *practice* belonged to the *Hypodorian.*



Bacchius ſenior (*o*) places two of theſe modes, the Hypolydian and the Lydian, half a tone higher than Dr. Wallis, who ſeems to have miſtaken their places. The Mixolydian Bacchius makes the higheſt of all, then places the Lydian *half a tone below* it, the Phrygian a tone below the Lydian, the Dorian a tone below the Phrygian, the Hypolydian *half a tone below* the Dorian, the Hypophrygian a tone lower, and the Hypodorian, the loweſt of all, a note below the Hypophrygian.

By the diſpoſition of Ptolemy's modes, it ſeems as if his deſign had been to eſtabliſh a more eaſy and obvious connection and relation between them, than had hitherto been practiſed; for though the modes placed above and below the five principal ones might have been originally intended as their adjuncts, yet from the multiplicity and promiſcuous arrangement of the modes at the diſtance only of a ſemitone above each other, their intimate relation and union had not been ſufficiently attended to. He therefore included all his ſeven modes in the compaſs of an octave, " making, ſays Dr. Wallis, the Dorian the center or mean; after which he placed the Mixolydian a fourth above the Dorian; the Hypolydian a fifth below the Mixolydian; and the Lydian a fourth higher than the Hypolydian. Then, beginning again at the Dorian, he placed the Hypodorian a fourth below it; the Phrygian a fifth above the Hypodorian, and the Hypophrygian a

(*o*) Introd. Artis Muſicæ, Edit. Meibom. p. 12.

fourth

fourth below that." But this round-about order of the modes is not that of Ptolemy; for in his tenth book, chap. ii. the title of which is, *How to adjuſt accurately the Diſtances of the Modes*, he gives his method of taking them by fourths and fifths in the only direct and warrantable way in which they can be taken, according to modern modulation, by beginning at the Mixolydian: D, A, E, B, F♯, C♯, G♯. Now if each of theſe modes produced ſeven ſpecies of diapaſon or octave, the ſeven modes of Ptolemy would furniſh ſeven times ſeven, or forty-nine ſpecies of octave; not indeed all of different kinds, but of different pitch in the ſcale. To each of theſe modes he aſſigned the compaſs of a diſdiapaſon, or double octave, as was the practice in the ancient modes; with this difference, that the firſt and characteriſtic ſound in the fifteen modes was *Proſlambanomenos*, but in thoſe of Ptolemy *Meſe* is made the key note, and the center of the ſcale; which may be ſuppoſed to extend an octave above, and an octave below the ſound given in the table.

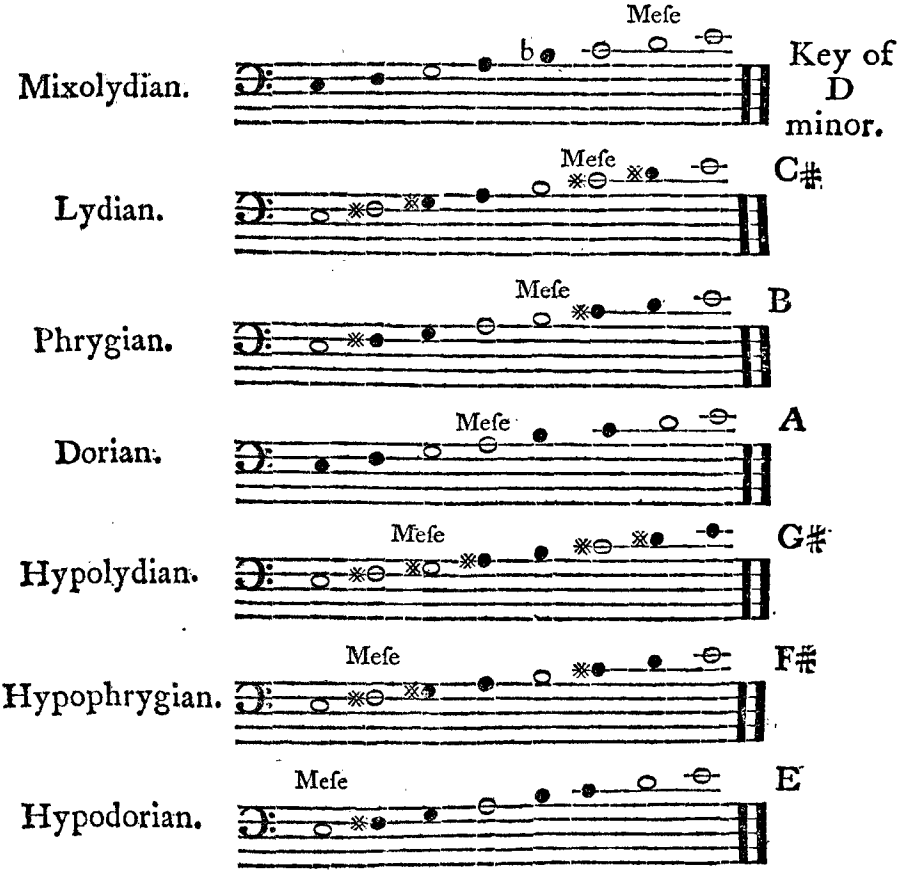
Such was the general opinion concerning the modes of Ptolemy, till Sir Francis Haſkins Eyles Stiles formed an ingenious hypotheſis concerning them, which was read to the Royal Society in 1759, and afterwards publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, vol. LI. part ii. for 1760, under this title: *An Explanation of the Modes or Tones in the ancient Græcian Muſic.* Sir Francis in this Diſſertation endeavours to prove, that the ancients had a *double doctrine* of the modes, an *harmonic* and a *muſical* doctrine. By the *harmonic* doctrine, the modes were all one and the ſame ſeries of intervals, ſuch as the general ſyſtem furniſhes, only at different pitches; by the *muſical*, they conſiſted of ſo many different arrangements of intervals, or ſpecies of octave. Sir Francis regarded the harmonic doctrine as only a *tuning trick*, to produce more readily the different ſpecies of octave between the fixed ſounds (*p*)

He explains this in a diagram, taking his pitch, according to Ptolemy, at *Hypate Meſon*, our E in the baſe, and makes all his

(*p*) His own hypotheſis is too complicated and incompreſſible to be clearly explained here, I muſt therefore refer the curious reader to the Memoir itſelf.

mutations between that ſound and its octave, *Nete Die zeugmenon*. And this, according to Sir F. E. Stiles, is the diapaſon choſen by Ptolemy, cap. 2. lib. ii. for the purpoſe of exhibiting his diviſions of the ſeveral ſpecies.

DIAGRAM of the Species of Diapaſon in the ſeven Modes admitted by Ptolemy, according to the Doctrine of Sir Francis Haſkins Eyles Stiles.



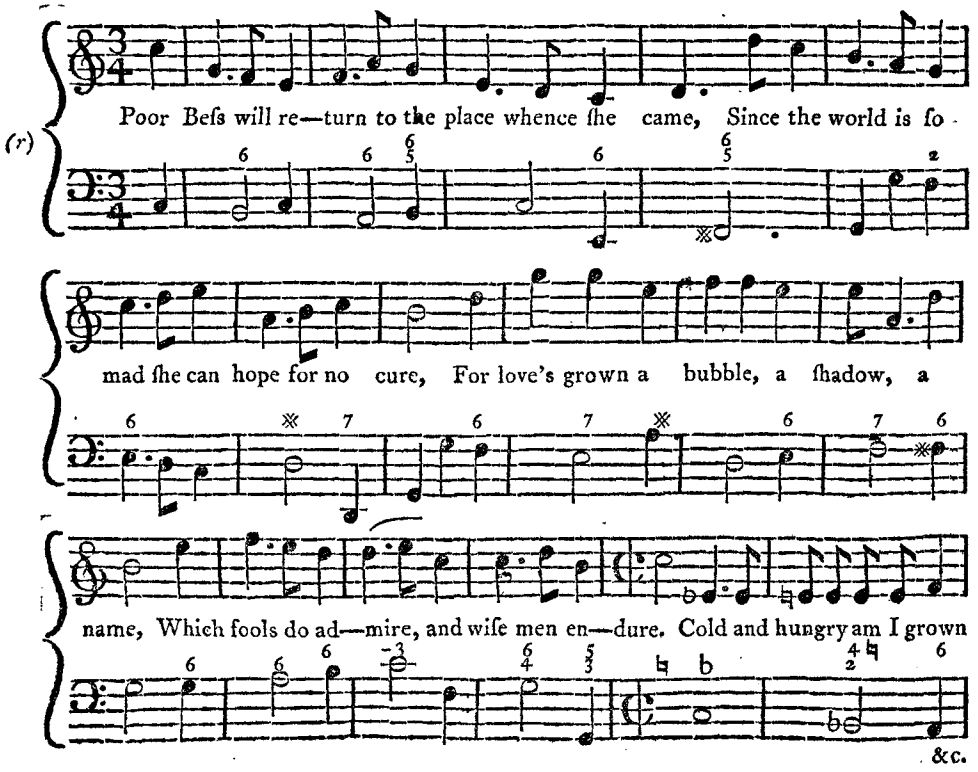
Sir Francis gives quotations from the ancient Greek writers in confirmation of his doctrine, ſeveral of which indeed ſeem favourable to it; at leaſt they imply a difference on ſome occaſions from the

the intervals in the natural or great ſyſtem: this difference he imagines to be expreſſed by the term μεταβολη, *mutation* (*q*).

He very truly aſſerts, that no tranſpoſition of the ſame melody into a higher or lower key, can have ſo powerful an effect as a change in the modulation, or ſucceſſion of intervals; and obſerves, that modern muſic has but two conſiderable changes in the ſame key; theſe are from major to minor, and from minor to major. The firſt ſeems reſerved for pathetic effects: here he inſtances Purcel's happy change of modulation in his *Mad Beſs*, at the words, "Cold and hungry am I grown (*r*)."

Sir Francis aſſigns a greater antiquity to the *muſical* doctrine, than to the *harmonic*, and refers the effects of the modes in early times to the former. "We find, ſays he, in Plutarch, Pliny, and other writers, the invention of particular modes aſcribed to

(*q*) See Sect. IV.



" particular muſicians; which may be accounted for, on the ſuppo-
" ſition that the modes were ſo many different ſpecies of diapaſon,
" ſince it requires great art and ſkill to introduce agreeable melodies
" to which the ear has not been accuſtomed: but the taking the
" ſame melody at a different pitch, is a variety, for which the
" inventor would hardly have had his name ſo carefully tranſ-
" mitted to poſterity (*s*)."

Meibomius however was certainly of opinion, that the difference in the modes, upon which all their effects depended, conſiſted only in the tenſion, or acuteneſs and gravity of the whole ſyſtem. And Dr. Wallis ſaw ſtill leſs of this doctrine than Meibomius, " though he has rightly, ſays Sir Francis, explained the ſpecies of diapaſon, as they lay between *Hypate Meſon* and *Nete Diezeugmenon*; but this interpretation he regards as ſingular in his author, and draws no conſequences from it."

The aſcertaining the figure of the earth, by meaſuring a degree near the pole and under the line, introduced a new geography; in the ſame manner the hypotheſis of Sir Francis Eyles Stiles will overſet all former theories and conjectures on the ſubject of the ancient muſical modes, and oblige thoſe whom he convinces of the truth of his doctrine, and who had before reconciled themſelves to received opinions on the ſubject, to confeſs their errors and ignorance, and to begin the ſtudy of ancient muſic anew.

It is not, however, certain that Ptolemy's doctrine was immediately adopted by all the muſicians of his time (*t*); if it was, their minds muſt have been more flexible than thoſe of modern profeſſors. For had the moſt popular compoſers of modern times, had Alexander Scarlatti, for inſtance, in Italy, Sebaſtian Bach, in Germany, or Handel, in England, propoſed to their cotemporaries ſo conſiderable a change in the eſtabliſhed muſical ſyſtem, it is hardly poſſible to believe that it would have been immediately received into general practice (*u*).

(*s*) Phil. Tranſ. vol. LI. p. 755.

(*t*) Bacchius ſenior, a muſical writer, otemporary with Ptolemy, is the only Greek author who gives but ſeven modes.

(*u*) Martianus Capella, who flouriſhed 300 years after Ptolemy, and Caſſiodorus, a ſtill younger writer, tell us, that here were *fifteen* modes; a proof that his *reform* had not been adopted univerſally.

We

We know not, indeed, what was the ſucceſs of Ptolemy's propoſed reformation during his life; a *reformation*, it muſt be owned, that had ſomething *Calviniſtical* in it; a *zeal* for *tearing* (*x*); and yet, ſtrange to tell! all the traces to be found of it are in the *modes* of the *Romiſh* church, eſtabliſhed long after, but which reſemble thoſe of Ptolemy in nothing except their number and names. Ptolemy's modes are manifeſtly tranſpoſitions of the ſcale into *different keys*: the eccleſiaſtic, only *different ſpecies of octave*, in *one* and the ſame *key*.

Upon the whole, the muſic ſo much celebrated by the beſt claſſical writers, and of which I ſhall have the moſt frequent occaſions to ſpeak in my hiſtory, was of much higher antiquity than the time of Ptolemy, who flouriſhed when arts and ſciences, particularly thoſe of Egypt and Greece, were much degenerated.

It is therefore of no great importance to the hiſtory and intelligence of ancient muſic, at its beſt period, whether this point concerning the ſpecies of octave, for which Sir Francis Eyles Stiles contends, be accurately ſettled, or not; for, if he is right, it does not clearly appear, what peculiar and aſtoniſhing effects could be produced by a ſudden change of mode, which it is not in the power of modern muſic to produce, by a like ſudden change of key.

But ſuch miraculous powers have been attributed to the modes in ancient muſic, that it muſt be confeſſed there is nothing ſo difficult as to imagine they could have been produced by a mere tranſpoſition of the ſcale to a different pitch, while the intervals remained the ſame, or even by the effects of modulation. There muſt have been other characteriſtic and ſtrong-marked diſtinctions: as the kind of poetry to which the muſic was ſet; the rhythm or meaſure; or the nature of certain melodies invented and uſed by particular nations. Indeed it was from this laſt circumſtance that the denominations of the principal modes were derived, ſuch as the *Dorian*, *Phrygian*, *Lydian*, *Ionian*, and *Æolian*; and there

(*x*) See Tale of a Tub, Sect VI.

may

may perhaps have been originally ſomething ſtrongly characteriſtic in the *melodies*, as well as in the *dialects* of thoſe countries.

In modern muſic a *change of key*, without a *change of time*, is not ſufficient to animate or depreſs the ſpirits much: meaſure muſt concur as an auxiliary; and mere modulation, though it has its effects, yet it can boaſt of none like thoſe ſaid to have been operated by a change from the *ſoft* Lydian, or *grave* Dorian, to the *furious* Phrygian. I ſhould rather ſuppoſe then, that in times of muſical refinement among the ancients, when the characteriſtics of national melody were ſomewhat effaced, the names of the muſical modes had much the ſame uſe as our technical terms, *grazioſo*, *grave*, *allegro*, *con furia*: and that in lyric poetry there were particular ſpecies of feet and verſification allotted to each mode. If that was the caſe, we might eaſily ſuppoſe that a change of mode would be a change of ſtyle and of meaſure (*y*). This ſeems a very natural idea, and yet it has never been ſuggeſted by any of the writers who have treated the ſubject, and who have been ſo willing to allow miraculous powers to the Greek modes, except one, Teodato Oſio, who, in a very ingenious little tract, publiſhed at Milan, 1637, called *L'armonia del nudo parlare*, has ſomething like the ſame idea, which he ſlightly mentions, however, with a *perhaps*, *per aventura*. Speaking of the Mixolydian mode, he ſays, "I have often thought that it "might have reſembled the *trochaic* foot; as the Phrygian "might the *Anapeſt*; the Hypophrygian, the *Iambic*; the Hypo-"dorian, the *Dactyl*; and the Doric gravity might likewiſe have "been expreſſed by the ſluggiſh *ſpondee* (*z*)."

Indeed the ancients frequently ſpeak of the Phrygian and Lydian modes, in terms which ſeem to imply different *meaſures*. Heraclides of Pontus, in Athenæus, lib. xiv. p. 614, deſcribing

(*y*) Morley, and all the old writers upon modern muſic, before the uſe of bars, affixed no other meaning to the *modes* or *moods*, as they were then called, than that of regulators of *time*, or *meaſure*.

(*z*) *Onde il color miſſo-Lidio ſi ſarà ſimigliante al piede Trocheo; coſi come avviſai l'Anapeſto confarſi col frigio, e forſe con l'Ipofrigio il Giambo; ma con il ſubdorio ſi confarà il Dattilo, ed alla Gravità del Dorio la tardanza dello Spondeo ſarà conveniente.* P. 184. See a notation of theſe feet, Sect. VI.

what

what he calls the three moſt ancient modes, ſays "the *Dorian* is grave and magnificent, neither too diffuſive, gay, nor varied; but ſevere and vehement. The *Æolian* is grand and pompous, though ſometimes ſoothing, as it is uſed for the breaking of horſes, and the reception of gueſts; and it has likewiſe an air of ſimplicity and confidence, ſuitable to pleaſure, love, and good chear. Laſtly, the ancient *Ionian* is neither brilliant nor effeminate, but rough and auſtere; with ſome degree, however, of elevation, force, and energy. But in theſe times, continues he, ſince the corruption of manners has ſubverted every thing, the true, original, and ſpecific qualities peculiar to each mode are loſt (*a*)."

Apuleius, in his *Florida*, tells us that the *Lydian* meaſure was appropriated to complaint and ſongs of ſorrow; the *Dorian* to martial airs; and that the *Phrygian* was conſecrated to religious ceremonies; diſtinctions which ſeem to imply *time* as well as *tone*. But after all that has been ſaid, it would, perhaps, be more for the honour of the ancients to ſuppoſe ſome of the principles upon which their modes were formed, and concerning which ſuch ſurpriſing accounts have been given, to be loſt, than to endeavour to reduce them all to our preſent keys and practice of melody. For, with the few liberties that could be taken with poetical numbers, and the little probability there is that counterpoint was known to them, if we do not give the ancients credit for arts of expreſſion and modulation, which have not been clearly explained in the treatiſes that are come down to us, and which we are now utterly unable to divine, their muſic will be reduced to ſuch a low degree of perfection, as nothing but blind enthuſiaſm for every thing ancient can diſguiſe, or deny.

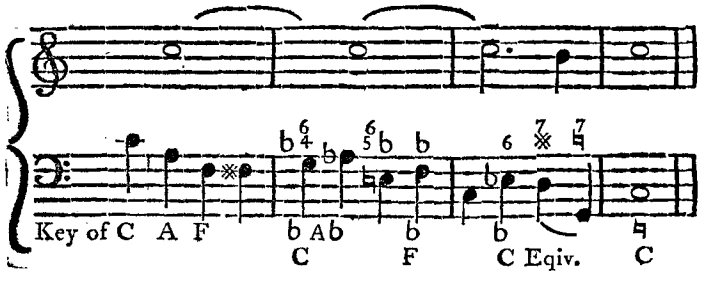
(*a*) Heraclides of Pontus was cotemporary with Plato and Ariſtotle, and the diſciple of both. He was a voluminous writer upon muſic, as well as upon many other ſubjects; his works are frequently cited by Plutarch, and, with *the Records of Sicyon*, and *Regiſters of the Victors at the ſacred Games*, ſeem to have been the chief ſources whence he drew the hiſtorical part of his *Dialogue on Muſic*.

SEC-

SECTION IV.

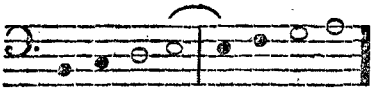
Of Mutations.

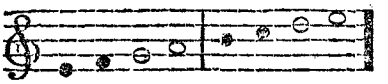
THE next ſubject of enquiry to the *Genera* and *Modes* of ancient muſic, is that of the *Mutations*, μεταβολαι, or *changes* incident to *melody*; which, in modern muſic, we ſhould call, upon ſome occaſions, *modulation*. However, the terms are not exactly ſynonymous; for though to modulate, and to ſing, are in ancient authors equivalent, as modulation with them ſignified merely a change in *melody*, yet the moderns more frequently apply the term modulation to that kind of change in *melody* or *harmony*, which introduces a *new key*. For *modulation* may be brought about by changes in *harmony*, while *melody* is ſtationary.



In the ſyſtem of ſolmiſation eſtabliſhed upon the hexachords of Guido, *mutations* mean ſuch changes only as are occaſioned in the names of the notes by accidental flats and ſharps.

The ancients however had four ſeveral kinds of accidents in their muſic that were diſtinguiſhed by the name of *mutations*. Theſe might have happened in the genus, ſyſtem, mode, or melopœia. In the *Genus*, when the melody paſſed from one genus to another, from the chromatic, for inſtance, to the diatonic, or enharmonic, and the contrary. In the *Syſtem*, when the modulation paſſed from a conjunct to a disjunct tetrachord; that is, from one that was united to another by ſome one found in common to both;

both; as from this  to one that was wholly disjunct, and ſeparated from it by the interval of a tone:



a *mutation* happened in the *Mode*, when there was a tranſition in the melody from the *Dorian* to the *Lydian*, or *Phrygian*, and the like; and laſtly, a *mutation* in the *Melopœia* implied a change of ſtyle; as from a grave to a gay, or from a ſober to an impetuous ſtrain. If the *mutations* were too ſudden and unrelative, they deſtroyed the impreſſion made upon the ear by the former part of the melody, and the pleaſure ariſing from reminiſcence. "The underſtanding muſic, ſays Ariſtoxenus (*b*), depends upon ſenſation and memory; for we muſt not only feel ſounds at the inſtant they ſtrike the organ, but remember thoſe with which it has been ſtruck before, in order to be able to compare them together; for otherwiſe it will be impoſſible to follow a melody or modulation with pleaſure to the ear, or to form a judgment of its degree of excellence in the mind."

The terms μέλος and μελωδιας, which Meibomius has rendered by the Latin words, *modulatio* and *cantilena*, had no other ſignification than the change of ſounds in ſinging, or, as we ſhould call it, *melody*; and this is clear from a paſſage in Bacchius ſenior (*c*), where, in his Introduction to the Art of Muſic, by Queſtion and Anſwer, it is aſked, "How many kinds of *modulation* there are? He anſwers, four; and theſe, he ſays, are *riſing*, *falling*, *repeating* the ſame ſound to different words, and *remaining upon*, or *holding out*, a muſical tone. This is farther explained, Sect. V.

Euclid ſays that *mutations* may be made into any mode within the compaſs of an octave, at the diſtance even of a ſemitone (*d*).

(*b*) Lib. i. p. 38 and 39. Edit. Meibom.

(*c*) P. 11. Edit. Meib.

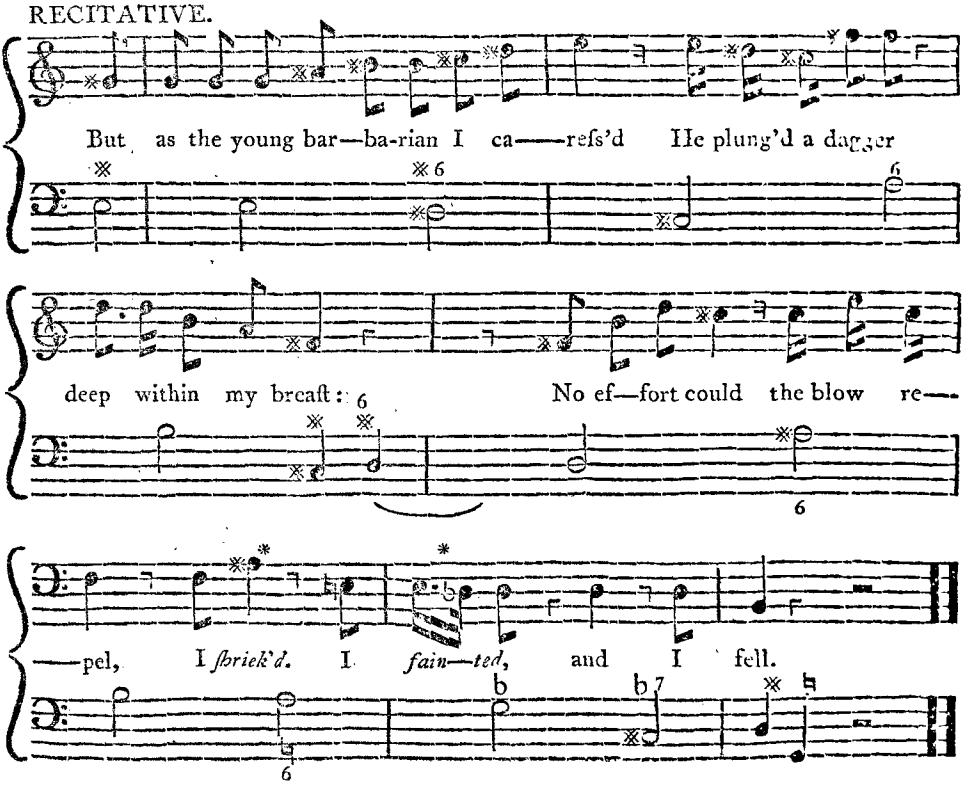
(*d*) M. Burette is miſtaken in his tranſlation of this precept in Euclid, which he has taken from the verſion of Meibomius, who has likewiſe either miſtaken, or miſprinted the paſſage. Inſtead of ἡμίσειαν, *half* a tone, they have both given *Dieſis*, a *quarter* of a tone, as an allowable modulation, which is not only contrary to the text, but impoſſible in practice. Vide Euclid, Edit. Meib. p. 20, at the bottom.

This is a latitude of modulation that would greatly offend modern ears, accuſtomed only to relative changes of key. Ptolemy, however, does not allow of ſuch ſudden and extraneous modulations.

There is ſomething like a ſpecimen of Greek modulation in Plutarch's Dialogue (*e*). If the modes are rightly placed by the moderns, the beginning or firſt movement of the piece he mentions, was in A; then it paſſed to E and B, and ended in G (*f*) and D. This

(*e*) *Mem. des Inſcrip. tom.* x. *p.* 160.

(*f*) Handel is the only one that I know of who has hazarded a modulation from B to G with a flat third; a paſſage of this kind occurs in the laſt act of the Oratorio of Athalia, which is ſo bold and wonderfully happy in expreſſing the words, that I ſhall inſert it here as a great ſtroke of the compoſer, as well as of muſical imitation. Athalia is relating a dream which ſhe had had juſt before the execution of that conſpiracy, which put an end to her tyranny and life.



would

would be tolerable; but the νομος τριμερης, or *three part ſong*, mentioned by Plutarch, p. 124, which, it ſeems, conſiſted in ſinging three ſtrophes ſucceſſively, the firſt in the Dorian mode, D, the ſecond in the Phrygian, E, and the third in the Lydian, F ſharp, riſing a tone each time, would be in the higheſt degree offenſive to modern ears.

And yet, Athenæus ſpeaks of a ſimilar feat performed by Pythagoras, the Zacynthian, upon the lyre; and Pauſanias, of one by Pronomus, the Theban, upon a flute, which he had invented for all theſe three modes. But upon theſe occaſions, what muſt have become of their rule for preferring tranſitions by conſonant intervals? We muſt ſuppoſe that theſe unrelative *mutations* were very old tricks.

And yet we muſt not condemn them too haſtily; for we find the old church compoſers, in the early days of counterpoint, neglecting the modern rules of *relation*, or rather not knowing them, and taking, fearleſsly, two, or more perfect chords of the *ſame kind*, diatonically, uſing every note in the ſcale, except the ſeventh, as a fundamental baſe *(g)*.

This is, doubtleſs, the true ſecret of ancient church muſic, and the principal cauſe of its effect, ſo widely different from that of modern compoſitions; an effect compounded of ſolemnity, wildneſs, and melancholy.

SECTION V.

Of Melopoeia.

THE rules concerning the different parts of ancient muſic that have been already deſcribed, lead naturally to the ſubject of *Melopoeia*, for which they were at firſt eſtabliſhed.

(g) Paleſtrina begins his *Stabat Mater*, which is ſtill uſed in the pope's chapel, and printed in the muſic performed there during Paſſion week, by *three ſucceſſive common chords, with ſharp thirds*, to this baſe A G F, *deſcending, diatonically*; and yet this modulation is ſo qualified by the diſpoſition of the parts, and tempered by the perfect manner in which it is ſung, that though it looks unſcientific and licentious upon paper, its effects, of which no idea can be acquired from *keyed inſtruments*, are admirable.

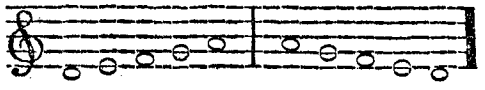
Μελος, *melos*, conſiſted of a number of *muſical ſounds* of a *certain* pitch of voice, oppoſed to *noiſe*, or the *unfixed* and evaneſcent *tones of common ſpeech.*

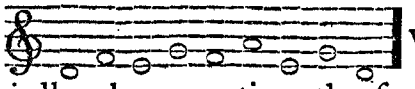
Μελωδια, *melody*, was the *ſinging of poetry*, to ſuch ſounds: and Μελοποιΐα, *melopoeia*, the *compoſition*, or arrangement, of ſuch ſounds as were fit for *ſong*.

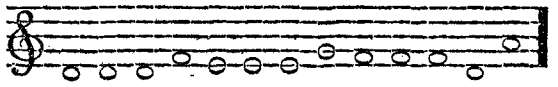
Theſe ſeveral definitions ſhew that all melody was originally *vocal*, and applied to *poetry*.

Melopoeia had its particular rules, ſeveral of which are come down to us, and are ſtill clear and intelligible: ſuch as that an air, or piece of melody, ſhould be compoſed in ſome particular *Genus*, and be chiefly confined to the ſounds of ſome certain *Mode*. As to the ſucceſſion, or order of theſe ſounds in the courſe of the air, that was in general confined to four kinds, which Euclid ſpecifies in his Harmonic Introduction (*b*). Theſe I ſhall endeavour to deſcribe with exactneſs, as they may throw ſome light upon ancient melody.

Euclid tells us, firſt, that ſounds may move either aſcending or deſcending regularly, as thus:



which was called ἀγωγη: ſecondly, by leaps of greater intervals than a ſecond: thus,  which was called πλοκη, *interwoven:* thirdly, by repeating the ſame ſound ſeveral times, which was called περιοδος, *iteration:* as in ſinging theſe notes.



and fourthly, that ſounds may be ſuſtained in the ſame tone, which we call a *holding note*, and which the Greeks expreſſed by the word τονη.

Thus far ſeems intelligible; but I cannot help thinking that the third book of Ariſtoxenus, which is chiefly employed in laying

(*b*) P. 22. Edit. Meib.

down.

down rules for the immediate ſucceſſion of ſounds in a ſcale, has been miſrepreſented, as containing rules for the *compoſition* of melody in general.

He ſays, indeed, p. 66, "that after a *ſemitone* the voice can only go two ways up, and two ways down;" that is, by a tone, or another ſemitone. This is true in the order of the ſcale; but was all *melody* confined to that order? And is there any doubt whether from a ſemitone it might not go by a leap to a third, fourth, or fifth, above or below? M. Burette, however, in his notes upon Plutarch, where the enharmonic of Olympus, and the beauty of its melody are mentioned, ſays, the beauty muſt lie in the *novelty*, and the novelty was the *Ditone*, or major third, "which was never heard in the other *Genera*." What! was the Diatonic ſo ſtrictly confined to a progreſs by conjoint degrees, as never to be permitted to ſkip a note, in order to aſcend or deſcend by the interval of a third? Nothing can be ſo ſtrange as this aſſertion, or ſo contrary to the paſſage juſt quoted from Euclid, which M. Burette has elſewhere tranſlated and adopted (*i*), and indeed to the definition of the term πλοκη, in all ſubſequent Greek writers upon muſic, down to Bryennius.

But M. Burette is not wholly ſingular, I find, in his opinion upon this ſubject, as Dr. Brown ſeems to have had the ſame idea; for in his *Progreſs of Poetry*, &c. p. 64, he ſays, that the Greek Diatonic is "utterly *incompatible* with *our* Diatonic ſcale; becauſe *there* one ſemitone, and two tones, *muſt* ſucceed each other *invariably*." Mr. Malcolm is as obſcure and unſatisfactory, as uſual, upon this ſubject; and leaves it, at leaſt, as unintelligible as he found it.

But the denying or doubting of one of the few facts upon which ancient writers have expreſſed themſelves clearly, is joining in the conſpiracy with time, which has already rendered the ſtudy of Greek muſic ſufficiently hopeleſs and deſperate, to repreſs the courage of the boldeſt enquirer.

(*i*) *Mem. des Inſcrip. tom.* v. *p.* 178.

There

There were many rules to be obſerved in moving by leaps, or disjunct degrees, the principal of which was to prefer, in general, conſonant to diſſonant intervals. It was likewiſe enjoined not to divide any two ſemitones into quarter tones, together, or two ſucceſſive tones into ſemitones (*k*), nor were two major thirds to follow each other.

But theſe, and a great number of other rules laid down by Ariſtoxenus, with reſpect to the ſucceſſion of intervals, were all derived from the genera, the rules for which were rules for melody. The Diatonic genus of the ancients reſembled our natural ſcale in every particular; and it is allowed by Ariſtoxenus even that three tones may ſucceed each other, aſcending or deſcending, which is all that is allowable in our Diatonic, except in minor keys, where we aſcend to the octave of the key note by a ſharp ſeventh, which the ancients ſeem never to have admitted.

A further detail or explanation of theſe rules, would not make the matter much clearer; however, there are ſome particulars collected together in the firſt book of Ariſtides Quintilianus (*l*), that ſeem to merit attention.

He ſets off by dividing *Melopoeia* into three ſpecies, taken from the great and general ſyſtem, which he names after the ſounds called *Hypate*, *Meſe*, and *Nete*; that is, loweſt, middle, and higheſt; and theſe denominations reſembled, with reſpect to melody, our diſtinctions of baſe, tenor, and treble.

With regard to modulation in melody, he has the ſame diſtinctions as Euclid for the ſeveral ſpecies, though he differs a little from him in his manner of defining them; but theſe differences are of ſmall importance to us now; and indeed the authority of Euclid is ſo ſuperior to that of Ariſtides Quintilianus, that nothing which can be cited from him would have weight ſufficient to invalidate the teſtimony of ſo exact and reſpectable a writer.

However, the *moral* diſtinctions of Melopoeia to be found in

(*k*) The prohibition of more than two ſemitones ſucceeding each other at a time, riſing or falling, is a clear proof that the ancient chromatic was very different from the modern.

(*l*) P. 28 and 29. Edit. Meibom.

Ariſtides

Ariſtides Quintilianus are ſo curious and fanciful, that I ſhall inſert a few of them here.

He allows of three modes (τρόποι) or ſtyles of Melopoeia; the *Dithyrambic*, or Bacchanal; the *Nomic*, conſecrated to Apollo; and the *Tragic*; and acquaints us that the firſt of theſe modes employed the ſtrings, or ſounds, in the middle of the great ſyſtem; the ſecond, thoſe at top; and the third, thoſe at the bottom.

Theſe modes had other ſubaltern modes that were dependent on them; ſuch as the *Erotic*, or amorous; the *Comic*; and the *Encomiaſtic*, uſed in panegyrics. All theſe being thought proper to excite or to calm certain paſſions, were, by our author, imagined to have had great influence upon the manners, (ἤθη); and, with reſpect to this influence, *Melopoeia* was divided into three kinds: firſt, the *Syſtaltic*, or that which inſpired the ſoft and tender paſſions, as well as the plaintive, or, as the term implies, ſuch as affect and penetrate the heart; ſecondly, the *Diaſtaltic*, or that which was capable of exhilerating, by kindling joy, or inſpiring courage, magnanimity, and ſublime ſentiments: thirdly, the *Heſuchaſtic*, which held the mean between the other two, that is, which could reſtore the mind to a ſtate of tranquillity and moderation.

The firſt kind of Melopoeia ſuited poetical ſubjects of love and gallantry, of complaint and lamentation: the ſecond was reſerved for tragic and heroic ſubjects: the third for hymns, panegyrics, and as a vehicle of exhortation and precept (*m*).

All theſe rules concerning the ancient *Melopoeia* afford only general notions, which, to be rendered clear and intelligible, would require particular diſcuſſions, as well as illuſtrations by example; but the Greek writers on muſic have abſolutely denied us that

(*m*) Theſe imaginations are evidently drawn from the dreams of Pythagoras. Iamblicus, in the life of that philoſopher, tells us, that "he had invented certain muſical airs, with which, by a happy mixture of genera, he could, at his pleaſure, govern the paſſions of his ſcholars, and awaken terror, melancholy, anger, compaſſion, emulation, fear, and deſires of all kinds; as well as ſtimulate appetite, pride, caprice, and vehemence; guiding each affection according to virtue, with *ſuitable melodies*, as with ſo many ſalutary and healing medicines." And Plutarch, in his *Diſcourſe on the Ceſſation of Oracles*, ſays, that *poetry ſet to muſic*, was once the current language of Greece, and the vehicle of hiſtory, philoſophy, and of every important ſubject.

ſatis-

ſatisfaction, reſerving, perhaps, when they publiſhed their works, all ſuch *minutiæ* for the leſſons which they gave their ſcholars in private; for in no one of the ſeven treatiſes upon ancient muſic, collected and publiſhed by Meibomius, is a ſingle *air*, or *paſſage* of Greek melody, come down to us; which is the more extraordinary, as there are few treatiſes upon modern muſic, without innumerable examples in notes, to illuſtrate the precepts they contain.

But whatever were the rules for arranging different ſounds in ſuch order as would flatter the ear in the moſt agreeable manner, it is eaſy to imagine that this regular diſpoſition, and beautiful order of ſounds, conſtituted nothing more than the mere body of melody, which could only be animated and vivified by the aſſiſtance of *Rhythm*, or *Meaſure:* and this will be diſcuſſed in the next ſection.

SECTION VI.

Of Rhythm.

A CONTINUED *motion* in every organized body that is capable of it, is ſuſceptible of ſome kind of *meaſure*. This meaſure marks the ſeveral parts of motion, and enables us to judge of their proportions. It is to point out theſe proportions that the Greeks, among many other terms, have made uſe of ῥυθμος, *Rhythm*, which they have applied to different purpoſes. They have not only expreſſed by it the kind of cadence, or vibration of the wings, in the flight of birds; the movement of the feet in the progreſſive motion of animals; and the geſtures, figures, and ſteps of dancers; but every ſpecies of regular motion, ſuch as is obſervable in the beating of the pulſe, and in reſpiration. They have even abuſed the original import of the word ſo far, as to apply it to things abſolutely motionleſs and inanimate; ſuch

ſuch as works in painting and ſculpture, in which they have called that ſymmetry and juſt proportion which reigns in all the parts by the name of *Rhythm*.

But the moſt common application of this term has been to expreſs the *Time* or duration of many ſounds heard in ſucceſſion: whether theſe ſounds are muſical, and ſuch as are produced by voices and inſtruments, or without any determinate tone, as in the ſtrokes of a hammer upon an anvil; in the beating of a drum; and in the articulations of the voice in common ſpeech, in repeating poetry, or pronouncing an oration.

But our enquiries here ſhall be confined to that ſpecies of *Rhythm*, which more particularly concerns melody, and which merits diſcuſſion the more, on account of its great importance in muſic, and of the darkneſs in which it is uſually involved by writers on the ſubject.

From the ſtrict union of poetry and muſic among the ancients, which ſeem to have been almoſt inſeparable, an offence againſt *Time* or *Rhythm* was unpardonable, as it not only deſtroyed the beauty of the poetry, but ſometimes even the meaning of the words of which it was compoſed, Το παν παρα μουσικοις ὁ ῥυθμος, ſay the Greeks; it was the principal point in their muſic, without which they regarded melody as wholly unmeaning and lifeleſs. Hence Plato refuſed the title of muſician to every one who was not perfectly verſed in *Rhythm*, as we ſhould now to a bad *Timeiſt*. It is of ſuch importance, that, without it, muſic can have no power over the human paſſions. Pythagoras, according to Martianus Capella, uſed to call *Rhythm*, in muſic, the *male*, and *Melos* the female; and Doni (*n*) has compared *Rhythm* with *deſign*, in painting, and *Melos* to *colouring*. It is certain that an ordinary melody, in which the *time* is ſtrongly marked, and the accents are well placed, has more effect than one that is deficient in thoſe particulars, though more refined and uncommon, and ſet off with all the richneſs of harmony, and learning of modulation.

Iſaac Voſſius, in his Diſſertation, *de Poematum Cantu, et viri-*

(*n*) Tom. ii. p. 203.

bus Rhythmi, has attributed to *Rhythm* all the miraculous powers of ancient muſic.

As vocal muſic was chiefly cultivated among the ancient Greeks, the firſt part of theſe *rhythmical* obſervations ſhall be confined to lyric poetry.

Ariſtides Quintilianus defines muſical *Rhythm* συζημα ἐκ χρονων κατα τινα ταξιν συγκειμενων (*o*). "The aſſemblage of many parts "of time, which preſerve a certain proportion to each other;" which, ſince the uſe of bars in muſic, may be called aliquot parts of a meaſure, or a given portion of time. For the better underſtanding of this definition, it is neceſſary to remember that the muſic in queſtion was conſtantly ſung to verſes, the words of which were all compoſed of *long* and *ſhort* ſyllables; that the ſhort ſyllable was pronounced as quick again as the long, and the ſhort ſyllable being regarded as one part or portion of this meaſure, the long was equal to two: ſo that, conſequently, the ſound which was applied to the long ſyllable, was equal in duration to two ſuch ſounds as were ſung to ſhort ſyllables, or, in other words, that one note was equal to two portions of time, and the other to one. It muſt likewiſe be remembered that the verſes thus ſung, were compoſed of a certain number of feet, formed by theſe long and ſhort ſyllables differently combined, and that the *Rhythm* of the melody was regulated by theſe feet; as, whatever was their length, they were always divided into two parts, equal or unequal, the firſt of which was called ἀρσις, *elevation*, and the ſecond θεσις, *depreſſion* (*p*). In like manner the *Rhythm* of the melody, correſponding with theſe feet, was divided into two parts, equal or unequal, which we now call the *down* and *up* parts of a bar, expreſſed by *beating down* the hand or foot, and *lifting it up*. Thus far concerns *vocal Rhythm*; what follows belongs to inſtrumental.

As the notes of ancient muſic were conſtantly written over each ſyllable of the verſes which were to be ſung; as the quantity of each of theſe ſyllables was perfectly known to muſicians; and

(*o*) Lib. i. p. 31. Edit. Meibom.

(*p*) A *foot* in poetry ſeems to anſwer to a *bar* in muſic. A *time*, among the ancients, was a portion of that foot or bar; as, with us, a bar is divided into accented and unaccented parts.

as

as the duration of each ſound was regulated by the ſyllables; it did not ſeem neceſſary that the *time* ſhould be marked by any particular ſign or character. However, for the eaſe and convenience of the muſician, a canon, or rule, was given of the *Rhythm* at the beginning of a lyric poem. This canon conſiſted of nothing but the numbers 1 and 2, that is, the *Alpha* and *Beta* of the Greek alphabet, diſpoſed according to the order of the breves and longs which compoſed and divided each verſe, according to the number of its feet. The *Alpha*, or unit, marked a *breve*, becauſe it contained only one portion of time; and the *Beta*, or binary, marked a *long*, being equal to two portions. Some of theſe poetical, or rhythmical canons, are ſtill to be found in the Manual of Hephæſtion (*q*).

Rhythm in Latin was called *numerus*; and this term, in proceſs of time, was extended to the melody itſelf, ſubjected to certain numbers or rhythms, as appears from this line of Virgil:

Numeros memini, ſi verba tenerem:

If I knew the words, I could remember the tune well enough. The Romans had ſigns for *rhythm*, as well as the Greeks; and theſe ſigns were not only called *numerus*, but *æra*, that is, *number*, or the mark for time. *Numeri nota*, ſays Nonius Marcellus. In this ſenſe we find the word uſed in a verſe of Lucilius:

Hæc eſt ratio? perverſa æra? ſumma ſubducta improbè?

Do you call that ſettling accounts? ſuch a confuſion of figures? and the ſum falſely caſt up?

Though the word *æra* was at firſt only applied by muſicians to the *time*, or *meaſure* of the melody, they afterwards made the ſame uſe of it as of *numerus*, to expreſs the tune or melody itſelf; and it has been thought that the word *Air*, or, as the Italians call it, *Aria*, which includes a certain piece of muſic of a peculiar *rhythm*, or cadence, is derived from *æra*.

(*q*) This author lived in the time of the emperor Verus, in the ſecond century. He was a grammarian of Alexandria. The work alluded to is *de re Metrica*. Suidas, Jul. Capitolinus.

Such was the manner in which the ancients marked the meaſure in their written muſic; but to make it ſtill more ſenſible in the execution, they beat time in ſeveral different ways. The moſt common was by the motion of the foot, which was lifted up and beat down alternately, according to what we call common, or triple time. To regulate the time was generally the office of the muſic maſter or director, called μεσοχορος and κορυφαιος, *coryphæus*, becauſe he was placed in the middle of the orcheſtra, among the muſicians, and in an exalted and conſpicuous ſituation, in order to be ſeen and heard the more eaſily by the whole band.

The directors of the time were likewiſe called in Greek ποδοκτυποι and ποδοψοφοι, from the noiſe of their feet. In Latin they were called *pedarii*, *podarii*, and *pedicularii*, for the ſame reaſon. Their feet were generally furniſhed with wooden or iron ſandals, in order to mark the time in a more diſtinct manner: theſe implements the Greeks called κρεπεζια, κρεπλα, κρεπετα; and the Latins *pedicula*, *ſcabella*, or *ſcabilla*, becauſe they reſembled little pattens or clogs.

But it was not only with the feet that the ancients beat the time, but with all the fingers of the right hand upon the hollow part of the left; and he who marked the time or rhythm in this manner, was called *manu-ductor*. For this purpoſe they ſometimes uſed oyſter-ſhells, and the ſhells of other fiſh, as well as the bones of animals, in beating time, as we do of caſtanets, tabors, &c. Both Heſychius, and the ſcholiaſt of Ariſtophanes, furniſh paſſages to confirm this aſſertion. What a noiſy and barbarous muſic! All *rhythm*, and no ſound. The drums and ſiſtrums of the Idæi Dactyli could not have been more ſavage.

Many ancient inſtruments were monotonous, and of little uſe, but to mark the meaſure; ſuch were the *cymbalum* and *ſiſtrum*. But it would afford us no very favourable idea of the abilities of modern muſicians, if they required ſo much parade and noiſe in keeping together. The more time is beaten, ſays M. Rouſſeau, the leſs it is kept; and, in general, bad muſic, and bad muſicians, ſtand in moſt need of ſuch noiſy aſſiſtance.

However,

However, if any thing like the power which ancient muſic is ſaid to have had over the paſſions can be credited, it muſt have derived this power chiefly from the energy and accentuation of the *rhythm*. Ariſtides Quintilianus (*s*) gives a long liſt of different metres, with their ſeveral properties of calming or agitating the mind, according to the nature of the ſyllables, or feet of the verſes, as well as the ſentiments which they were intended to expreſs; and as it will afford the reader an opportunity of ſeeing how much ſtreſs was laid on this part of muſic, and how fanciful and ideal many of the diſtinctions ſeem to have been, I ſhall give the whole paſſage in Engliſh.

"Meaſure, which begins by a *down part* of the metrical diviſion, is calm and gentle; whereas that which begins by an *up part*, expreſſes trouble and agitation. Full time, that is, compoſed of intire feet, is noble in its effect; and that ariſing from catalectic verſes, deficient in a ſyllable or note, if it be ſupplied by a ſhort reſt or pauſe, has more ſimplicity, but is leſs noble. Time of equal proportions, is graceful; and that of odd numbers, or ſeſquialterate proportion, is more proper to excite commotion (*t*). Double time is a kind of mean betwixt the graceful and the turbulent. Among the movements of two even notes, if they are ſhort, their effect is lively, impetuous, and proper for military dances, called *Pyrrhics*, in which the dancers are armed; and time, of which the movement is regulated by poetic feet compoſed of long ſyllables, is more grave, ſerious, and fit for hymns which are ſung in honour of the gods, at feſtivals, and in ſacrifices: the meaſure compoſed of a mixture of long and ſhort notes, participates of the qualities of both theſe laſt mentioned."

(*s*) Lib. ii. p. 97. Edit. Meibom.

(*t*) The reader ſhould here be informed, that, beſides our common and triple time, they had meaſures of 5, and of 7 *equal notes* in a bar; circumſtances which muſt appear very extraordinary to modern muſicians. By *double time*, Ariſt. Quint. means *triple time*, that is, in which the *down* part of the bar was to the *up*, as 2 to 1; or in which one *time* of the bar was *double* to the *other*. So *common* time they called *equal*, becauſe the bars admitted a diviſion into two equal parts. In the ſame manner, the meaſure of 5 notes in a bar, was called *Seſquialter*, that is, of 2 to 3; and that of 7 notes, *Epitritus*, or of 3 to 4, from the bars being divided into thoſe proportions.

"Among

"Among the duplicate proportions, the Iambic and Trochaic have the moſt vivacity and fire, and are peculiarly proper for dancing. Thoſe called ὀρθιοι and σημαντοι, of which the *Arſis* anſwers to two long ſyllables, are full of dignity. Compound meaſures are more pathetic than ſimple; and ſuch as are confined to one genus, move the paſſions much leſs than thoſe which paſs from one genus to another (*u*)."

After giving theſe characteriſtics of time, Ariſtides proceeds to prove their reality and foundation in nature, by drawing a parallel between ſome particular ſpecies of *Rhythm*, and the gait and actions of man. He pretends, for inſtance, "that the motion which anſwers to the Spondaic meaſure, is a ſign of moderation and fortitude; that Trochaics, or Pæans, indicate a greater degree of fire and vivacity; that the Pyrrhic has ſomething low and ignoble in it; that an irregular velocity implies diſſoluteneſs and diſorder; and finally, that a movement reſulting from all theſe, is wild and extravagant."

With reſpect to the excellence and effects of ancient muſic, it is very difficult to ſteer between the extremes of credulity and ſcepticiſm. Such enthuſiaſts as Ariſtides Quintilianus, by aſſerting too much, have thrown a ridicule upon the ſubject, and inclined us, perhaps, to believe too little. The ſimplicity of ancient melody, and its ſlaviſh dependence upon poetry, may probably have given birth to ſome of theſe fancies. But however that may have been, this ſeems the place in which to give ſome account of thoſe *poetic feet*, and *Rhythms*, upon which the ancients laid ſo much ſtreſs. For, that they thought the knowledge of poetical feet, and even rhetorical, neceſſary to a muſician, is certain from the pains that have been taken, eſpecially by Roman muſical writers, to explain them in all the treatiſes that are come down to us.

A poetical *Foot* conſiſts of a certain number of ſyllables, which conſtitutes a diſtinct part of a verſe, as a *Bar* does of an air in

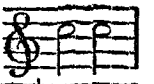
(*u*) The French ſeem to have had this precept in view in compoſing their old ſerious operas, in which the time is for ever changing.

muſic.

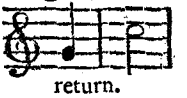
muſic. An Hexameter verſe conſiſts of ſix of theſe feet, a Pentameter of five.

The *Spondee*, *Iambus*, *Trochee*, and *Pyrrhic* or *Periambus*, are diſſyllabic feet, or of two ſyllables each.

The *Spondee* conſiſts of two long ſyllables (*x*), as *vertunt.* ¯¯

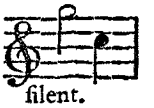


An *Iambic* foot has one ſhort and one long ſyllable (*y*). Θεȣ, λεγω. *potens*, *amas.* ˘¯



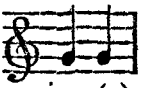
return.

The *Trochee* has one long and one ſhort ſyllable, as *gratus*, *muſa.* ¯˘



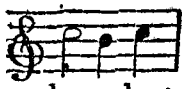
ſilent.

The *Pyrrhic*, or *Periambus*, two ſhort ſyllables, as *mare*, *probus.* ˘˘



quiver (*z*).

The *Dactyl*, *Anapæſt*, *Moloſſus*, *Tribrach*, *Bacchius*, *Antibacchius*, *Amphibrachys*, and *Creticus*, are *Triſſyllabics*, or of three ſyllables. To ſome of theſe we have no equivalents; however, the *Dactyl*, conſiſting of one long and two ſhort ſyllable ¯˘˘



is very common in our language, as *tenderly*, *haſtily*; and we have verſes compoſed of dactyls as well as the Greeks and Romans:

Mў | bānks thĕy ărе | fūrnĭſh'd wĭth | beēs,
Whŏſe | mūrmŭr in- | vītes ŏne tŏ | ſleēp.

Theſe may be compared with the following celebrated paſſages in Homer and Virgil, where the ſound is manifeſtly and inten-

(*x*) There is no true *Spondee* in the Engliſh language, as every word of two ſyllables has an accent upon the firſt or ſecond ſyllable, which renders it longer than the other. The ancient *Spondean* or libation air compoſed by Olympus in the *Old Enharmonic*, without the quarter tone, was, however, in this meaſure, conſiſting of ſlow even notes, and the foot derived its name from this uſe of it.

(*y*) *Iambic* verſes were originally uſed in ſatire, with which they are often ſynonymous in ancient authors.

(*z*) In our language, though it is governed almoſt entirely by Accent, an *accented* and a *long ſyllable* are by no means to be confounded, at leaſt in ſetting words to muſic. Mr. Stillingfleet, *Principles and Power of Harmony*, has given the word *level* as a Trochaic, that is, a word in which the firſt ſyllable is long, the ſecond ſhort; but Trochaics in Engliſh ſeem to be ſuch words as *ſilent*, *charming*, *kindred*; and *level*, *revel*, *quiver*, *river*, correſpond more exactly with the Pyrrhic or Periambus of the ancients, being compoſed of two ſhort ſyllables.

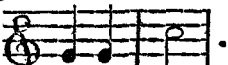
tionally

tionally, an *echo to the ſenſe*. Homer, (Odyſſey, book xi.) after he has deſcribed in labouring Spondees the ſlow and painful manner in which Syſiphus rolled the ſtone up-hill, makes uſe of nimble Dactyls in deſcribing its ſwift deſcent:

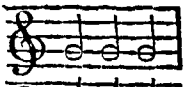
Αὖθις ἔπειτα πέδονδε κυλίνδετο λᾶας ἀναιδὴς.

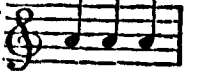
And Virgil, lib. viii. v. 596, deſcribes in pure Dactyls the galloping of the horſe:

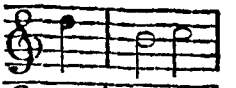
——— It clāmŏr, ĕt āgmĭnĕ fāctō
Quādrŭpĕdāntĕ pŭtrēm ſŏnĭtū quătĭt ūngŭlă cāmpūm.

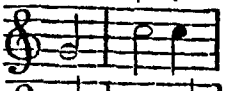
The *Anapæſt* has two ſhort and one long ſyllable; as *ſapiens, recubans,* ˘˘–  . Iſaac Voſſius, *de Viribus Rhythmi*, p. 56, has ſaid that the French have no Dactyls, nor the Engliſh a perfect *Anapæſt* in their language. Let the French ſpeak for themſelves; but as to our own part of the charge, it is eaſily confuted by the mere mention of the words *recommend* and *diſappoint*.

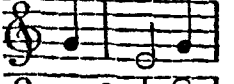
I ſhall enumerate the reſt of the poetic feet of the ancients, merely to ſhew what reſources they had in varying their melody by different combinations of two kinds of notes.

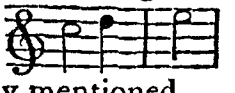
The *Moloſſus* has three long ſyllabes, – – – 

The *Tribrach*, three ſhort, ˘˘˘ 

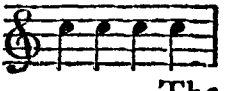
The *Bacchius*, which is the reverſe of the Dactyl, has one ſhort, and two long ſyllables, ˘– – 

The *Antibacchius*, two long and one ſhort, – –˘ 

Amphibrachys, one ſhort, one long, and one ſhort, or one long between two ſhort, ˘–˘ 

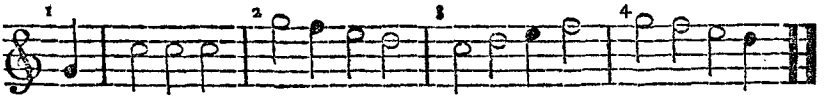
Creticus, one ſhort between two long, – ˘ – 

The Quadriſyllabics are compounded of feet already mentioned.

The *Proceleuſmaticus* is compoſed of four ſhort ſyllables, or of two Pyrrhics, ˘˘˘˘ 

The

The *Choriambus*, two ſhort between two long, or the junction of the *Trochæus* and *Iambus*, ⏑ – – ⏑ *Epitrite*; of this foot there are four ſpecies: 1. the Iambus and Spondee ⏑ – – –: 2. the Trochee and Spondee – ⏑ – –: 3. the Spondee and Iambus – – ⏑ –: and 4. the Spondee and Trochee – – – ⏑.



The *Pæan* or *Pæon*, which is the contrary of this laſt, conſiſts of one long ſyllable, and three ſhort: – ⏑ ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ – ⏑ ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ – ⏑, ⏑ ⏑ ⏑ –.

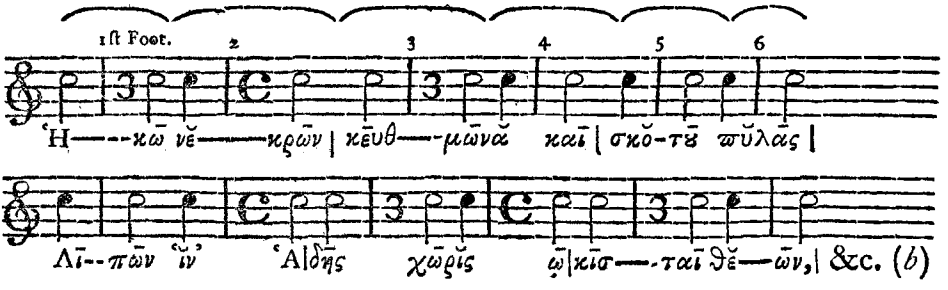
Servius reckons more than a hundred different kinds of verſe among the Latins; and, according to Hephæſtion, the number was ſtill more conſiderable among the Greeks; conſequently their melody might have been varied in as many different ways. There is not, however, the leaſt appearance of the ancients having had in their vocal muſic that kind of meaſure which we call pointed; nor did they admit reſts in the middle of a verſe, though at the end of catalectic, or broken verſes, the ſinger was allowed to make up the deficiency by a ſilence, equivalent to a reſt in modern muſic; and though they had ſo great a variety of feet in their poetry, many of thoſe already inſtanced are unfit for modern melody.

After all the reſearches which I have been able to make, it muſt be acknowledged that the ſubject of ancient muſic, in general, ſtill remains, and probably ever will remain, involved in much difficulty and uncertainty. It is fortunate, however, for thoſe who wiſh to view as near as poſſible this dark angle of antiquity, that the proſpect happens to be the cleareſt juſt in that part where all its admirers aſſure us it is beſt worth examining; for however ignorant we may be of the *Melody* of ancient muſic, the *Rhythm*, or time of that melody, being regulated entirely, as has been already obſerved, by the metrical feet, muſt always be as well known to us as the proſody and conſtruction of the verſe; ſo that we have nothing to do but to apply to the long and ſhort ſyllables any two notes, one of which is double the length of the

other, in order to know as exactly as if we heard, in what manner any particular kind of *metre* was ſet by the ancients with reſpect to *Time* and *Cadence*, that boaſted *Rhythm*, which we are ſo often told was *every thing* in their muſic. It may therefore afford ſome gratification to the curioſity of thoſe who have never conſidered the poetry of the ancients in this point of view, if I produce a few examples, which will, perhaps, help to throw a little light upon the *dramatic* muſic of the Greeks, and give ſome idea of the rhythmical reſources of the *poet-muſician* in one of the moſt intereſting provinces of his art.

The firſt example ſhall be of the *Iambic* verſe, which chiefly prevails in the Greek tragedies, and in which the dialogue and ſoliloquy, indeed all but the chorus or ode, were generally written. I ſhall content myſelf with applying notes of correſpondent lengths to the ſyllables, and marking the time; leaving the *Melody* to the imagination of the reader. Should I preſume to ſupply it, I might expect to be reproached as another Salmoneus for my temerity.

Demens! qui nimbos et non imitabile fulmen, &c. (*a*)



Theſe

(*a*) Salmoneus was a king of Elis,
Who mock'd with empty ſounds and mimic rays,
Heav'ns awful thunder, and the lightning's blaze.
PITT's Virg. Book vi.

(*b*) This meaſure when pure and unmixt, conſiſted of ſix Iambic feet, as,
ĕquēs | sŏnān|tĕ vēr|bĕrā|bĭt ūn|gŭlā.
Such verſes, however, ſeldom occur. The laws of this metre only required that the *ſecond*, *fourth*, and *laſt* feet ſhould be Iambics; in the other places, *Spondees*, *Anapæſts*, and *Dactyls*, were admitted. This metre anſwers to our *Alexandrine*, or verſe of twelve ſyllables; but more exactly in the *number* and *kind* of feet, than in its cadence, or general effect upon the ear. The pauſe after the third foot, ſo eſſential to a melodious *Alexandrine*, has no place but by accident,

Theſe lines are the beginning of the *Hecuba* of Euripides, and were ſung by the ghoſt of Polydorus (*c*). The bars in the *verſe* are only to ſhew how the ancients divided it into three portions of two feet in each: but the bars of *Time*, the *Theſis* or *beat*, muſt always fall in the middle of the foot: ˘ | ¯ ⸢ | ⸣. For the ſake of diſtinguiſhing the feet more clearly, I have barred them ſingly; though it would have been more conformable to the ancient manner of ſcanning this kind of verſe, and probably more expreſſive of its cadence and *effect*, to have made but three bars in each line (*d*).

Beſides this metre, the dialogue admitted, occaſionally, *Trochaic* verſes. They are generally introduced in ſcenes of hurry and diſorder; being, as Ariſtotle has deſcribed them, and as their name implies, a voluble and *dancing* meaſure (*e*). A character which the reader will not be inclined to diſpute, when he compares the ancient *Trochaic* with a meaſure exactly correſponding to it in our own language, but which we have not yet admitted into our tragedy.

Πȣ̄ ʼςῐν ȣ̄τŏς, ō̄ς πĕφῡγĕ | τʼȣ̄μŏν ēκ δŏμῶν ξῐφō̄ς (*f*):

dent, in the *Iambic*, which runs more ſwiftly, and has a more proſaic effect. This, undoubtedly, led the ancients to meaſure it *per dipodiam*, or by *double* feet, (ſee *Hor. Art. Poet.* v. 252, *pes citus: unde*, &c.) which anſwer to double bars in modern muſic. Arioſto wrote ſome comedies in this Iambic meaſure. One of his lines will perhaps be as exact a repreſentation of the ancient *Iambic* as can be produced, in point of cadence.

Per dio ſon qualsi in penſier di tornarmene.

The following *Alexandrine* of Spenſer may alſo ſerve for the ſame purpoſe.

So in his angry courage fairly pacified.

(*c*) From the drear manſions of the dead, and gates
Of darkneſs horrible, I come, where reigns,
Remote from all the Gods, Hell's awful king.

(*d*) The *Iambics* of Greek *Comedy* differ from theſe only in a little more liberty of conſtruction: thoſe of the Roman, in Plautus and Terence, are ſo licentious, as often not to differ perceptibly from Proſe, even in the judgment of Cicero himſelf: *propter* ſimilitudinem ſermonis, *ſic ſæpe ſunt abjecti, ut nonnunquam* vix *in his* numerus *et* verſus ſentiri *poſſit*. *Orator*, cap. 55.

(*e*) Τροχερον——ορχηστικωτεραν. *Ariſt. Rhet.* 3. 4. *et Poet.* 4.

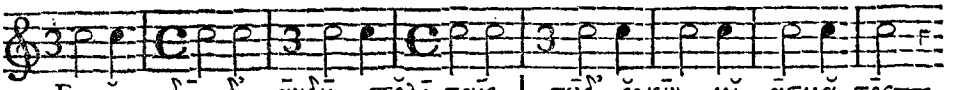
(*f*) Eurip. *Oreſt.* 1539. Oreſtes runs upon the ſtage with a ſword in his hand, in purſuit of a Phrygian ſlave, who had offended him, crying out, literally, "Where is he who ran away from my ſword, out of the houſe?" Theſe verſes are compoſed of eight feet, wanting one ſyllable to complete the laſt *Trochee*, which, in the following example, is expreſſed by a crotchet reſt, to fill up the time, as was practiſed by the ancients in ſetting theſe *deficient* verſes. See A. Quint. p. 40. concerning theſe reſts, or *vacua Tempora*. The Trochaic, like the Iambic meaſure, admitted the mixture of other feet; but contrary to Iambics, the *firſt*, *third*, and *fifth* places were in *this* metre the moſt ſacred. It may be obſerved, however, of both, that this licence was not ſuch as by any means deſtroyed the *general* character and *pace* of the verſe.

This is a pure *Trochaic*, and is preciſely in the meaſure of our

Jŏllў mōrtălś fīll yoŭr glāſſĕs,
Nōblĕ deēds ăre dōne by wīne.

The whole difference is, that the ancient *Trochaics* were written in one line: but this is merely to the eye; for they really conſiſt of two verſes; the laſt ſyllable of the *fourth* foot being, I believe, conſtantly the end of a word.

Mr. Weſt, in his tranſlation of the *Iphigenia in Tauris* of Euripides, has given a whole ſcene of *Trochaics* in the correſpondent Engliſh meaſure (*g*). A ſingle line of the original, with his tranſlation, will be a ſufficient example of *Trochaic Rhythm*.



From the reach of this contagion | fly! I warn you all to fly!

Such were the metres appropriated to the *dialogue* of the ancient tragedy, and ſuch muſt have been the *Rhythms* or *Times* of the muſic to which they were ſet.

I ſhall cloſe theſe obſervations with one example more, taken from the *choral* part of the drama, that part which, as will be ſhewn in the ninth ſection, was more particularly *muſical*; the circle marked out for the muſician, where all the magic of his art, with all the wonders of *Rhythm*, were to be diſplayed. Of the *metre* of this part, I ſhall only obſerve, in general, that it ſeems to have admitted of ſuch an unbounded variety in the mixture and arrangement of feet, and to have been fettered by ſo few re-

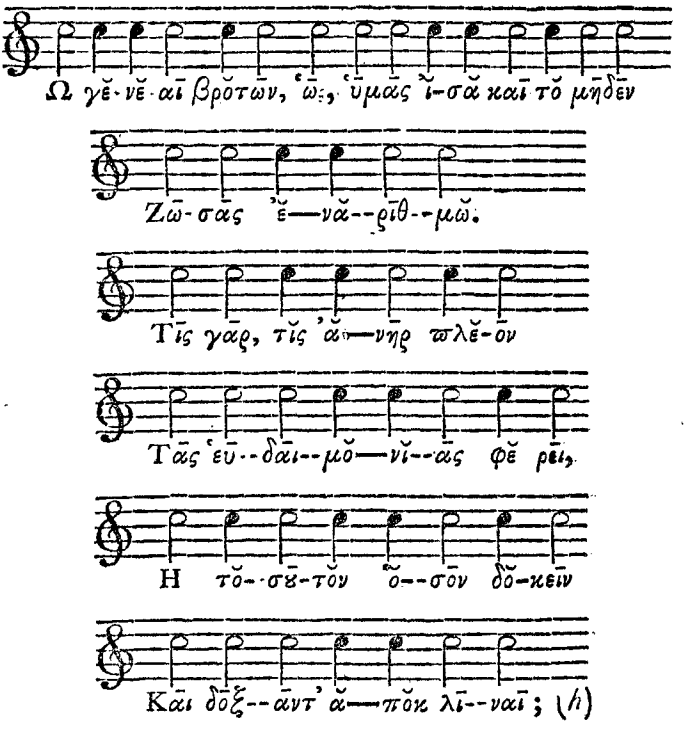
(*g*) He ſeems, however, to have been miſtaken, in ſuppoſing that *Trochaics* were introduced in this ſcene, "*to give an air of ſolemnity*, &c." Nothing could be more remote from the character of this metre. But it was rather adapted to occaſions of *urgent buſineſs*, and *anxious preparation*, ſuch as are the ſubject of this ſcene. Mr. Gray, in his Ode on Poeſy, has three times admitted this meaſure in the three epodes; in the firſt epode, where Venus and the Graces are dancing, it is certainly uſed with great propriety and beauty, after

"Friſking light in *frolic meaſures*."

In the other two epodes it was matter of neceſſity, the ſubject would hardly have led him to it.

ſtraints,

ſtraints, that, to a modern ear, it is frequently not to be diſtinguiſhed from a ſmooth and elegant proſe. We can therefore be certain of nothing, concerning the muſic applied to the ancient chorus, except the *relative lengths*, of the notes as they are determined by the *proſody*: in what manner the ancients divided them by *beats*, I do not even preſume to gueſs; and I believe it may be propoſed to the muſical reader as a problem, worthy, for its difficulty, at leaſt, if not for its importance, to exerciſe his ſagacity, how the following ſpecimen ſhould be *barred*, in order to render it as little tormenting to the ear as poſſible.



The moſt ſtriking circumſtance in all theſe examples, is the perpetual change of time, occaſioned by the mixture of unequal

(*h*) *Sophoc. Oedip. Tyr.* v. 1196.
O hapleſs ſtate of human race!
How quick the fleeting ſhadows paſs
Of tranſitory bliſs below,
Where all is vanity and woe!
FRANCKLIN.

feet.

feet (*i*). To the eye, indeed, the Recitative of the old French opera preſents a ſimilar appearance; but where no ſtrict time is obſerved, the changes are leſs perceptible to the ear. No circumſtance relative to ancient muſic has been more frequently and triumphantly oppoſed to the modern, in proof of ſuperiority, than its inviolable adherence to the *fixed quantity of ſyllables* (*k*). It is perhaps equally difficult to diſprove this, and to conceive how ſuch a muſic could be rigorouſly executed, without throwing both the hearers and performers into convulſions. If, however, this was the caſe, we need no longer wonder at the noiſy expedients, to which the ancients had recourſe in beating time; for I believe the beſt modern band would find it difficult, if not impoſſible, to keep exactly together in the execution of a Greek Chorus, though aſſiſted by all the clatter of an ancient *Coryphæus*.

Upon the whole, perhaps, even the imperfect view which I have here attempted to give of the rhythmical reſources of ancient muſic, may be ſufficient to warrant ſomething more than a doubt, whether, after all that Iſaac Voſſius (*l*), and many others have ſaid, a *fixed* proſody, and the rigorous, unaccommodating length of ſyllables be any recommendation of a language *for muſic*; that is, whether a muſic formed and moulded cloſely upon ſuch a language, muſt not neceſſarily be cramped and poor, in compariſon of that free, unſhackled variety, that independent range of rhythmical phraſe, which conſtitutes ſo conſiderable a part of the riches of modern muſic (*m*). Let the moſt inventive compoſer try to ſet half a dozen *Hexameters*, pure *Iambics*, or any other verſes that will fall into regular common or triple time, and he will ſoon find that no reſources of melody are ſufficient to diſguiſe or palliate the inſipid and tireſome uniformity of the meaſure; and as for any

(*i*) See *Reflex. Crit.* of the abbé du Bos, *tom.* iii. § 2. p. 33.

(*k*) *In Verſu quidem Theatra tota exclamant, ſi fuit* una ſyllaba brevior aut longior. *Cic. Orat. ad Brut.* 52.

(*l*) This author, *De Viribus Rhythmi*, p. 128, adviſes the moderns, if they would have any muſic fit to be heard, to diſmiſs all their *barbarous* variety of notes, and retain *only minims* and *crotchets*. This would, indeed, be *inventis frugibus, glande veſci!*

(*m*) I am happy to find an ingenious writer of the ſame opinion. "Muſic, ſays Mr. Webb, borrows ſentiments from poetry, and lends her movements, and conſequently muſt prefer that mode of verſification, which leaves her moſt at liberty to conſult her own genius. *Obſ. on Poet. and Muſ.* p. 131.

thing

thing like expreſſion, we may as well expect to be affected by the mechanical ſtrut of a ſoldier upon the parade. In other metres, ſuch as thoſe already given in the preceding examples, where feet of different times are intermixed, *ſome* variety is indeed acquired; but it is a miſplaced variety, which, without obviating the tireſome effect of a confinement to no more than *two* lengths of notes, adds to it that of an aukward and uncouth arrangement: the ear is ſtill fatigued with uniformity where it requires change, and diſtracted by change where it requires uniformity.

Modern muſic, on the contrary, by its diviſion into *equal* bars, and its *unequal* ſubdiviſion of theſe bars by notes of various lengths, unites to the *pleaſure* which the ear is by nature formed to receive from a regular and even meaſure, all the *variety* and *expreſſion* which the *ancients* ſeem to have aimed at by ſudden and convulſive changes of time, and a continual conflict of jarring and irreconcileable *Rhythms* (*n*).

It is evident, from the proofs already given, that the Greeks and Romans had but two different degrees of long and ſhort notes; and even the old lozenge and ſquare characters ſtill uſed in the Canto Fermo of the Romiſh church, under the denomination of Gregorian notes, are but of two kinds: the time of theſe may, indeed, have been accelerated or retarded, but ſtill the ſame proportion muſt have been preſerved between them; and all their variety muſt have ariſen from different combinations of theſe two

(*n*) Nothing ſeems more eſſential to muſical pleaſure, than the diviſion of melody into *equal portions* of *time*, or *bars*. Quintilian attributed to this *natural* menſuration of the ear, the firſt production of poetry: *Poema—aurium menſurâ*, et ſimiliter decurrentium ſpatiorum obſervatione *eſſe generatum*. *Hexameters* and *Iambics* appear to have been the moſt ancient Greek metres; and the latter, if we may credit Horace, *Art. Poet.* 253, were at firſt *pure* and uncompounded. The mixture of *unequal* feet, and the Dithyrambic licence of lyric poetry, were later refinements. The progreſs of *muſical Rhythm* was, of courſe, the ſame. Plutarch expreſly ſays, in the dialogue *de Muſicâ*, that the compoſitions of Terpander, and other old maſters, were ſet to *Hexameters*, chiefly of Homer; that is, they were in regular *common time*. The change and intermixture of Rhythms is ſpoken of as the innovation of *modern* artiſts. Plato rejects theſe complicated meaſures from the muſic of his Republic: and even Iſaac Voſſius, the great champion of ancient *Rhythm*, who aſſerts that "no man can be a good muſician that is not a *good drummer*," owns, p. 11, that *vitioſum & incompoſitum imprimis, fiet carmen, ſi duorum, trium; quatuor, pluriumve temporum pedes, veluti Pyrrichii, Iambi, Dactyli, Pæones, Ionici, ſimul copulentur:* though this is done continually, not only in the *lyric* part, but even in the *dialogue* of the ancient drama.

kinds

kinds of notes, ſuch as any two of ours could afford: as ſemibreves and minims, minims and crotchets, or crotchets and quavers (*o*).

This accounts for the facility with which even the common people of Greece could diſcover the miſtakes, if any were committed, in the length and ſhortneſs of the ſyllables, both with reſpect to the poetry, and the muſic; a point of hiſtory in which all writers agree; and this ſeems to confirm what has been already ſaid in the fifth ſection: that beſides the intervals peculiar to the melody, *Rhythm*, or time, muſt have contributed to characterize the modes, though it has no kind of connection with our flat and ſharp keys; and this gives an idea quite different from what our modern modes, taken as keys, and our muſic, in general, furniſh. Tartini upon this ſubject ſays, that we make the proſody ſubſervient to the muſic, not the muſic to the proſody; and adds, "that as by the laws preſcribed to the ancient muſicians, they were obliged to preſerve rigorouſly in their muſic the quantity of ſyllables, it was impoſſible to protract a vowel, in ſinging, beyond the time which belonged to a ſyllable: we, on the contrary, prolong the vowels through many bars, though in reading they are oftentimes ſhort."

Tartini, however, in pure courteſy, allows to the ancients a diſcretionary power of making ſyllables longer or ſhorter than rigorous time would admit, in order to diverſify expreſſion, and to enforce the paſſion implied by the words (*p*); but if time was rigorouſly beaten, in the manner the ancients have related, it is not very eaſy to ſubſcribe to this opinion.

And now, having explained the nature, difference, and properties of ancient *Rhythm*, I ſhall beſtow a few words on an exami-

(*o*) Modern "Muſic, ſays Mr. Harris, *Diſc. on Muſ. Paint. and Poet.* p. 73, 1ſt Edit. has *many different lengths of notes* in common uſe, all which may be *infinitely compounded*, even in any *one* time or meaſure. Poetry, on the other hand, has but *two lengths* or *quantities*, a *long* ſyllable and a *ſhort*, which is its half; and all the *variety of verſe* ariſes from ſuch feet and metres, as theſe *two ſpecies* of ſyllables, *by being compounded*, can be made to produce." What is here ſaid of *verſe*, is equally applicable to *ancient* muſic, which was *ſtrictly* confined to verſe: and it ſeems as if whole pages could not place the difference between the *Rhythm* of ancient and modern muſic, in a clearer point of view.

(*p*) *Trat. di Muſ.* p. 139.

nation

nation of the modern, and endeavour to ſhew what it has in common with the ancient, and what peculiar to itſelf (*a*).

We no longer know *Rhythm* now under its ancient name; however, it has been continued, with a ſmall change of pronunciation, merely to expreſs the final cadence of verſes, or the agreement and ſimilarity of ſound in the laſt ſyllables of two or more lines in poetry; being at preſent what we call *Rhyme:* whereas the proportion ſubſiſting between the different parts of a melody are called *time, meaſure, movement.*

And when we come to examine this proportion, we find that it only conſiſts of two kinds, differently modified; and theſe two are known by the names of *common time*, conſiſting of equal numbers, and *triple time*, of unequal.

Tartini has whimſically deduced all meaſure from the proportions of the octave and its fifth (*b*.) "Common time, or meaſure, ſays he, ariſes from the octave, which is as 1 : 2; triple time ariſes from the fifth, which is as 2 : 3. Theſe, adds he, are the utmoſt limits within which we can hope to find any practicable proportions for melody. Indeed many have attempted to introduce other kinds of meaſure, which, inſtead of good effects, have produced nothing but the greateſt confuſion; and this muſt always be the caſe. Muſic has been compoſed of five equal notes in a bar, but no muſician has yet been found that is able to execute it."

By the improvement of inſtrumental muſic, and indeed by the liberties which we have taken with poetry in ſinging, we have multiplied notes, and accelerated the meaſure. Inſtead of one ſound to one ſyllable, or one portion of time for a ſhort ſyllable, and two for a long one, we frequently divide and ſubdivide the

(*a*) Mr. Marpurg has publiſhed a very uſeful work for his countrymen in Germany, upon this ſubject, under the title of Anleitung zur Singcompoſition, Berlin, 1758, *Introduction to Vocal Muſic*, in which he has compared the pronunciation and verſification of the Latin, German, and Italian languages. A ſtrict adherence, however, to the rythmical laws of Greece and Rome, would not enrich our melody; though accurate rules for Engliſh *proſody* might be ſettled by muſical characters; and as *proſody* comprehends not only the rules of pronunciation, but the laws of verſification, a treatiſe on the ſubject, as far as it concerns vocal muſic, would be a moſt uſeful work to our young lyric compoſers, as well as to foreigners, who frequently injure that poetry, which their melody ſhould enforce and explain.

(*b*) *Trat. di Muſ.* p. 114.

time of theſe ſeveral portions into all their aliquot parts, and ſometimes into incommenſurable quantities.

After the invention of muſical characters for time, different from thoſe in poetry, the ſtudy of their relations became one of the moſt laborious and perplexed parts of a muſician's buſineſs. Theſe characters were of different value and velocity, according to other characters placed at the beginning of a muſical compoſition, and likewiſe frequently occurring in the courſe of a piece, to anounce a change of meaſure: as from common time to triple, from quick to ſlow, or the contrary. Theſe characters were called *Moods*, but they were ſo extremely embarraſſing and ill underſtood, till the invention of bars, by which muſical notes were divided into equal portions, that no two theoriſts agreed in the definition of them.

Theſe *modes*, by which the kind of movement, with reſpect to quick and ſlow, as well as the proportions of the notes, uſed to be known, ſerve for no other purpoſe, ſince technical terms, chiefly taken from the Italian language and muſic, have been adopted, than to mark the number and kind of notes in each bar.

But by this invention of muſical characters for time, and the uſe of bars, we have certainly advanced in the compoſition and performance of inſtrumental muſic, by giving to it more energy and accentuation; it has now a cadence and feet of its own, more marked and ſenſible than thoſe of poetry, by which it uſed to move.

We have alſo, in our *Airs*, a diſtinct ſpecies of muſic for poetry, wholly different from *Recitative* and *Chanting*; for in theſe we are leſs tied down to ſtated meaſure than the ancients, being only governed by the accent and cadence of the words. However, our *florid-ſong*, it cannot be diſſembled, is not always ſufficiently ſubſervient to poetry; for in applying muſic to words, it frequently happens that the fineſt ſentiments and moſt poliſhed verſes of modern languages are injured and rendered unintelligible, by an inattention to *Proſody*. Even the ſimple and plain rules of giving a ſhort note to a ſhort ſyllable, a long to a long; and of accentuating the muſic by the meaſure and natural cadence of the verſe, which,

which, it may be ſuppoſed, the mere reading would point out to a good ear and underſtanding, are but too frequently neglected.

Modern melody requires, perhaps, more than a ſingle ſound to a ſingle ſyllable; and a fine voice deſerves, now and then, a long note to diſplay its ſweetneſs; but this ſhould be done upon long ſyllables, and to open vowels, and, perhaps, in general, after the words have been once ſimply and articulately ſung, for the hearer to know what paſſion is intended to be expreſſed, or ſentiment enforced, by future diviſions.

Expletives, particles, and words of ſmall importance, are forced into notice by careleſs or ignorant compoſers, who, only intent upon mere muſic, pay no regard to her ſiſter, poetry. But then, poetry, in revenge, is as little ſolicitous about muſical effects; for ſymmetry of air, or ſimplicity of deſign, are generally ſo little thought of, that every heterogenous idea, which can be hitched into rhyme, is indiſcriminately crowded into the ſame ſong. Indeed muſic and poetry, like man and wife, or other aſſociates, are beſt aſunder, if they cannot agree; and on many occaſions, it were to be wiſhed, that the partnerſhip were amicably diſſolved.

Salinas tells us, from St. Auguſtine, that poets and muſicians have ever been at ſtrife concerning long and ſhort ſyllables, accents, and quantity, ſince they have ceaſed to be united in one and the ſame perſon, and have ſet up different intereſts.

There is ſome poetry ſo replete with meaning, ſo philoſophical, inſtructive, and ſublime, that it becomes wholly enervated by being drawled out to a tune, which affects no part of the head, but the ear.

And there is, again, ſome kind even of inſtrumental muſic, ſo divinely compoſed, and ſo expreſſively performed, that it wants no words to explain its meaning: it is itſelf the language of the heart and of paſſion, and ſpeaks more to both in a few notes, than any other language compoſed of claſhing conſonants, and inſipid vowels, can do in as many thouſand.

And, upon the whole, it ſeems as if poetry were more immediately the language of the head, and muſic that of the heart; or, in other words, as if poetry were the propereſt vehicle of inſtruction,

and modulated ſound that of joy, ſorrow, and innocent pleaſure. "Let the muſician, ſays M. Rouſſeau, have as many images or "ſentiments to expreſs as you pleaſe, with few ſimple ideas: "for the *paſſions* only *ſing*, the *underſtanding ſpeaks* (*c*)."

But notwithſtanding both poetry and proſody are ſo frequently injured by injudicious compoſers, it muſt not be imagined that in our ſimple airs of the gavot and minuet kind, we have no muſical *Rhythm*, or that it always claſhes with the poetical. Innumerable inſtances may be given from well known Engliſh ſongs, where the cadence of the verſe, and even the pronunciation of each ſyllable, is carefully preſerved by the air. For though our time-table furniſhes ſix different degrees of long and ſhort notes, without points, yet, if the diviſions in ſongs deſigned to diſplay a particular talent for difficult execution be excepted, we ſeldom uſe more than *two kinds* of notes in the ſame air.

Mirth, admit me of thy crew, by Handel, as well as ſeveral popular ſongs by Dr. Arne, Mr. Jackſon, and others, are ſufficiently conformable to poetical numbers and *Rhythm*, to ſatisfy the greateſt admirers of ancient ſimplicity, or even ſuch as love poetry better than muſic, from whom complaints of non-conformity generally proceed.

Iſaac Voſſius ſays it is now above a thouſand years ſince muſicians have loſt that great power over the affections, which aroſe only from the true ſcience and uſe of *Rhythm*; and he accuſes modern muſic of ſuch a want of time and accent, as to be all of one ſtyle and colour *(d)*. We will not defend the age in which Voſſius wrote from the charge, nor the muſic of the preſent *ſerious* opera in France; but the compoſitions of Italy and Germany are certainly free from the cenſure, as muſic is now more divided into phraſes and ſentences, and time is more marked and more eaſily felt than it has ever been ſince the days of Guido.

(*c*) *Dict. de Muſique*, Art. ACCENT.

(*d*) *Adeoque temporum varietate defluitur hujus Ætatis Muſica, ut vere de ea dici poſſet, unius propemodum eam eſſe coloris et ſaporis.* De Poemat. Cantu et Virib. Rhythmi, p. 86.

But *true Engliſh ſinging* ſhould certainly not be accuſed of want of *accent*: for, like the French, according to M. Rouſſeau, in quick movements, it reſembles *un corps dur et anguleux qui roule ſur le pavé.*

What

What it was before, is not very well known; but to confeſs the truth, it is my opinion, that whatever it has comparatively loſt in ſome particulars, it has gained in others, as I ſhall endeavour to manifeſt in the courſe of this work.

SECTION VII.

Of the Practice of Melopoeia.

IT was long and ardently wiſhed, that a collection of ſome of the moſt beautiful melodies of antiquity could have been found among the ancient manuſcripts that have eſcaped the ravages of time, in order to determine what kind of muſic it was, of which ſuch wonders have been related; as examples would have been more deciſive in proving the truth or falſehood of the effects that have been attributed to it, and its comparative excellence with the modern, than the ſtrongeſt arguments that can be drawn from hiſtory, or the dark and dry muſical treatiſes that are come down to us. But remains of this kind are not eaſily found: however, a few are ſtill ſubſiſting, of which I ſhall give a minute account.

At the end of a Greek edition of the aſtronomical poems of Aratus, called *Phænomena*, and their *Scholia*, publiſhed at Oxford, in 1672, the anonymous editor (*e*), among ſeveral other pieces, has enriched the volume with three hymns, which he ſuppoſed to have been written by a Greek poet called Dionyſius, of which the firſt is addreſſed to the Muſe Calliope, the ſecond to Apollo, and the third to Nemeſis; and theſe hymns are accompanied with the notes of ancient muſic, to which they uſed to be ſung.

This precious manuſcript, which was found in Ireland, among the papers of the famous archbiſhop Uſher, was bought, after his

(*e*) Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Græca*, tells us, that it was Dr. John Fell, afterwards biſhop of Oxford, to whom the literary world is indebted for this elegant and accurate edition of Aratus.

deceaſe,

deceaſe, by Mr. Bernard, fellow of St. John's college, who communicated it to the editor, together with remarks and illuſtrations by the reverend Mr. Edmund Chilmead, of Chriſt-church, who likewiſe reduced the ancient muſical characters to thoſe in common uſe. It appears by the notes, that the muſic of theſe hymns was compoſed in the Lydian mode, and Diatonic genus.

Vincenzo Galilei, father of the great Galileo, firſt publiſhed theſe hymns, with their Greek notes, in his *Dialogues upon Ancient and Modern Muſic*, printed at Florence, 1581, folio He aſſures us, that he had them from a Florentine gentleman, who copied them very accurately from an ancient Greek manuſcript, preſerved in the library of cardinal St. Angelo, at Rome, which MS. likewiſe contained the treatiſes of muſic by Ariſtides Quintilianus, and Bryennius, ſince publiſhed by Meibomius and Dr. Wallis. The Florentine edition of theſe hymns entirely agrees with that printed at Oxford. In 1602, Hercules Bottrigari mentioned the ſame hymns in his harmonical diſcourſe, called *Melone*, printed at Ferrara, in 4to. But he derived his knowledge of theſe pieces, only from the Dialogues of Galilei; however, he inſerted, in the beginning of his book, ſome fragments of them in common notes; but they were diſfigured by a number of typographical errors.

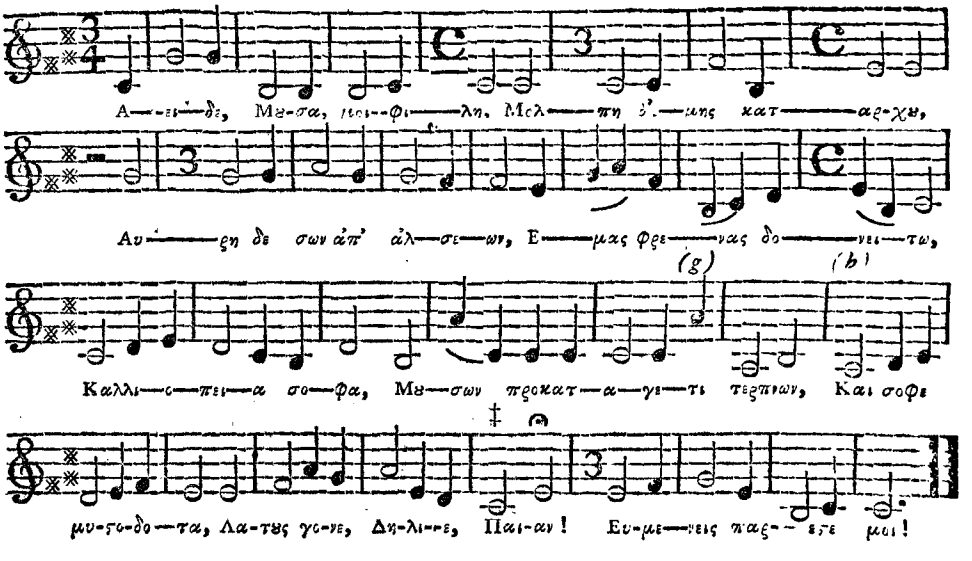
At length, in the year 1720, M. Burette publiſhed theſe three hymns, in the Memoirs of the Academy *des Inſcriptions, tome* V. from a copy found at the end of a Greek manuſcript in the king of France's library at Paris, No. 3221, which likewiſe contained the muſical treatiſes of Ariſtides Quintilianus, and of Bacchius ſenior. But though the words were confuſed, and confounded one with another, they appeared much more complete in this manuſcript than elſewhere, particularly the hymn to Apollo, which had ſix verſes more at the beginning; and that to Nemeſis, which, though deficient at the end in all the other editions, was here entire, having fourteen verſes, excluſive of the ſix firſt.

I have

I have been the more ſolicitous to trace the manner in which theſe curious fragments were diſcovered, in order to afford my reader all poſſible ſatisfaction with reſpect to their authenticity. Indeed they have been ſifted, collated, and corrected by the moſt able critics in the Greek language, as well as the moſt ſkilful muſicians of this and the laſt century: I ſhall therefore avail myſelf of all their labours; and, after preſenting the reader with a copy of the original manuſcript in the form it was at firſt diſcovered, that is, with the Greek muſical characters over the words, I ſhall inſert the ſame muſic in equivalent modern notes; and, laſtly, ſhall venture to give an Engliſh paraphraſtical tranſlation of each hymn, with remarks upon the whole.

ΕΙΣ ΜΟΥΣΑΝ, Ιαμβος Βακχειος.

σ Z Z φ φ σ σ
Αειδε, μεσα, μοι φιλη,
σπον ϊ φ M M
Μολπης δ' εμης καταρχα,
Z Z Z E Z Z ϊ ϊ
Αυρη δε σων απ' αλσεων
M ZE ϊ φσρM φ σ
Εμας φρενας δονειτω.
σ ρM ρ σ φ ρ
Καλλιοπεια σοφα,
φ Eσ σ σ σσE R φ
Μεσων προκαταγετι τερπνων
R φ σ ρ M ϊ M
Και σοφε μυσοδοτα,
M ϊ E Z EMρ σ M
Λατως γονε, Δηλιε παιαν,
M ϊZ M φ σ σ
Ευμενεις παρεσε μοι (f).



(f) In the copy of theſe hymns, publiſhed by M. Burette, from the manuſcript in the king of France's library, at Paris, the notes expreſſed by the ſmall letters ϊ ρ σ are all capitals, like thoſe in the printed diagrams of Alypius; and Vincenzo Galilei obſerves, that *Hypate Meſon*, which in the Lydian mode is C, was expreſſed by Alypius, not only with a ſmall *ſigma*, but a capital, and ſometimes by this character C. The ſame thing happened likewiſe to *Parhypate Meſon*, and to *Meſe*. *Dial. della Muſica Antica e Moderna*, p. 97.

(g) In the French MS. this is G ※.

(b) In Burette this is D.

‡ Oxford MS.

HYMN

HYMN to the Muſe CALLIOPE.

O Muſe belov'd, Calliope divine,
The firſt in rank among the tuneful Nine,
Guide thou my hand and voice, and let my lyre
Re-echo back the notes thy ſtrains inſpire.

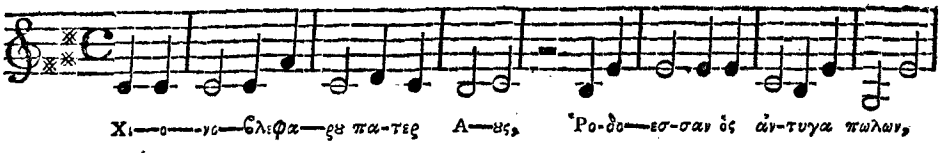
And thou, great leader of the ſacred band,
Latona's ſon, at whoſe ſublime command
The ſpheres are tun'd, whom Gods and men declare
Sovereign of ſong, propitious hear my pray'r.

ΥΜΝΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΑ.

These ſix verſes are not in the Oxford, or Italian copy.

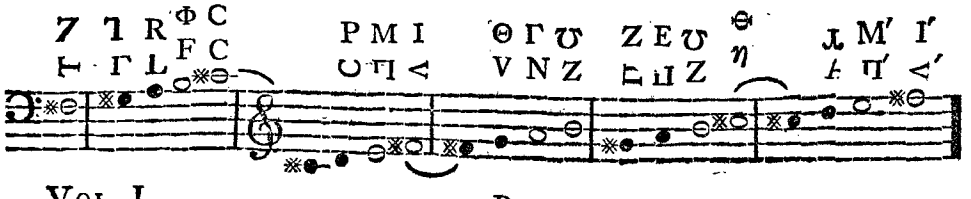
Ευφημειτω ϖας αιθηρ·
Ουρεα τεμπεα σιγατω,
Γη, και ϖοντος, και ϖνοιαι,
Ηχοι, φθογγοι τ᾽ ορνιθων·
Μελλει δε ϖρος ἡμας βαινειν
Φοιβος, ἀκερσεκομας, ἀχετας.

* σ σσσ ϊσ ρ σ φσ
Χιονοβλεφαρε ϖατερ ἀϝς
φ M M M M σ φ M ι M
Ῥοδοεσσαν ος αντυγα ϖωλων

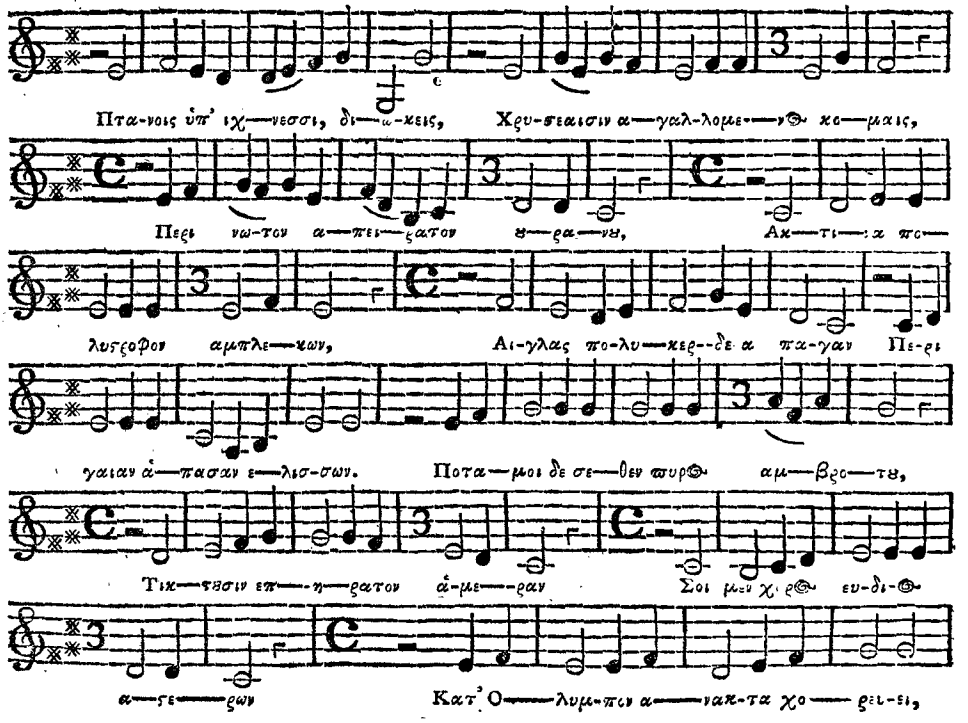


* Though the Greek notes of the Lydian mode in the Diatonic genus have already been given and explained, p. 15, I ſhall here inſert them again over the modern notes to which they correſpond, in order to enable the reader to examine the Greek melodies by this ſcale, and to convince himſelf that all the ſounds which occur in them belong to that mode.

SCALE *of the Lydian Mode, in the Diatonic Genus.*

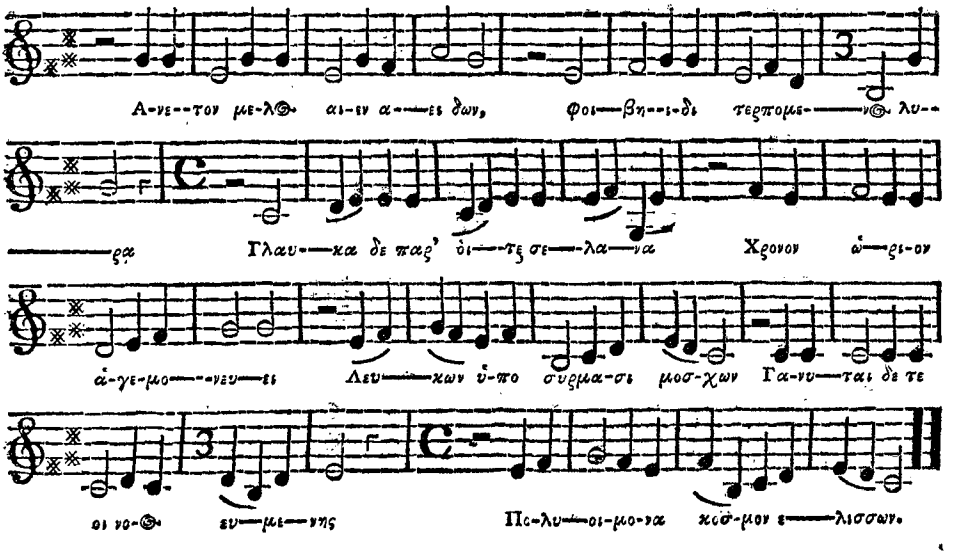


Μ ϊ Μ ρΜ ϊ ΖΊ Ζ
Πτανοις ὑπ᾽ ἰχνεσσι διωκεις,
Μ Ζ Μ Ζ ϊ Μ ϊ ϊ Μ Ζ ϊ
Χρυσεαισιν ἀγαλλομενος κομαις
Μ ϊ Ζ ϊ Ζ Μ ϊ ρ φ σ ϱ ρ σ
Περι νωτον ἀπειρατον ἑρανε.
σ ρ Μ Μ Μ Μ Μ Μ ϊ Μ
Ακτινα πολυχροφον ἀμπλεκων
ϊ Μ ρ Μ ϊ Ζ Μ ρ σ
Αιγλας πολυκερδεα πάγαν
σ ρ Μ Μ Μ σ ρ φ Μ Μ
Περι γαιαν ἅπασαν ἑλισσων.
Μ ϊ Ζ Ζ Ζ Ζ Ζ Ζ Ε ϊ Ε Ζ
Ποταμοι δε σεθεν πυρος ἀμβροτε
ϱ Μ ϊ Ζ Ζ Ζ ϊ Μ ρ σ
Τικτεσιν ἐπηρατον ἀμεραν.
σ φ σ ρ Μ Μ Μ ϱ ρ σ
Σοι μεν χορος ευδιος ἀξερων
Μ ϊ Μ Μ ϊ ρ Μ ϊ Ζ Ζ
Κατ᾽ ολυμπον ἀνακτα χορευει,



Ανετον

ZZ M Z Z MZΪE Z
Ανετον μελος αιεν ἀειδων,
M Ϊ ZZ M Ϊ ρ φ Z Z
Φοιβηιδι τερπομενος λυρᾳ.
σ ρ M M M σ ρ M M M Ϊ T M
Γλαυκα δε παρ' οιτε σελανα
Ϊ M Ϊ M M ρ M Ϊ Z Z
Χρονον ὡριον ἀγεμονευει,
M Ϊ Z Ϊ M Ϊ φ σ ρ M ϱ σ
Λευκων ὑπο σύρμασι μοσχων
σ σ σ σ σ σ ρ ρ ρ φ ρ M
Γανυται δε τε οι νους ευμενης
M Ϊ Z Ϊ M Ϊ φ σϱ M ϱ σ
Πολυοιμονα κόσμον ελισσων.



HYMN to APOLLO.

Through nature's wide domain
Let ſolemn ſilence reign:
Let all the mountains, hills, and floods,
The earth, the ſea, the winds, and woods,
The echos, and the feather'd throng,
Forbear to move, or tune their ſong.

Behold! the Lord of Light
Begins to bleſs our ſight;
Phœbus, whoſe voice, divinely clear,
E'en Jove himſelf delights to hear;
Great father of the bright-ey'd morn,
Whoſe ſhoulders golden locks adorn!

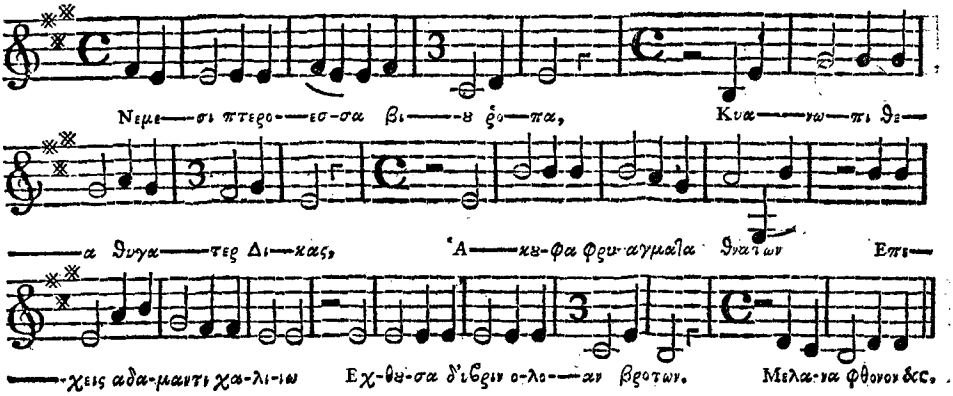
Swift through the azure ſky
O let thy courſers fly;
And with them draw that radiant car
Which ſpreads thy ſplendid rays afar,
Filling all ſpace at thy deſire
With torrents of immortal fire.

For thee, ſerene advance
The ſpheres, in ſolemn dance,
For ever ſinging as they move
Around the ſacred throne of Jove,
Songs accordant to thy lyre,
While all the heavenly hoſt admire.

And when the God of day
Withdraws his golden ray,
Do thou, ſweet Cynthia, bleſs our ſight
With thy mild beams, and ſilver light;
O ſpread thy ſnowy mantle round,
And wrap the world in peace profound.

ΥΜΝΟΣ ΕΙΣ ΝΕΜΕΣΙΝ.

ϊ. μμ μ μ ϊ μμ ϊσ ρ μ
Νεμεσι πτεροεσσα βιᾳ ῥοπα.
φ μ z z zz ε z ϊ z μ.
Κυανωπι θεα θυγατερ Δικας
μ υ υ υ υ ε z ε η υ
Ἀ κεφα φρυαγματα θνατων
υ υ μ ϊ Ω z ϊ ϊ μμ.
Επεχεις ἀδαμαντι χαλινῳ.
μ μμ μ μ μ μ σ μ φ
Εχθεσα δ᾽ ὑβριν ὁλοαν βροτων,
ρ σ φ ε ρ
Μελαινα φθονον ἐκτος ἐλαυνεις (i).



Υπο σον τροχον, ἀσατον, ἀσιδη,
Χαροπα μεροπων σρεφεται τυχα.
Ληθεσα δε παρ᾽ ποδα βαινεις·
Γαυρεμενον αυχενα κλινεις.
Υπο πηχυν ἀει βιοτον μετρεις.
Νευεις δ᾽ ὑπο κολπον ἀει κατω ὀφρυν,
Ζυγον μετα χειρα κρατεσα.
Ιλαθι, μακαιρα δικασπολε,
Νεμεσι πτεροεσσα, βιᾳ ῥοπα.
Νεμεσιν θεον ἀδομεν ἀφθιταν
Νημερτεα, και παρεδρον Δικαν,
Δικαν, ταυυσιπτερον, ὁμβριμαν,
Ἀ ταν μεγαλανοριαν βροτων
Νεμεσεως ἀφαιρει και ταρταρᾳ.

(i) The reſt of the muſical characters are loſt.

HYMN to NEMESIS (k).

Avenging Nemeſis, of rapid wing,
Goddeſs of eye ſevere, thy praiſe we ſing:
Againſt thy influence, ruler of our lives,
Daughter of Juſtice, man but vainly ſtrives.
'Tis thine to check with adamantine rein
The pride of mortals, and their wiſhes vain;
Of inſolence to blunt the lifted dart,
And drive black Envy from the canker'd heart.
Still at the pleaſure of thy reſtleſs wheel,
Whoſe track the Fates from human eyes conceal,
Our fortune turns; and in life's toilſome race
'Tis thine, inviſible, our ſteps to trace;
To ſtrew with flow'rs, or thorns, the doubtful maze,
And by thy rule to circumſcribe our days.
Inſulting tyrants, at thy dire decree,
Bow the proud head, and bend the ſtubborn knee:
Inflexible to each unjuſt demand
Frowning thou hold'ſt thy ſcales with ſteady hand.
Incorruptible judge, whom nought can move,
Nor leſs infallible than mighty Jove:
Great guardian! ever watchful, ever near,
O ſacred miniſter of juſtice, hear!
Avenging Nemeſis, of rapid wing,
Goddeſs of eye ſevere, thy praiſe we ſing.
And let Aſtræa, thy companion, ſhare
Our pious praiſes, and our fervent pray'r.
She mounts the ſkies, or plunges into hell
With rapid flight, the deeds of man to tell;
Dread Juſtice! whoſe report has power t'aſſuage
The wrath of Gods, and calm infernal rage.

(k) In the firſt chorus of the Electra of Sophocles, there is a fine deſcription of this goddeſs; aud among the poems attributed to Orpheus there is a hymn to Nemeſis, Ω Νεμεσι, κληζω σε θεα βασιλεια μεγιστη.

Though

Though the Oxford editor of Aratus is of opinion that theſe three hymns were all written by a poet called Dionyſius; yet as thirteen or fourteen Greek poets of that name are mentioned by ancient authors, the determining to which of them theſe hymns appertain, would be difficult. Beſides, the hymn to Nemeſis is by ſome attributed to a poet named *Meſodmes*, who flouriſhed under the emperor Juſtinian; but M. Burette thinks the name *Meſodmes*, corrupted from *Meſomedes*; and Capitolinus, in his Life of Antoninus Pius, mentions a lyric poet of that name, from whom that emperor withdrew part of a penſion granted to him by Adrian, for verſes which he had written in praiſe of his favourite Antinous. This circumſtance is likewiſe mentioned by Suidas; and Euſebius, in his Chronicle, ſpeaks of Meſomedes, as a poet originally of Crete, whom he calls κιθαρωδικων νομων μελοποιος ποιητης, which agrees very well with the author of the hymn in queſtion. But whoever were the writers of theſe pieces, it is certain that the laſt, addreſſed to Nemeſis, is more ancient than Synethius, a father of the church, who flouriſhed four hundred and twelve years after Chriſt; and who, in his ninety-fifth letter, quotes three verſes from it as from a hymn that was ſung in his time to the ſound of the lyre; and it is likewiſe certain that the compoſition of this hymn, as well as of the other two, bears ſtrong marks of having been written at a time when Greek poetry was ſtill flouriſhing.

The ſpecimens of ancient muſic are ſo rare, that the few which remain cannot be too carefully collected, or diſcuſſed too minutely. M. Burette, after enumerating all the Greek poets of the name of Dionyſius, and ſpecifying the works that have been attributed to them, fixes upon Dionyſius, ſurnamed *Iambus*, as the author of the two firſt hymns, to which the original muſic has been preſerved. This author is quoted by Plutarch (*l*), and by Clemens Alexandrinus (*m*). Whence it may be concluded that this poet, though the exact time when he flouriſhed is unknown,

(*l*) De Muſica. (*m*) Strom. lib. V.

was

was certainly more ancient than Plutarch, M. Burette puſhes conjecture ſtill further, and ſuppoſes that this Dionyſius was even more ancient than Dionyſius of Thebes, the muſic-maſter of Epaminondas, according to Cornelius Nepos, and whom Plutarch, from Ariſtoxenus, in his Dialogue on Muſic, ranks among the moſt illuſtrious lyric poets of antiquity; ſuch as Lamprus, Pindar, and Pratinas. And in this caſe the hymns to Calliope and Apollo are not only more ancient than that to Nemeſis, attributed to Meſomedes, but of the higheſt antiquity. It is likewiſe the opinion of M. Burette, that the muſic of theſe hymns is nearly as ancient as the hymns themſelves.

I ſhall not trouble the reader with all my reaſons for the ſeveral changes and deviations from former editions, that occur in the manner of printing theſe melodies; it ſeems only neceſſary to ſay that they have been made from the beſt copies and authorities I could procure. Three things, however, are particularly to be conſidered with reſpect to this muſic: the *Notes*, or characters, by which they are expreſſed; the *Melody*, or air; and *Rhythm*, or meaſure.

c

1. *Of the Notes of the Ancient Muſic to the Hymns.*

Of the fifteen ſounds in the ancient ſyſtem of muſic, only ten are employed in the melody ſet to theſe hymns, and theſe are the ten loweſt, according to our method of reckoning. As to the notes which expreſs theſe ſounds, they are eleven in number, becauſe two of them, Γ and E, ſerve to expreſs the ſame ſound in two different relations. In the Oxford edition of the firſt hymn; five notes were wanting, which have been ſupplied from the manuſcript in the king of France's library, and from the copy given of it in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Inſcriptions*, by M. Burette. Some other corrections have been made, by comparing the vocal notes of the Lydian mode, in which theſe hymns are compoſed, with the inſtrumental, which uſed to be placed in a ſeparate line under the vocal.

2. *Of*

2. *Of the Modulation, or Melody of this Muſic.*

It was diſcovered that theſe three hymns were ſung in the Lydian mode of the Diatonic genus, by comparing the notes with thoſe given by Alypius, in his catalogue of the characters uſed in that mode, which, in counting from the bottom, was the tenth, among the fifteen ancient modes. All the commentators, except Sir Francis Eyles Stiles, ſeem certain that theſe fifteen modes only differed from each other by a ſemitone; ſo that, ſuppoſing the loweſt ſtring, or ſound of the loweſt mode or key, which was called the *Hypodorian*, correſponded with our A on the firſt ſpace in the baſe; it follows, that the loweſt ſound of the Lydian mode anſwered to F ſharp on the fourth line in the baſe, and the higheſt ſound to F ſharp on the fifth line in the treble, which extended to two octaves, the compaſs of the ancient ſyſtem of muſic. However, it muſt not be concluded from this circumſtance that theſe three hymns are in F ſharp, according to the modern muſical language. They are ſuppoſed to be in the Lydian mode, only on account of the melody being confined within the limits of the two octaves appropriated to this mode; and not becauſe the three eſſential ſounds, which, in modern muſic, are the key note, third, and fifth, frequently occur.

It has already been obſerved, Section IV. that the *medius*, or middle ſound, in all the ancient modes, is a minor, or flat third. Indeed the melody of the two firſt hymns begins and ends upon the fifth of the Lydian mode; that of the third hymn begins upon the octave of the firſt ſound of the mode; but as the muſic of only the five firſt verſes, and half the ſixth is preſerved, we are ignorant upon what ſound this melody ended.

According to the ſyſtem of modern muſic, the firſt hymn begins in the key of C♯, with a minor third; the ſecond in the key of F♯ minor; and what remains of the laſt hymn, ſeems to be in the key of A with a ſharp third, as the firſt note, F , would be only regarded as an *Appoggiatura* by moſt mo-

dern muſicians. But why M. Burette, and, after him, all other editors of this muſic, except M. Marpurg, have printed the third hymn with *four* ſharps, and yet pronounced it to be in the Lydian mode, which has no D♯ belonging to it, I know not; as D is always natural throughout this fragment.

Theſe melodies, though no other ſounds are uſed in any of them than what belong to the Lydian mode, very frequently change the key, according to modern language and ideas; which ſhews what a different ſenſe from ours the ancients annexed to the term *mode* or *key*. They only underſtood by it a certain degree of elevation, or acuteneſs, in the general ſyſtem of their muſic, in which the ſounds always followed in the ſame order; whereas in ours, keys are diſtinguiſhed from each other, not only by their ſituation in the ſcale with reſpect to high and low, but by their different arrangement with reſpect to mutable intervals, ſuch as thirds and ſixths, which conſtitute major and minor, or ſharp and flat keys, beſides the different modifications that theſe keys receive from temperament, which in inſtruments, whoſe tones are fixed, are characterized and diverſified by a greater or leſs degree of perfection in the intervals and concords, though all the intervals of major and minor keys are nominally, and eſſentially the ſame.

As to the order and ſucceſſion of ſounds in the ancient melody of theſe hymns, ſome of them are repeated ſeveral times together, and in ſome places as often as ſix or ſeven, and even nine times; others move in conjunct or disjunct degrees, aſcending or deſcending, and theſe disjunct intervals are by a major, or minor third, a fourth, a tritonus, a fifth, ſixth major or minor, a ſeventh, eighth, ninth, or tenth. Through all the ſimplicity of theſe melodies, which ſomewhat reſemble the *Canto Fermo* of the Romiſh church, it appears that the muſician, by the arrangement of ſounds, aimed at the expreſſion of the words. Something alſo ſeems to be indicated in this muſic like *Appoggiaturas*, by two notes, which are ſung to one and the ſame ſyllable, ſometimes aſcending and deſcending by regular degrees, ſometimes by

by leaps of a ſixth, and even a tenth, which in ſimple melody is very extraordinary (*n*). Though it has been ſaid, Section VI. that only one note was ſung to one ſyllable, yet here we often find two notes to a *long ſyllable*; but then they are conſtantly two *ſhort notes*, which amount but to the natural length of the ſyllable. Upon the whole, theſe melodies are ſo little ſuſceptible of harmony, or the accompaniments of many parts, that it would be even difficult to make a tolerable baſe to any one of them, eſpecially to the firſt.

3. *Of the Rhythm, or Time, in this Muſic.*

The *Rhythm*, or cadence of theſe hymns, though correſpondent to the different feet of the verſes in which they are written, is not always regular; but in the hymn to Calliope it is ſometimes in common time, and ſometimes in triple. M. Burette was the firſt who divided the time by bars, in the modern manner; but as the accents and long ſyllables in his copy frequently occur upon ſhort notes, and unaccented parts of the bars, I have ventured to divide the meaſure in ſuch a manner as ſeemed beſt to make the accent of the muſic coincide with the quantity of the verſe, in which we are taught to think the Greeks were very exact.

It would be difficult to write the muſic of the Dithyrambic to Calliope in one meaſure, on account of the different kinds of of verſe; but the *rhythm* ſeems ſufficiently aſcertained by the word Ιαμβος, which is written at the title of the manuſcript, and by the Greek ſyllable σπον, for σπονδειος, placed between the firſt and ſecond verſe in all the three manuſcripts, juſt above the word μολπης, where two notes were wanting in the muſic. Theſe two words probably imply that the *rhythm* is partly in the iambic meaſure, or triple time, and partly in ſpondees and dactyls, which are equally in common time.

(*n*) Theſe *Appoggiaturas*, or ſhort notes, are always upon the circumflex. Some of them bring to mind a fault very common in bad Engliſh ſinging, in which violent force is frequently given to leanings upon remote and diſſonant notes, without grace or meaning.

It has always appeared to me as if M. Burette was mi[illegible] in ſuppoſing the ſecond and third hymns to be in triple time. The melody ſeems more marked, and the words better accentuated, by ſinging them in common time; and it looks on paper more like muſic of this world. However, candour requires that the reaſons alledged by M. Burette for printing them in triple time ſhould be given.

"I have reduced theſe hymns, ſays this author, to our mea-
" ſure of common and triple time, always placing a reſt or pauſe
" at the end of each verſe. This mixture and variety of mea-
" ſure, which is always exactly proportioned to the quantity of
" the ſyllables in the poetry, contributes greatly to the *energy*
" and *expreſſion* of the melody (*o*)."

M. Burette continues to acquaint us that he found out the rhythm of the hymn to Apollo, by a note written in red ink, on the margin of the king of France's manuſcript, in the following words: Γενος διπλασιον, ὁ ῥυθμος δωδεκασημος; and above theſe words, the mark for the iambic, expreſſed by the uſual characters ˘ ¯. By which he underſtands that the *rhythm* of this piece of poetry is in the double genus, or the iambic, which is the ſame thing; for in this meaſure, the latter portion has only one ſyllable or note, and the former two, or thoſe proportions. This *rhythm* is compoſed of twelve ſyllables, or parts, equivalent to twelve ſhort notes, or what we ſhould call twelve *breves*, compared with ſix *longs*, or twelve crotchets oppoſed to ſix minims; ſo that there

(*o*) This is an aſſertion that I cannot poſſibly paſs uncontroverted; for moſt of the muſicians in Europe, except thoſe of France, will abſolutely deny the truth of it, and, on the contrary, will affirm, that the frequent change of time in the muſic of the ſerious French opera, relaxes the meaſure, and deſtroys all idea of the accent and energy by which every phraſe in good melody is conſtantly marked. By two or three bars being in common time, and two or three in triple, as is generally the caſe in the operas of Lulli and Rameau, the hearer can retain no fixed or preciſe idea of either; the paſſages in one mutually deſtroying the effects of the other; for the traces are either loſt, or ſo ſlightly impreſſed in the memory, that the work is always to begin anew. The chief ſuperiority of modern melody over that of former times, is certainly due to the graceful arrangement of ſounds, and the exact and continued manner with which they are enforced by the meaſure, and the accentuation of the bars. The difficulty of diſtinguiſhing the airs from the recitatives in the old muſic, particularly the French, is owing to the frequent change of meaſure, and the want of accent in the bars and muſical phraſes.

are

are four for the *up*, or laſt part of a bar, and eight for the *down*, or firſt part, and the contrary, each verſe making one *rhythm* or meaſure; which, however, may be divided into two parts, or bars; and this method M. Burette has purſued, keeping always the ſame proportions.

But the marginal directions for the time, written in red ink upon the French manuſcript, are, in all probability, modern; and it amounts to the ſame thing if the verſe be divided into three parts, which has been done in writing the hymns in common time. There is no one of the verſes, however, which does not contain more in quantity than twelve breves or crotchets, and, indeed, ſome of them include fourteen or fifteen, which, from the ſtrict adherence to poetical quantity in the muſic, muſt render the time looſe and disjointed; but regarding the redundant ſyllables as *odd notes*, the verſes all run thus: ˘ ¯ ˘ | ¯ ˘ ˘ | ¯ ˘ ˘ | ¯ ¯ | or ſometimes | ¯ ˘ | ¯ | which renders a ſudden change to triple time neceſſary; a change which always convulſes the hearer.

But I muſt give an account here of ſome alterations that have been made in the text, for the ſake of the muſic, by the advice of a friend, to whoſe opinion I have frequently appealed in matters of erudition. In the firſt hymn, M. Burette has made all the ſyllables ſhort, in the word προκατᾰγετι; but the ſecond alpha is long: for the word, out of its Doric dreſs, is προκατηγετι, *leader*. This miſtake has made the melody more aukward than it need be, for which there was no occaſion. In the ſecond hymn, ὑπ' ἰχνεσι, diſturbs the metre, and *ſyncopates* the muſic; but by inſerting another ſigma, as the poets frequently do, and ſeparating the iota from the reſt of the word, as is likewiſe often practiſed, all will be right; for a doubtful vowel before a mute and a liquid, as χν, may be either ſhort or long.

¯ | ¯ ˘ ˘ | ¯ ˘ ˘ | ¯ ¯

Πτανοις ὑπ' ἰ-χνεσσι δι-ωκεις.

I know not whether juſtice has been done to theſe melodies; all I can ſay is, that no pains have been ſpared to place them in the cleareſt and moſt favourable point of view: and yet, with all the

advantages of modern notes and modern meaſure, if I had been told that they came from the Cherokees, or the Hottentots, I ſhould not have been ſurpriſed at their excellence. There is muſic which all mankind, in civilized countries, would allow to be good; but theſe fragments are certainly not of that ſort: for, with all the light that can be thrown upon them, they have ſtill but a rude and inelegant appearance, and ſeem wholly unworthy of ſo ingenious, refined, and ſentimental a people as the Greeks; eſpecially if we ſubſcribe to the high antiquity that has been given to two of the hymns, which makes them productions of that period of time when arts and ſciences were arrived in Greece at the higheſt point of perfection.

I have tried them in every key, and in every meaſure that the feet of the verſes would allow; and as it has been the opinion of ſome, that the Greek ſcale and muſic ſhould be read Hebrew-wiſe, I have even inverted the order of the notes, but without being able to augment their grace and elegance. The moſt charitable ſuppoſition therefore that can be admitted concerning them is, that the Greek language being in itſelf accentuated and ſonorous, wanted leſs aſſiſtance from muſical refinements than one that was more harſh and rough: and muſic being ſtill a ſlave to poetry, and wholly governed by its feet, derived all its merit and effects from the excellence of the verſe, and ſweetneſs of the voice that ſung, or rather recited it. For mellifluous and affecting voices nature beſtows from time to time on ſome gifted mortals in all the habitable regions of the earth; and even the natural effuſions of theſe muſt ever have been heard with delight. But, *as muſic*, there needs no other proof of the poverty of ancient melody, than its being confined to long and ſhort ſyllables. We have ſome airs of the moſt graceful and pleaſing kind, which will ſuit no arrangement of ſyllables to be found in poetical numbers, ancient or modern; and which it is impoſſible to expreſs by mere ſyllables in any language with which I am at all acquainted.

I come now to ſpeak of a fourth piece of ancient Greek muſic, inſerted in the *Muſurgia* of Kircher, p. 542; from which it was tranſcribed by the Oxford editor of Aratus, and publiſhed with

with the three hymns above mentioned. Father Kircher has been very truly called *vir immenſæ quidem, ſed indigeſtæ admodum eruditionis:* a man of immenſe, but indigeſted, learning. It was very natural to ſuſpect the authenticity of a fragment of this kind coming from one, who, though he had diſplayed great learning in the number of huge volumes which he publiſhed, yet, was always careleſs, inaccurate, and credulous; collecting without choice or diſcernment, whatever he found relative to the ſubject upon which he was writing; and adopting whatever was offered to him, true or falſe, provided it contained any thing marvellous.

In his *Muſurgia*, printed at Rome, 1650, in folio, after giving an account of the Greek muſical characters, from Alypius, he tells us, that "nothing now remains for him to do relative to ancient muſic, but to give a genuine ſpecimen of it, which he ſuppoſed the more neceſſary, as no one had hitherto thought fit to ſatisfy the eager curioſity of the learned upon a ſubject ſo intereſting, and ſo utterly unknown." From this paſſage it appears, that the manuſcripts publiſhed by the two Italian authors, Vincenzio Galilei, and Ercole Bottrigari, had eſcaped the reſearches of father Kircher, though both much anterior to him, the one appearing in 1581, and the other in 1602.

However, the ſpecimen of ancient Greek muſic which father Kircher gives us, is the more intereſting, as he tells us that it had never been edited before, but was found by himſelf in the famous Sicilian library of the monaſtery of St. Saviour, near the port of Meſſina. He calls it a very ancient fragment of Pindar; it is accompanied with the ancient Greek muſical notes, which are the ſame as Alypius attributes to the Lydian mode. Unluckily, what our good father calls *a very ancient fragment* of Pindar, was nothing more than the firſt eight verſes of the firſt Pythic of this poet; which gives no very favourable idea of his acquaintance with the ancient poets.

However, to remove all doubt concerning the authenticity of this manuſcript, with reſpect to the muſic, the catalogue of Greek manuſcripts in St. Saviour's library was examined, as publiſhed in Latin by P. Poſſevin, but without ſucceſs. At length, application:

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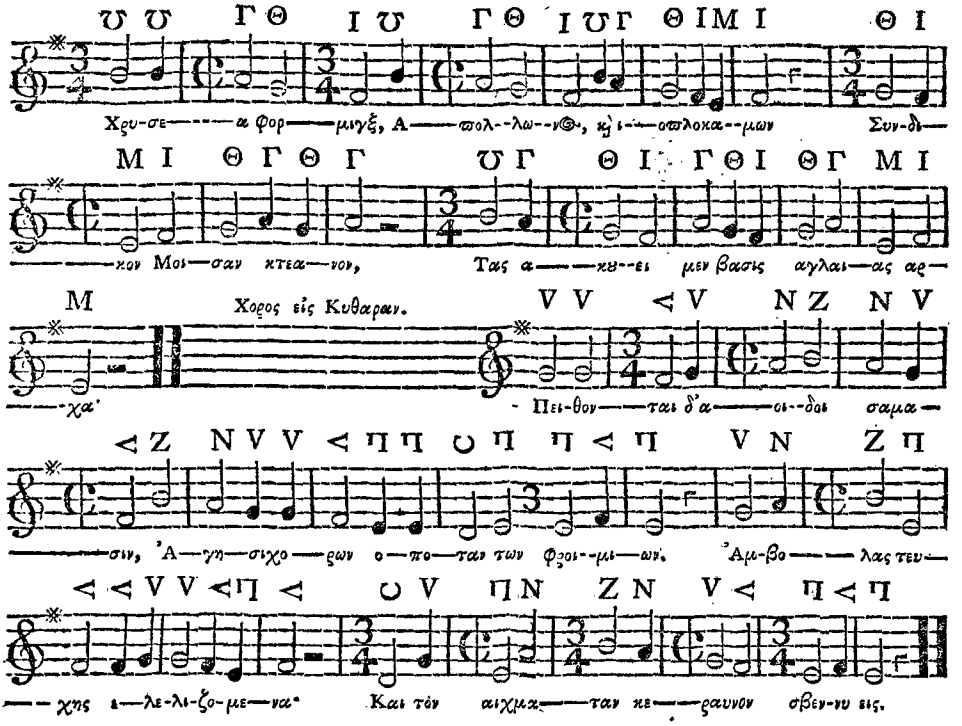
tion was made by M. Burette to father Montfaucon, who was known to be in poſſeſſion of copies of all the moſt valuable manuſcripts in the principal libraries of Europe; and among theſe the manuſcripts of St. Saviour's library had not been forgotten. But in conſulting the catalogue of theſe, they were found to conſiſt chiefly of the writings of the Greek fathers, with fewer prophane authors than are mentioned in the catalogue publiſhed by Poſſevin. However, in the laſt article were found the following words: Πολλα δε αλλα βιβλια περιεχουσι τα παντα περι της χορης; that is, *there are ſtill many books in manuſcript relative to the choral ſervice*, which muſt mean *church muſic*. It was doubtleſs, ſays M. Burette, among ſuch manuſcripts as theſe that father Kircher diſcovered the fragment of an Ode of Pindar ſet to muſic, as it ſeems the natural place for ſuch a relic to be found, and it is in vain to ſeek for a further juſtification of the editor.

Of theſe eight verſes of the firſt Pythic of Pindar, which were found with ſuch ancient muſical characters over them, as belong to the Lydian mode *(p)*, the four firſt have a melody ſet to them for one or many voices; the four laſt compoſe a different melody, at the beginning of which were the following Greek words: χορος εις κιθαραν; *chorus ſung to the ſound of the Cithara*; and over the words of each verſe are written the characters peculiar to inſtrumental muſic; which ſhews that the ſecond melody was not only executed by voices, but accompanied by one or more *Citharas*, that played in uniſons, or octaves, to the voice. The melody of theſe eight verſes is extremely ſimple, and compoſed of only ſix different ſounds; which is a cogent proof of the antiquity of the muſic, ſince the lyre of ſeven ſtrings had more notes than were ſufficient for its execution.

(p) If it were not for the muſical characters over the notes, which belong to the Lydian mode, this melody might with more propriety be ſaid to be in the Phrygian mode.

ODE of PINDAR.



This Ode has been happily tranſlated by Mr. Weſt.

Part of the firſt Pythian ODE.

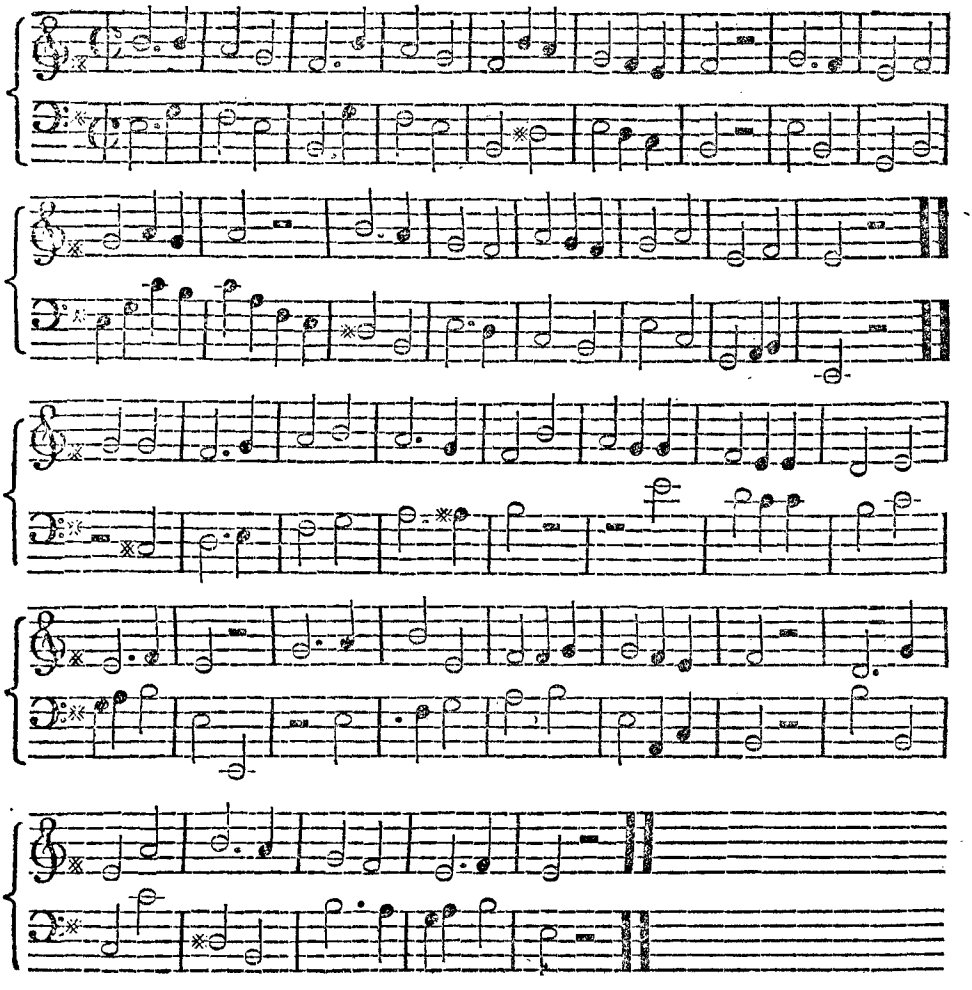
Hail, golden lyre! whoſe heav'n-invented ſtring
To Phœbus, and the black-hair'd Nine belongs;
Who in ſweet chorus round their tuneful king
Mix with thy ſounding chords their ſacred ſongs.
The dance, gay queen of pleaſure, thee attends;
Thy jocund ſtrains her liſt'ning feet inſpire:
And each melodious tongue its voice ſuſpends,
'Till thou, great leader of the heav'nly quire,
With wanton art preluding giv'ſt the ſign—
Swells the full concert then with harmony divine.

WEST's Pindar, vol. I. p. 84.

The muſic, reduced to modern notes, is manifeſtly in the key of E minor, as appears from the modulation and final note. The firſt part begins upon the fifth of the key, the ſecond upon the third. Moſt of the cloſes in the courſe of the melody are made, not as is uſual with us, by the ſharp ſeventh of the key, but in aſcending by a whole tone from the ſeventh to the eighth; a kind of cadence very common among the Oriental people; at leaſt, if we may judge by ſome Perſian airs brought into Europe by the miſſionaries, of which moſt of the cloſes are of that kind; and in none of the moſt ancient eccleſiaſtical chants is the ſharp ſeventh to be found.

With regard to this melody, it was reduced to common notes by M. Burette, in the *Memoires de l'Academie des Inſcriptions, tome* V. with all poſſible care, though ſomewhat different from father Kircher's copy, inſerted in his *Muſurgia*. The reaſons for deviating from this father are the following: in the firſt place he had written it in G with a minor third; that is to ſay, three notes higher than the original will allow; ſecondly, he had made ſeveral miſtakes in the melody, which have been adjuſted by the Greek tablature; and laſtly, he had obſerved no kind of *rhythm*, or meaſure, whereas it is now minutely attended to, and exactly conformable to the quantity of ſyllables which anſwer to the muſical notes. Indeed the *rhythm* could not be made regular, the feet of the verſe being a mixture of dactyls and iambics.

This melody however is ſo ſimple and natural, that by reducing it to regular time, either triple or common, and ſetting a baſe to it, which it is very capable of receiving, it will have the appearance and effect of a religious hymn of the preſent century.



Dr. Jortin, in his Letter concerning the Muſic of the Ancients, addreſſed to Mr. Aviſon, and annexed to the ſecond edition of his *Eſſay on Muſical Expreſſion*, was ſomewhat unfortunate, when in his wiſhes for a ſpecimen of ancient Greek melody he fixed upon Pindar's firſt ode; the only piece of Greek poetry generally known, in which theſe wiſhes might have been gratified. "If, "ſays he, we had the old muſical notes which were ſet to any "particular *ode* or *hymn* that is extant, I ſhould not deſpair of "finding out the length of each note; for the quantity of ſylla-

" bles would *probably* be a tolerable guide (*q*); and I would con-
" ſent to truck the works of Signor Alberti for the tune that was
" ſet to Pindar's

Χρυσεα φορμιγξ' Απολλωνος—"

This author goes on informing us by his conjectures concerning what the Greek melody was, that he had never heard of the ſpecimens which had been publiſhed of it by Vincentio Galilei, Bottrigari, Kircher, the Oxford editor of Aratus, or by M. Burette, in the *Memoirs of the Academy of Inſcriptions*.

In the poſtſcript, however, he mentions the Oxford edition of Aratus; but what uſe has he made of it, except to tell us that he ſaw there " ſome learned obſervations on ancient muſic, and a few " fragments of ancient tunes to ſome Greek odes and hymns, re-" duced to our modern *notation?*"

Was not this the time and place to tell us what this muſic was? how far it excelled the modern? and that he was ſtill ready to ſacrifice the elegant works of poor Alberti for ſo invaluable an acquiſition as the *tune* that was ſet to his favourite ode of Pindar? Not a word eſcapes from the author concerning his raptures upon ſeeing in venerable Greek characters, as well as in ſharp-cornered Gothic notes, this divine muſic, nor of the effect it had on his paſſions when he heard it performed; he only tells us that " it " came into his mind he had peruſed it long ago; and upon look-" ing now in the book, he found two remarks of the editor, agree-" ing with his own notions, about *time*, *quantity*, and *ſimplicity*."— He could not ſubmit either to the humiliating taſk of confeſſing that he did not underſtand this muſic; or that its excellence did not at all correſpond with the high ideas he had, unheard, and unſeen, formed of it.

I ſhall beſtow a word or two more upon this Letter, now I am on the ſubject. The author ſuppoſes that " one great ad-" vantage which aroſe even from the ſimplicity of the ancient " tunes, and which greatly ſet off their concert of vocal and " inſtrumental muſic, was, that the ſinger could be underſtood, " and that the words had their effect as well as the muſic; and " then the charms of elegant and pathetic poeſy, aided and ſet

(*q*) It is the *only* guide to the length of ancient notes.

" off

" off by the voice, perſon, manner, and accent of the ſinger, " and by the ſound of inſtruments, might affect the hearer very " ſtrongly." We do not, however, often find this to be the caſe with Italian recitative, though it more than anſwers this deſcription in every particular, when the poeſy is Metaſtaſio's, and the ſinger, beſides his fine voice, figure, and action, poſſeſſes the moſt exquiſite taſte and expreſſion. For even, at ſuch time, the audience is, in general, yawning and languiſhing for the air, which, by its ſuperior ſweetneſs in melody to recitative, makes them forget poeſy, declamation, propriety, and every thing but their ears. A line of recitative, ever ſo pathetically, or emphatically pronounced, ſeldom extorts that thundering applauſe from an audience, which is beſtowed on a great actor for ſpeaking only two or three words; though an air ſung by the ſame performer, whoſe recitatives had been heard with coldneſs and indifference, is honoured with rapturous applauſe, and an univerſal *encore!*

The author, in ſpeaking of " the harmonious and unrivalled " ſweetneſs of the Greek language, ſays, as the Latin tongue " ſurpaſſes ours in ſweetneſs, ſo the Greek ſurpaſſes the Latin. " When I taught my little boy his Greek nouns and verbs (ſays " Tanaquil Faber), he told me one day a thing that ſurpriſed me, " for he had it not from me. Methinks, ſaid he, the ſound of " the Greek tongue is much more agreeable than that of the " Latin. You are in the right, ſaid I.—By this I perceived that " the boy had a good ear, which I took as *a preſage that his " taſte and his judgment would one day be good*; having often ob- " ſerved that this is one of the earlieſt and beſt marks of a child's " capacity." This obſervation is, in my opinion, ſo unphiloſophical, and wide of the truth, that it ſhould only have been mentioned by our author to cenſure it. A good ear in a child may be a preſage of his genius for muſic; and there have been many great muſicians without taſte or judgment in any thing but their own profeſſion. But ſome of the wiſeſt men, and of the greateſt talents, in other particulars, I am ſorry to ſay it, have not had ear enough for muſic to diſcover the difference, not only between good and bad muſic, but between one tune and another. And

yet

yet theſe great and wiſe men, in other particulars, think themſelves qualified to write, talk, and decide, about muſic, in a more peremptory manner, than thoſe of the greateſt feeling and genius, who have long made it their particular ſtudy. Poor human nature is never to be perfect: however the muſician pities the man without ears; and the man without ears, in revenge, heartily condemns the fiddling fool, who can be delighted with ſuch nonſenſe.

SECTION VIII.

Whether the Ancients had Counterpoint, or Muſic in Parts.

THIS is a ſubject which has given birth to many learned diſquiſitions and diſputes; and as it long remained a mere matter of opinion, thoſe who believed, and thoſe who denied the point in queſtion, conſequently treated each other with all due polemic acrimony. The champions for antiquity thought themſelves involved in the controverſy; and whether they were poſſeſſed of muſical knowledge, or were ſenſible to the charms of harmony, or no, they determined to regard every man as an enemy to ſound literature, who did not ſubſcribe to the articles of their faith.

A poem, called *Le Siecle de Louis le Grand,* written by Charles Perrault, of the Academy of Sciences, and brother to Claude Perrault, the famous phyſician and architect, occaſioned the long and acrimonious diſpute between him and Boileau, and ſoon brought on a general war among the learned throughout Europe, concerning the ſuperiority of the ancients or moderns, with reſpect to arts, ſciences, and literature. This piece was firſt read by the author at the Academy of Sciences in 1687, and was ſoon followed by his *Parallele des Anciens et des Modernes.* The notes to Boileau's tranſlation of Longinus were intended as a reply to Perrault; and are full of bitter invectives, not only againſt him, but the moderns in general. Racine, La Bruyere, and Fontenelle, took ſides in the quarrel, which in France was kept alive, with great animoſity, for near thirty years.

In England, the controverſy between Sir William Temple and Mr.

Mr. Wooton, Mr. Boyle and Dr. Bentley, and Swift's *Battle of the Books*, were conſequences of this quarrel.

Thoſe who had written *ex profeſſo* on muſic, had frequently differed in their opinions concerning counterpoint having been known by the ancients, previous to the learned, in general, intereſting themſelves in the diſpute; and before I give my own opinion, as an individual, it is incumbent on me, as an hiſtorian, to lay before my readers the ſentiments of others, and the reaſons, or prejudices, upon which they were founded. Many who doubt of far more important points, though ſuch as human evidence can never determine, would, however, be glad to have them demonſtrated. I have read and conſidered the ſeveral arguments which have been urged for and againſt the queſtion, with a mind open to conviction, and certainly free from prejudice *againſt* the ancients; for, on the contrary, I have always admired and reverenced them in the models they have given us in every ſpecies of writing, as well as in the beautiful remains of their ſculpture, painting, and architecture, and therefore ſhould moſt willingly contribute my utmoſt in ſupport of their claims to a melody and harmony ſuperior to our own, if there were facts ſufficiently numerous, clear, and indiſputable, to found them upon.

However, as the whole diſpute, at this diſtance of time, from the periſhable materials upon which the ancient ſymbols of ſound were traced, reſts upon *conjecture*, or at moſt upon preſumptive proof; and as I have no favourite hypotheſis to ſupport, which would incline me to give *all* the evidence in favour of *one ſide*, and conceal, or miſconſtrue, whatever would be for the advantage of the other; I ſhall put into two honeſt and even ſcales all that can be urged in ſupport of *both ſides*, and then ſuſpend them by the balance, as ſteadily as *Juſtice* will enable me, in order to let the reader ſee, and judge for himſelf, which of them preponderates.

The moſt eminent writers on the ſide of ancient *Counterpoint* are, Gaffurio, Zarlino, Gio. Battiſta Doni, Iſaac Voſſius, Zaccharia Tevo, the abbé Fraguier, and Mr. Stillingfleet, author of *Principles and Power of Harmony*.

Thoſe againſt it are, Glareanus, Salinas, Bottrigari, Artuſi, Cerone, Kepler, Merſennus, Kircher, Claude Perrault, Wallis, Bontempi,

tempi, Burette, the fathers Bougeant and Cerceau, Padre Martini, M. Marpurg, and M. Rouſſeau.

Claude Perrault, and M. Burette, indeed, ſeem inclinable to grant it them *by thirds*; and M. Marpurg by *fourths* and *fifths*.

The learned father Martini has collected many of the depoſitions of the ſeveral writers on both ſides, with great accuracy and fairneſs; but as I am in poſſeſſion of all the books he quotes, and of others, which it will be neceſſary to mention in the courſe of the diſpute, I ſhall give ſome account of each, before I ſum up the evidence.

Gaffurius Franchinus flouriſhed in the fifteenth century; his writings were the firſt that came from the preſs, upon the ſubject of muſic, after the invention of printing. One of them, under the title of *Theoricum Opus Armonicæ Diſciplinæ* was publiſhed at Naples, 1480; but that in which he allows the ancients to have known counterpoint, appeared firſt at Milan, 1496, and afterwards at Breſcia, 1502; this has for title, *Practica Muſicæ utriuſque Cantus*.

This author quotes Bacchius ſenior as his authority for the ancients having practiſed ſimultaneous harmony; but unluckily not a ſingle word can be found in that writer, which has the leaſt alluſion to the ſubject. Counterpoint, as Bontempi obſerves, is the *Practice of Harmony*, and Bacchius ſenior, in his *Introduction to the Art of Muſic*, only treats of the *Theory of Melody*.

Zarlino (*a*) ſuppoſes it impoſſible for the ancients to have made uſe of inſtruments of many ſtrings, without playing in conſonance; and that the hydraulicon, or water-organ, muſt have afforded them opportunities of diſcovering and uſing different parts. In anſwer to the firſt ſuppoſition, of the ancients having many ſtrings upon the lyre, this did not happen till ſeveral ages after its invention, as at firſt the number was only 3, 4, 5, 7, or 8; but we might oppoſe to the ancient lyre of many ſtrings, the Iriſh harp, which long had a greater number than the lyre, and yet theſe did not ſuggeſt to the performers upon the harp, the idea of counterpoint, or of playing in parts; as that inſtrument remained many ages a ſingle or treble inſtrument, uſed only for the purpoſe of playing a ſimple melody, or ſingle part.

(*a*) *Supplimenti Muſicali. Venet.* 1580.

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This is not the place in which to diſcuſs the ſecond point; in a future chapter, upon the inſtruments of the ancients, I ſhall endeavour to give my readers ſome idea of the hydraulicon: the uſe made of it by Zarlino comes under thoſe preſumptions in favour of ancient harmony, which, having no other ſupport than conjecture, can never amount to demonſtration. However, if the firſt idea of an organ was taken from the *Syrinx*, or *Fiſtula Panis*, which, after being improved into *Tibiæ utriculares*, or bagpipes, was further perfected by the addition of keys, as is the opinion of Bartolinus and Blanchinus, it muſt have been a long time before that inſtrument was capable of being played in parts, ſuppoſing counterpoint to have been in uſe; and if the hydraulic organs, ſtill to be found in Italy, are remnants of the ancient, they will furniſh no very favourable idea of their powers.

John Baptiſt Doni, a Florentine nobleman, who flouriſhed in the laſt century, ſpent the greateſt part of his life in the ſtudy and defence of ancient muſic. His writings and opinions were very much reſpected by the learned, though but little attended to by practical muſicians; on which account moſt of his treatiſes, which are very numerous, are filled with complaints of the ignorance and degeneracy of the moderns, with reſpect to every branch of muſic, both in theory and practice.

It is no uncommon thing for philoſophers, mathematicians, and men of letters, abſorbed in mere ſpeculation, to condemn in their cloſets, unheard and unſeen, the productions and performance of practical muſicians; who, in their turn, contemn whatever theory ſuggeſts as viſionary, and inadmiſſible in practice, without giving themſelves the trouble to conſider, or even to read, the principles upon which an hypotheſis may be founded.

"Brother, brother, we are both in the wrong," is a conceſſion that many diſputants might make, with great truth, beſides Peachum and Lockit.

It ſeems as if theory and practice were ever to be at ſtrife; for the man of ſcience, who *never hears muſic*, and the muſician, who *never reads books* muſt be equally averſe to each other, and unlikely to be brought to a right underſtanding.

That Doni was but little acquainted with the muſic which delighted the ears of his cotemporaries, appears in many parts of his works; and as to his belief that the ancients knew and practiſed counterpoint, and that their muſic was ſuperior to the modern in every particular, it ſeems to have been founded upon no better grounds than that of his predeceſſors, Gaffurio and Zarlino: but if it was ſuch as Doni has imagined, and given in example, the ears of mankind, to have been delighted with it, muſt have been differently conſtructed formerly, from thoſe of the preſent times, which are pleaſed with modern harmony.

This writer ſeems full of inconſiſtencies, with reſpect to ancient counterpoint. He is unwilling that the Greeks and Romans ſhould be deprived of it; and yet, in ſpeaking of its uſe among the moderns, he calls it *nemico della muſica*. His reaſons for allowing it to the ancients, are chiefly drawn from their vocal notes being different from the inſtrumental; from the early invention of the hydraulic, and other organs; from the numerous ſtrings upon ſome of their inſtruments; and from a ſtriking paſſage in Plutarch (*b*), which he thinks deciſive, as it proves, that though the moſt ancient muſicians uſed but few ſtrings, yet theſe were tuned in conſonance, and diſpoſed with as much art as in our inſtruments at preſent. Theſe points will be ſeverally conſidered in the courſe of this ſection.

Doni left behind him at his death, beſides many printed works upon ancient muſic (*c*), a great number of unfiniſhed eſſays and tracts relative to that ſubject, and the titles of many more. Few men had indeed conſidered the ſubject with greater attention. He ſaw the difficulties, though he was unable to ſolve them. The titles of his chapters, as well as many of thoſe of father Merſennus, and others, are often the moſt intereſting and ſeducing imaginable. But they are falſe lights, which, like *ignes fatui*, lead us into new and greater obſcurity; or, like the ſpecimens of fruit

(*b*) Περὶ Μουσικῆς.

(*c*) *Compend. del Trat. de' Genere e de' Modi della Muſica. De præſtantiâ Muſicæ Veteris*; and particularly his *Diſcorſo ſopra le Conſonanze.*

brought

brought from the *Land of Promiſe*, which thoſe in whom they excited the ſtrongeſt deſire, never lived to ſee.

The next Champion for ancient harmony was Iſaac Voſſius, who is greatly admired for his elegant and claſſical Latin, and more frequently quoted in favour of ancient muſic, than any other modern who has treated the ſubject; but *good writing*, and *fair reaſoning*, are ſometimes different things; that is, a ſelection of well-ſounding words, formed into harmonious periods, may ſubſiſt without the ſupport of either truth or logic. Voſſius, in his celebrated book (*d*), ſeems more ready to grant every poſſible and impoſſible excellence to the Greek muſicians, than, when alive, they could have been to aſk. None of the poetical fables, or mythological allegories, relative to the power and efficacy of their muſic, put the leaſt violence upon his credulity. A religious bigot, who inſiſts upon our ſwallowing implicitly every thing, however hard of digeſtion, is leſs likely to make converts to his opinions, than he who puts our faith to few trials; and Voſſius overcharged his creed ſo much, that it is of no authority.

He does not attribute the efficacy of the Greek and Roman muſic to the richneſs of its harmony, or the elegance, the ſpirit, or pathos, of its melody, but wholly to the force of *Rhythm*. "As long, ſays he, p. 75, as muſic flouriſhed in this *Rhythmical form*, ſo long flouriſhed that power which was ſo adapted to excite, and calm the paſſions." According to this opinion there was no occaſion for melifluous ſounds, or lengthened tones; a drum, a cymbal, or the violent ſtrokes of the Curetes, and Salii, on their ſhields, as they would have marked the time more articulately, ſo they would have produced more miraculous effects than the ſweeteſt voice, or moſt poliſhed inſtrument. In another place he tells us, that "to build cities, ſurround them with walls, to aſſemble or diſmiſs the people, to celebrate the praiſes of Gods and men, to govern fleets and armies, to accompany all the functions and ceremonies of peace and war, and to temper the human

(*d*) *De Poem. Cantu et Virib. Rythmi.* 1673.

paſſions, were the original offices of muſic: in ſhort, ancient Greece may be ſaid to have been wholly governed by the lyre (*e*)."

It appears from this paſſage, and from the tenor of his whole book, that this author will not allow us to doubt of a ſingle circumſtance, be it ever ſo marvellous, relative to the perfection and power of ancient muſic; the probable and the improbable are equally articles of his belief; ſo that with ſuch a lively faith, it is eaſy to imagine that he ranks it among mortal ſins to doubt of the ancients having invented and practiſed *Counterpoint*; and he conſequently ſpeaks with the higheſt indignation againſt the moderns, for daring to deny that they were in poſſeſſion of a ſimultaneous harmony, though, according to him, they uſed it with ſuch intelligence and diſcretion, as never to injure the poetry by lengthening, ſhortening, or repeating words and ſyllables at their pleaſure, nor by that moſt abſurd of all cuſtoms, ſinging different words to ſeveral different airs at the ſame time.

This author's remarks, however, on the little attention that is paid by modern compoſers to proſody, merit ſome reſpect. He has already been quoted in the ſection upon *Rhythm (f)*, and will, perhaps, more than once be occaſionally mentioned in the courſe of this work. With regard to the preſent queſtion, whether the ancients had counterpoint or not, he cites the uſual paſſages in their favour from Plato, Ariſtotle, Cicero, and Seneca, all which will be allowed due attention farther on.

The name of Zacharia Tevo is but little known, though he is an ingenious and candid writer, who has read good books, and reflected deeply on the ſubject of muſic *(g)*. However, as he is a favourer of ancient counterpoint, whoſe name appears in the liſt of its champions, he ſhall have a few words beſtowed upon him among the reſt.

This author very modeſtly ſtyles himſelf a collector and compiler of the opinions of others concerning ancient harmony.

(*e*) *Urbes condere, mœnia moliri, conciones advocare et dimittere, Deorum et virorum fortium laudes celebrare, claſſes et exercitus regere, pacis bellique munia obire*, &c.—*Lyra eſt quæ veterem rexerit Græciam.* P. 47.

(*f*) Page 82.

(*g*) *Il Muſico Teſtore*, or the *Compoſer*, was publiſhed by him at Venice, 1706.

Indeed

Indeed new materials can now hardly be expected: new conjecjectures are all that time, and the many writers who have already handled the ſubject, have left. After citing paſſages from the moſt reſpectable writers of antiquity, which ſeem to favour the ſide of counterpoint, and giving the ſentiments of the moſt eminent moderns upon theſe paſſages, he concludes, that "from the minute and accurate deſcription of concords by ancient authors, it is natural to ſuppoſe they were not unacquainted with the uſe of them." But it is as neceſſary to know, and to aſcertain intervals in *melody* as in *harmony*, otherwiſe there can be no truth, or certainty of intonation; and this author diſſembles the difficulty of thirds and ſixths being ranked among the diſcords by ancient theoriſts. It is his opinion, however, that harmony was known before the time of Plato and Ariſtotle; but that it was loſt with other arts and ſciences during the barbariſm of the middle ages; and afterwards, about the year 1430, according to Vincentio Galilei, its practice was renewed, its limits were extended, and its rules eſtabliſhed on certain principles, which for the moſt part remain in force at preſent. Indeed all that he ſays may be allowed to the ancients, without putting them in poſſeſſion of ſuch harmony as ours, conſiſting of different melodies performed at the ſame time.

The abbé Fraguier is the next in the liſt of defenders of ancient harmony. This learned academician was unable to perſuade himſelf that antiquity, ſo enlightened, and ſo ingenious in the cultivation of the fine arts, could have been ignorant of the union of different parts, in their concerts of voices and inſtruments, which he calls *the moſt perfect and ſublime part of muſic*; and thinking that he had happily diſcovered, in a paſſage of Plato, an indubitable and deciſive proof of the ancients having poſſeſſed the art of counterpoint, he drew up his opinion into the form of a memoir, and preſented it to the Academy of Inſcriptions and *Belles Lettres*, in 1716 (*h*).

(*h*) M. Burette acquaints us that this abbé learned to play on the harpſichord at an advanced age, and concluding that the ancients, to whom he generouſly gave all good things, could not do without counterpoint, made them a preſent of that harmony, with which his aged ears were ſo pleaſed.

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The paſſage in queſtion is in the ſeventh book of Laws, in which Plato determines that the proper time for young perſons to learn muſic is from thirteen to ſixteen years of age; during which period he ſuppoſed they might be enabled to ſing in uniſon with the lyre, and to diſtinguiſh good muſic from bad; that is, ſuch airs as were grave, decorous, and likely to inſpire virtue, from thoſe that were of a light and vicious caſt. This is ſpeaking like a legiſlator, ſays the abbé Fraguier. But as harmonic compoſition was very bewitching to minds ſo remarkable for ſenſibility as the Greeks, and was, beſides, of ſo difficult a ſtudy, as to require infinite time and labour to accompliſh, he thought it neceſſary to caution them againſt too ſtrong an attachment to it, and therefore eſtabliſhed a kind of rule, by which they would be prevented from giving that time to muſical ſtudies, which might be better employed in more important concerns.

This is but the introduction to the paſſage in queſtion, which is the following: "As to the difference and variety in the accompaniment of the lyre, in which the ſtrings produce one air, while the melody compoſed by the poet produces another, (the poet then ſet his own verſes,) whence reſults the aſſemblage of denſe and rare, of quick and ſlow, acute and grave, as well as of *concord* and *diſcord* (*i*); beſides, the knowing how to adjuſt the rhythm, or meaſure, to all the ſounds of the lyre: theſe are not ſtudies fit for youth, to whom three years only are allowed for learning merely what may be of future uſe to them. Such contrarieties of different difficulties in the ſtudy and practice of muſic, are too embarraſſing, and may render young minds leſs fit for ſciences, which they ought to learn with facility."

It does not ſeem neceſſary here to enter into a verbal criticiſm of this paſſage, as it has been underſtood and tranſlated by the abbé Fraguier; nor to inſert two other paſſages, one from Cicero, and one from Macrobius, which this author has given by way of

(*i*) Though the abbé Fraguier tranſlates ἀντιφωνον, *diſſonance*, it is not the true acceptation of the word, nor can it be found thus explained in any lexicon, or Greek writer on muſic; its preciſe and technical meaning will be given farther on.

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corollaries, in ſupport of his explanation of the paſſage in Plato; as I ſhall conſign him and his fancied proofs in favour of ancient counterpoint to his brother academician M. Burette, the moſt able writer, in many particulars, of all thoſe who have intereſted themſelves in the diſpute concerning ancient muſic.

The laſt champion, though by no means the leaſt formidable, for ancient harmony, was the late Mr. Stillingfleet, in his ingenious Commentary upon a muſical Treatiſe by Tartini (*k*). If ſtrong prejudices in favour of the ancients appear in this work, they are natural to a man of learning and taſte, who has long drank of the pure fountain of knowledge at the ſource; and Boileau has truely ſaid, that thoſe who have been the moſt captivated in reading the beſt writings of antiquity, have been men of the firſt order, and of the moſt exalted genius (*l*).

Though I am not ſo happy as to agree entirely with Mr. Stillingfleet in all his muſical opinions, yet it is a juſtice due to his merit as a writer, to confeſs, that I am acquainted with no book in our language, upon the ſame ſubject, which a ſcholar, a gentleman, or a muſician, can read with ſo much pleaſure and profit as the *Principles and Power of Harmony*.

As Mr. Stillingfleet, in forming his judgment, was able to have recourſe to original information, his opinions ſeem intitled to ſome reſpect.

Tartini, in his *Trattato di Muſica*, p. 143 (*m*), advances the following propoſition: "That, if ſimultaneous harmony was "known to the Greeks, they could not, and ought not to uſe it, "in order to arrive at the end propoſed; but ought to employ a "ſingle voice in their ſongs." This propoſition he ſupports with arguments drawn from ſtrong reaſon, and deep reflection. Tartini modeſtly declared himſelf to be no ſcholar; however he had perfectly informed himſelf of the famous diſpute, whether the ancients knew and practiſed harmony, in our ſenſe of the word. He ſeems to have been gifted with native diſcernment and pene-

(*k*) *Principles and Power of Harmony.*

(*l*) *Des eſprits du premier ordre, des hommes de la plus haute elevation.* Lettre à M. Perrault.

(*m*) In Mr. Stillingfleet's Commentary. p. 70.

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tration in all his muſical enquiries, which uſually conducted him to truth, though not always by the beaten or ſhorteſt road.

Mr. Stillingfleet peaceably allows him to doubt of the ancients having known counterpoint, during the examination of his book; but in the appendix to *Principles and Power of Harmony*, §. 181, he takes the matter up ſeriouſly.

" Dr. Wallis, ſays he, tells us, that the ancients had not *conſorts* of two, three, four, or more parts or voices. Meibomius aſſerts much the ſame thing; and this is, one may almoſt ſay, the univerſal opinion. Some, however, of the writers on muſic have produced paſſages out of the ancients, which ſeem to imply the contrary, but which are not looked on as concluſive by others: ſuch as that out of Seneca, Epiſtle lxxxiv, " *Non vides quam multorum vocibus*," &c. where perhaps nothing but octaves are implied. Another paſſage cited by Iſaac Voſſius, *De Poemat. Cant.* &c. out of the piece *De Mundo*, attributed to Ariſtotle, ſeems to be more to the purpoſe, μιξις οξεις, &c. i. e. muſic, mixing together acute and grave, long and ſhort ſounds, forms one harmony out of different voices. Wallis alſo has produced a paſſage out of Ptolemy, which he thinks may infer muſic in parts. Ptol. *Harm.* p. 317. But the ſtrongeſt which I have met with, in relation to this long diſputed point, is in Plato; a paſſage which I have never ſeen quoted, and which I ſhall tranſlate."

It appears from this declaration, that Mr. Stillingfleet knew not that the *Memoire* of the abbé Fraguier, juſt mentioned, was written merely to explain this paſſage of Plato, and to confute that in which Dr. Wallis denies counterpoint to the ancients. I ſhall, however, give Mr. Stillingfleet's tranſlation of the paſſage in Plato, in order to let my readers ſee how he underſtood it, before I enter upon M. Burette's examination of the ſame paſſage.

" Young men ſhould be taught to ſing to the lyre, on account " of the clearneſs and preciſion of the ſounds, ſo that they may " learn to render tone for tone. But to make uſe of different " ſimultaneous notes, and all the variety belonging to the lyre, " this ſounding one kind of melody, and the poet another—to " mix a few notes with many, ſwift with ſlow, grave with acute,

" con-

" consonant with *dissonant*, &c. must not be thought of; as the " time allotted for this part of education is too short for such a " work." Plato, 895.

" I am sensible, says Mr. Stillingfleet, that objections may be made to some parts of this translation, as of the words πυκνότης, μανότης, and ἀντιφωνοις; but I have not designedly disguised what I took to be the true sense of them, after due consideration. It appears then, upon the whole, that the ancients were acquainted with music in parts, but did not generally make use of it."

Having now ranged in chronological order the principal writers who have stood forth in defence of ancient harmony, and fairly stated the reasons which they have severally urged in support of their opinions, I shall next proceed in the same manner to relate all the different proofs alledged by those who have traversed the cause of the ancients.

Glareanus and Salinas are so unanimous in thinking counterpoint a modern invention, that they make use of precisely the same words in denying it to the ancients (*n*). The *Dodecachordon* of Glareanus was published in 1547; and the *Treatise of Music* by Salinas, in 1577. Their opinion was, that the great musicians of antiquity, when they accompanied themselves on the lyre, played only in unison with the voice; and that nothing can be found in the books that are come down to us, which can be urged in proof that *music in parts* was known to the ancients.

The opinion of Glareanus upon this matter would not have much weight with me, had it not been confirmed by that of Salinas, a much better judge of the subject; for though Glareanus, says Meibomius, was, in other respects, a very learned man, yet, in ancient music, he was an infant (*o*).

(*n*) *Scio autem dubitari vehementer etiamnum hac ætate inter eximiè doctos viros, fueritne apud veteres hujusmodi, quam nunc tradituri sumus, musicæ,* (Salinas ait, *cantus plurium vocum*), *cum apud nullum quod equidem sciam, authorem veterem quicquam hujus cantus inveniatur. Multo minus etiam videtur quibusdam quatuor pluriúmve vocum concentus olim in usu fuisse.* Dodecachord. lib. iii. p. 195. Salinas de Musica, lib. v. p. 284.

(*o*) *Glareanus, homo ut cætera doctissimus, sic in antiqua musica infans.* In Aristox. p. 103.

The cavalier Hercules Bottrigari of Bologna, was poſſeſſed of much muſical learning. He was the author of ſeveral treatiſes upon muſic, that were printed about the latter end of the ſixteenth century, and left ſeveral others behind him in manuſcript, which are now in the poſſeſſion of Padre Martini, particularly one upon the *Theory of Fundamental Harmony*, in which there is the following paſſage, that puts his opinion concerning ancient counterpoint out of all doubt.

" As neither ancient muſicians, nor eccleſiaſtics, had charac-
" ters of different value to expreſs time, or make ſounds very
" long or very ſhort, they had conſequently no other meaſure of
" time in ſinging, as far as I have been able to diſcover, among
" the Hebrews, Greeks, or firſt eccleſiaſtics, than that of an arti-
" culately quick, or ſlow pronunciation; nor were they acquaint-
" ed with that diverſity of different parts in conſonance, which
" in modern muſic conſtitutes as many different airs as there are
" parts ſet to the principal melody (*p*)."

Artuſi, another muſical writer of the ſixteenth century, whoſe opinions were much reſpected by his cotemporaries, expreſſes himſelf very clearly on the ſubject in queſtion. " In the firſt ages of
" the world, during the infancy of muſic, there was no ſuch thing
" as ſinging in parts, as counterpoint is a modern invention (*q*)."

The next in the liſt of writers of eminence, who denies harmony, in our ſenſe of the word, to the ancients, is Cerone, author of an excellent treatiſe upon muſic in Spaniſh, which is become extremely ſcarce. This writer ſays " it is neceſſary to
" obſerve, that the muſic of the ancients was not diverſified
" with ſo many inſtruments; nor were their concerts compoſed

(*p*) *Non avendo avuto i muſici antichi, anco eccleſiaſtici la differenza del diverſo valore delle varie note, la importantia della miſurata grande, o picciola quantità del tempo di quelle; imperocchè altra miſura di tempo non ho fin quì trovato, che aveſſero in cantando, ne gli Ebrei, i Greci, i primi eccleſiaſtici, che quella della tarda, o veloce buona lor pronuncia: ne la diverſità delle tante arie in uno iſtante medemo, che tante ſono, quante ſono le parti, di che la cantilena è compoſta.* Il Trimerone de' Fondam. Arm.

(*q*) *Ne' primi ſecoli, nel naſcere di queſta ſcienza, non cantavano in conſonanza, eſſendo che il cantare in conſonanza, è un moderno ritrovato.* P. D. Gio. Maria Artuſi. Arte del Contrapunto, delle Conſon. imperf. et Diſſon. p. 29. Venet. 1598.

" of

" of ſo many different parts. or ſuch a variety of voices as the " preſent (*r*)."

The famous Kepler was ſo far from allowing to the ancients ſuch harmony as is practiſed by the moderns, that he ſays, though Plato in his Republic ſpeaks as if ſomething like it were in uſe, he ſuppoſes if they ever had any accompaniment to their melodies by way of baſe, it muſt have been ſuch a one as is produced by the drone of a bagpipe (*s*). This is, perhaps, being as unjuſt to the ancients, as thoſe are to the moderns, who will not allow them to have made any progreſs in muſic, becauſe they are unable by their compoſitions and performance, to cure diſeaſes, tame wild beaſts, or build towns.

Father Merſennus ſays, " as to the Greeks, and people ſtill more ancient we know not whether they ſung in different parts, or accompanied a ſingle voice with more than one part. They might, indeed, vary the ſounds of the lyre, or ſtrike ſeveral ſtrings together, as at preſent; but there is no treatiſe on playing that inſtrument come down to us: however, as the ancient books on other parts of muſic which are preſerved, are ſilent with reſpect to counterpoint, it is natural to ſuppoſe that antiquity was ignorant of the art (*t*)."

Marſilius Ficinus, who in the fifteenth century wrote a commentary upon the *Timæus* of Plato, aſſerts that the Platoniſts could not have underſtood muſic ſo well as the moderns, as they

(*r*) *Es menester advertir que la muſica de los antiguos no era con tantas diverſidades de inſtrumentos——Ni tampoco ſus concentos eran compueſtos de tantas partes, ni con tanta variedad de bozes hazian ſu muſica, como agora ſe haze.* El Melopeo y Maeſtro Tractado de Muſica Theorica y Practica. Napoles, 1613.

(*s*) *Etſi vox*, harmonia, *veteribus uſurpatur pro cantu; non eſt tamen intelligenda ſub hoc nomine, modulatio per plures voces, harmonicè conſonantes. Novitium enim inventum eſſe, veteribuſque planè incognitum, concentus plurium vocum in perpetuâ harmoniarum viciſſitudine, id probatione multâ non indiget.* Harmon. Mundi, p. 80, 1650.

(*t*) *Quant aux Grecs, et aux plus anciens, nous ne ſçavons pas s'ils chantoient, à pluſieurs voix, et bien qu'ils ne joigniſſent qu'une voix à leurs inſtrumens, ils pouvoient neanmoins faire trois ou pluſieurs parties ſur la lyre, comme l'on fait encore aujourdhui, et une autre avec la voix. Joint que les livres qu'e les Grecs nous ont laiſſés de leur muſique, ne teſmoignent pas qu'ils ayent ſi bien connu et pratiqué la muſique, particulierement celle qui eſt à pluſieurs parties, comme l'on fait maintenant, et conſequemment il n'eſt pas raiſonable de les prendre pour nos juges en cette matiere.* Harmonie Univerſelle, livre iv. p. 204. Paris, 1636.

were inſenſible to the pleaſure ariſing from Thirds, and their replicates, which they regarded as *diſcords*; notwithſtanding the ſeventeenth, tenth, and third major, are the moſt grateful of our concords, and ſo neceſſary, that without them our muſic would be deſtitute of its greateſt ornament, and counterpoint become monotonous and inſipid.

Kircher ſays, though the ancients may have uſed ſome of the concords in counterpoint, yet there were others, ſuch as the thirds and ſixths, which are ſo grateful in our compoſitions. that were utterly prohibited; and as to the uſe of diſcords, by which ſuch fine effects are produced in modern muſic, it was an art of which they had not the leaſt conception (*u*).

Claude Perrault, the famous architect, and member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, publiſhed a *Diſſertation upon the Muſic of the Ancients*, in 1680, which is chiefly employed in proving that counterpoint was unknown to antiquity; he has manifeſted himſelf to have been perfectly maſter of the ſubject; he had read all the ancient authors who have written expreſly upon it; he had examined the paſſages which have been thought the moſt favourable to it, in ſome authors who have only mentioned it occaſionally; and had conſidered the marvellous effects attributed to it in others; he reaſons forcibly, and the facts he alledges in ſupport of the ſide he has taken, are ſtrong and well ſtated. This work was neither the cauſe, nor conſequence of the quarrel between Boileau, and his brother, Charles Perrault, which did not break out till ſeven years after the publication of the *Eſſays in Natural Philoſophy*, in the ſecond volume of which the *Diſſertation upon the Muſic of the Ancients* firſt appeared. Our author had indeed given his opinion upon the ſubject very freely in the notes to his excellent tranſlation of Vitruvius in 1673;

(*u*) *Muſurgia*, lib. vii. tom. i. p. 547. The learned and laborious Meibomius, p. 35, who was moſt willing to beſtow upon the ancients whatever would redound to their honour, at the expence of the moderns, gives no proofs of their knowledge of counterpoint. Two paſſages which he quotes from Bryennius and Pſellus, writers of the middle ages, ſhew, that even in their time, thirds and ſixths made no part of their *Antiphonia*, or *Paraphonia*.

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where, in his commentary of the chapter upon *Harmonic Muſic, according to the Doctrine of Ariſtoxenus*, he declares that "there is nothing in Ariſtoxenus, who was the firſt that wrote upon concords and diſcords, nor in any of the Greek authors who wrote after him, that manifeſts the ancients to have had the leaſt idea of the uſe of concords in muſic of many parts (*x*)."

Satire is an excellent weapon when employed againſt vice and folly; but it becomes a baſiliſk in the hands of a man of ſtrong paſſions and little feeling, who only employs it to blaſt the reputation, and wither the laurels of thoſe who differ from him in opinion, or whom mere caprice ſhall incline him to diſlike; it is then a deadly inſtrument, an edged tool in the hands of a miſchievous child, or a madman. I have never been able to diſcover, after a minute enquiry and peruſal of the literary hiſtory and quarrels of the learned in France, during the reign of Lewis the fourteenth, any other cauſe for the hatred and deteſtation which Boileau long manifeſted for Charles Perrault, but that he was a friend to the poet Quinault, whom poſterity has however allowed to be a modeſt and inoffenſive man, of true genius; yet Boileau not only hated him, and his manner of writing, but furiouſly attacked all who were connected with him. In his *Art of Poetry*, his *Satires*, and in a great number of *Epigrams*, he calls the moſt learned phyſician of his age and country, "an ignorant quack, an aſſaſſin, an enemy to health and good ſenſe;" and of the beſt architect France has ever produced, he ſays, that "through pity to human kind, or rather want of practice, he quitted phyſic for the trowel, and in a few years raiſed as many bad buildings, as he had before ruined good conſtitutions."

This ſhews how dangerous it is to depend upon poetical information concerning the vice or virtue, the genius or dulneſs, of individuals. It does not appear that either Quinault, or Perrault, ever tried to retaliate Boileau's abuſe; but luckily poſterity has done them juſtice; and M. de Voltaire, among others, has reſcued their characters from the infamy with which the ſurly ſatiriſt

(*x*) *Les dix Liv. d'Architecture de Vitruve*, liv. V. p. 161, 2d Edit. 1684.

had

had loaded them. "Quinault, he ſays, is no leſs admired for his beautiful lyric poetry, than for the patience with which he ſuffered the unjuſt ſeverity of Boileau. During his life it was believed that he owed his reputation to Lulli; but his poetry will always be read, though the muſic of Lulli is already inſupportable. Time ſets a juſt value on all things."

And Claude Perrault he allows to have been not only a moſt accurate naturaliſt, profoundly ſkilled in mechanics, and an admirable architect, but that he was poſſeſſed of great abilities in all the arts, which he acquired without a maſter; and finiſhes his character by ſaying, that he encouraged the talents of others under the protection of the great ſtateſman Colbert, and enjoyed a high reputation, in ſpite of Boileau (*y*).

But to return to *Counterpoint*.—There is a famous paſſage in the *Treatiſe on the Subline of Longinus*, cap. xxiv. which has been made uſe of in favour of ancient harmony. The ſubject of the chapter is the *Periphraſis*. "I believe, ſays Longinus, no one will diſpute the utility of the periphraſis in the ſublime; for as the *principal ſound* is rendered ſweeter by what are called the *Paraphoni*, ſo the *Periphraſis* often *accords* with the *proper* word, and by that *conſonance* adorns the diſcourſe."

Boileau has tranſlated φθογγοι παραφωνοι, *different parts*, from his *belief* that the ancients had *counterpoint*: "For I am not of the opinion of thoſe moderns, ſays he, who will not allow *different parts* to that muſic, of which ſuch wonders are related, ſince, without *parts*, there could be no *harmony*." But he did not know, that by *harmony* the ancients always underſtood what we mean by *melody*, as may be proved from ancient muſical treatiſes, as well as from a paſſage in Longinus himſelf, cap. xxxiii. where *harmony* applied to the human voice in the ſingular number, muſt mean melody; a miſtake that perſons not verſed in muſic, are apt to make. Mr. Addiſon talks of an *harmonious voice* (*z*).

How-

(*y*) *Siecle de Louis* XIV.

(*z*) This is ſpeaking *à la Grecque*, and preſerving the ancient and original import of the word *harmony*, which implied preciſely what the moderns mean by *melody*. The following definitions, with which I was ſome years

However, Boileau, in this inſtance, only declared his religious principles and veneration for antiquity, in oppoſition to the ſentiments of his antagoniſt, Perrault; and in this he has been rather more humble and modeſt than uſual; for he concludes his note on the paſſage by ſaying, "I ſubmit this matter, however, to the learned in muſic, for I have not ſufficient knowledge in the art to determine the point."

Upon the whole, it muſt be allowed, that a periphraſis, which implies many words to expreſs the ſame thing, gives a truer idea of melody than harmony, according to the modern acceptation of

years ſince favoured by Mr. Maſon, in conſequence of a converſation on the ſubject of ancient muſic, are too applicable to the preſent purpoſe, not to excite in me a deſire of communicating them to the reader; to whom they will appear the more important, as Mr. Maſon, however he may have wiſhed it, has not been able to conceal from his friends, how little his genius and taſte have been confined to poetry, or how great a progreſs he has made in the knowledge and practice of muſic. I hope, therefore, that he will pardon my vanity in thus divulging the intereſt he has kindly taken in the ſubject of theſe enquiries.

MUSICAL DEFINITIONS.

"*Harmony* of the Ancients.

The ſucceſſion of ſimple ſounds, according to their Scale, with reſpect to acuteneſs or gravity.

MELODY.

"The ſucceſſion of theſe harmonical ſounds, according to the laws of Rhythm or Metre, or, in other words, according to Time, Meaſure, and Cadence.

Harmony of the Moderns.

The ſucceſſion of combined ſounds, or chords, according to the laws of counterpoint.

MELODY.

What the ancients meant by *Harmony*, Rhythm and Metre being excluded.

AIR.

What the ancients underſtoood by Melody.

"According to theſe definitions it appears that Harmony, as we call it, was unknown to the ancients; that they uſed that term as we uſe ſimple melody, when we ſpeak of it as a thing diſtinguiſhed from modulated air; and that their term Melody was applied to what we call air, or ſong. If this be true, much of the difficulty in underſtanding ancient muſical writers will vaniſh.

"If an ancient Tibicen uſed an improper tone or ſemitone, or tranſgreſſed the rule of the mode or key in which he was playing, he committed an error in Harmony; yet his melody might have been perfect, with reſpect to the laws of Rhythm and Meaſure. We ſhould rather ſay of a modern muſician, in the ſame inſtance, that *he ſung or played wrong notes, or was out of tune, yet kept his time.* Whoever made this diſtinction would have been allowed by the ancients to poſſeſs a good *harmonical ear*, though the moderns would call it an *ear* for Melody, or Intonation. I put this familiar inſtance only to make the difference of the definitions more clear."

thoſe

thoſe words, and a paſſage *varied*, or a ſingle note broken into diviſions, has a great ſimilitude to *circumlocution*.

Angelini Bontempi, the next opponent of ancient counterpoint, is truly a formidable one. He was not only an excellent practical muſician, but a profound theoriſt, and a ſcholar. With theſe qualifications he read the ancient authors upon the ſubject of muſic, in the languages in which they were originally written, and compoſed a hiſtory of muſic, in one ſmall volume, folio, which is better digeſted, and better executed in moſt of its parts than any other, of the ſame ſize, that has been produced.

This author, after examining all the ancient genera, ſyſtems, and proportions, declares that it is no longer a matter of doubt and conjecture, but a certainty, of the moſt clear and eaſy demonſtration, that ancient muſic conſiſted of only a ſingle part, as the treatiſes which are come down to us have conſidered nothing more than contiguous and ſucceſſive ſounds, and, conſequently, the uſe of *counterpoint* was utterly unknown to the ancients: though the moderns, without reading or underſtanding the doctrines of the ancient fathers of this ſcience, have imagined, and have perſuaded others to imagine, that they were in poſſeſſion of it (*a*).

The learned doctor Wallis has given great offence to the defenders of antiquity, by the contempt which he has thrown upon ancient muſic, both in his appendix to the *Harmonics of Ptolemy*, and in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*. His opinions are indeed the more to be feared by them, as it could never be ſaid that they were founded upon ignorance; for they were obliged to allow that he knew more of ancient muſic than any modern, except Meibomius, who, likewiſe, with all his knowledge of the ſubject, and

(*a*) *Da queſti pochi aſſiomi o dimoſtratione d'Ariſtoſſeno ſi ſcopre, non per dubbioſa conghiettura: ma per chiara e manifeſta evidenza, che la muſica antica, ſicome quella, che non ha conſiderato ſe non i ſuoni contigui e ſuſſeguenti, altro non ſia ſtata, che muſica appartenente ad una ſola voce; e che l'uſo del contrapunto, non ſia giammai pervenuto alla notitia degli antichi; ſiccome i moderni, ſenza havere o letto o inteſo la dottrina degli antichi Padri di queſta ſcientia, ſi ſono perſuaſi; et hanno co' loro ſcritti procurato di perſuaderne anco gli altri.* Hiſtoria Muſica di Gio. And. Angelini Bontempi. Perugia, 1695, p. 168.

admi-

admiration of the ancients, could diſcover nothing in their muſical treatiſes upon which to found their claim to the knowledge of *counterpoint*.

Doctor Wallis, who had no prejudices againſt muſic in general, or that of the Greeks in particular, ſaid, that as far as he was able to diſcover, the union of two, three, four, or more parts, as they are called, or ſounds in conſonance, which is admired in modern muſic, was unknown to the ancients (*a*); or, as he has tranſlated the paſſage himſelf in the *Philoſophical Tranſactions*, No. ccxliii. p. 298, for Auguſt, 1698: "I do not find amongſt the ancients any footſteps of what we call *ſeveral parts* or *voices*, (as *baſe*, *treble*, *mean*, &c. ſung in *conſort*) anſwering each other, to complete the muſic."

Doctor Wallis has indeed produced one paſſage out of Ptolemy, which he thinks may infer muſic in parts. The abbé Fraguier, Chateauneuf, and Mr. Stillingfleet, have all eagerly availed themſelves of this conceſſion; but M. Burette has cruelly deprived them and their adherents of that comfort, by a critical examination of their manner of tranſlating the paſſage, in which he ſeems clearly to have proved that they have either wilfully or inadvertently miſtaken the true acceptation of the moſt important terms in the Greek text; and that the utmoſt which can be inferred from the paſſage in queſtion is, that the ancients both played and ſung together frequently in *uniſons* and *octaves*.

In 1723, M. Burette publiſhed, in the fourth volume of the *Memoires des Inſcriptions*, a Diſſertation upon the *Symphony* of the Ancients, which has never yet been anſwered. The abbé Fraguier, indeed, indirectly endeavoured to invalidate the proofs he cited from ancient writers againſt counterpoint, by others which ſeemed to bear a different conſtruction; but though the abbé was a man of taſte and claſſical learning, he wanted muſical erudition ſufficient to know the technical uſe of the Greek words, which he

(*a*) *Ea vero, quæ in hodierna muſica conſpicitur, partium (ut loquuntur) ſeu vocum duarum, trium, quatuor, pluriumve inter ſe conſenſio, (concinentibus inter ſe, qui ſimul audiuntur, ſonis) veteribus erat (quantum ego video) ignota.* Appendice ad Ptolem. Harm. p. 316 & 317, in 4to. 1682. fol. p. 175, Edit. 1699.

thought favourable to his argument, in writers who had only mentioned muſic incidentally; whereas M. Burette, who had drawn his knowledge from the ſource, by ſtudying ſuch treatiſes of ancient Greek muſicians as had been written expreſly on the ſubject, ſoon proved the evidence of his antagoniſt to be feeble, and his reaſoning fallacious.

M. Burette, after ſo complete a victory, was allowed to enjoy his laurels in peace for a conſiderable time, till, at length, the two Jeſuits, Bougeant and Cerceau, commenced hoſtilities; not for his having treated the ancients with too much rigour, but with too little: *Le ſceptique Bayle*, ſays M. de Voltaire, *n'eſt pas aſſez ſceptique.* M. Burette, in the opinion of theſe fathers, had granted too much to the ancients, in allowing them to have ſung and played in concert *by thirds.*

In order to give my readers an idea of this diſpute, I ſhall epitomize, and make ſome remarks upon M. Burette's Diſſertation. But firſt it ſeems neceſſary to explain a few important terms, which frequently occur in ancient authors concerning muſic; and the ſafeſt way of doing this will be to have recourſe to the Greek muſical writers themſelves.

Such ſounds as were tuneable, and fit for muſic, were called in all their treatiſes ἐμμελεις, *concinnous*; and of theſe ſome were *concords*, and ſome *diſcords.* The *concords*, according to the teſtimony of every writer on ancient muſic, from Ariſtoxenus, to Boethius and Bryennius, the two laſt, of any authority, were the *fourth*, *fifth*, *eighth*, and their replicates or octaves. The *diſcords* were ſuch intervals as are leſs than a fourth; and all ſuch as are found between the other conſonant intervals; conſequently, the *third* and *ſixth*, as well as the *ſecond* and *ſeventh*, muſt have been numbered among the *diſcords.* Gaudentius, p. 11, tells us that

"Ὁμοφωνοι, *homophonoi*, *uniſons*, differ neither in gravity nor acuteneſs, but are duplicates of the ſame ſound."

"Συμφωνοι, *ſymphonoi*, *concords*, are ſuch ſounds, as when ſtruck at the ſame time on the lyre, or by flutes, ſo mix and unite together, that the tone of the lower ſound is hardly to be diſtinguiſhed from the upper."

"Δια-

" Διαφωνοι, *diaphonoi, diſcords*, are ſuch ſounds as, when ſtruck together, never unite (*b*)."

" Παραφωνοι, *paraphonoi*, are neither *concords* nor *diſcords*, but between both: yet, when uſed together, they ſeem *ſymphonoi*, or *concords*, as is the caſe between *Parypate Meſon*, and *Parameſe*, or F B; and likewiſe between *Meſon Diatonos* and *Parameſe*, or G B." Now we have no ſounds that come under this predicament of being neither concords nor diſcords, but between both, unleſs it is ſuch concords as are *out of tune*. However the paſſage ſeems to imply that about this time the *tritonus* and the *ditone* began to be uſed in *counterpoint*.

M. de Chabanon, *Memoires des Belles Lettres, tome* XXXV. gives it as his own *conjecture*, that the uſe of the *Paraphonoi*, mentioned by Gaudentius, was the beginning of *counterpoint*; yet it is but juſtice to ſay that M. Marpurg had conjectured the ſame thing in his *Hiſtory of Muſic*, ſix years before the *Memoire* of M. de Chabanon was read. However, another conjecture of this learned academician ſeems ingenious and new, which is, that in proportion as the enharmonic grew into diſuſe, attempts at *counpoint* became more frequent; for there could be no fundamental baſe, or harmony, given to enharmonic melodies: hence, while that *genus* continued to be ſo much admired and practiſed, as Plato, Ariſtoxenus, and other ancient writers, who mention it, inform us, all attempts at harmony muſt have been precluded.

It has long been a matter of wonder, that ſounds ſo agreeable to our ears, and ſo common in our harmony, as thirds and ſixths, ſhould by the Greeks be numbered among *diſcords*, and be baniſhed from *ſymphony*, as their name ἀσυμφωνα, or διαφωνα, *unfit for ſymphony*, *diſcords*, implies; but the Greek proportions and diviſions of the ſcale, however practicable in melody, are certainly inadmiſſible in harmony.

Sir Iſaac Newton, taking it, I ſuppoſe, for granted that the ancients *had* harmony like ours, ſays, " It is very ſtrange that thoſe

(*b*) Theſe were only admitted in melody, or a ſingle part; hence Plutarch (*de Delphico*) calls them μελῳδουμενα and μελῳδητα.

whoſe nice ſcrutinies carried them ſo far as to produce the *ſmall limmas*, ſhould not have been more careful in examining the greater intervals (*c*)."

The triple progreſſion, to which the Pythagoreans religiouſly adhered, and by which fourths and fifths were made perfect and unalterable, *ſoni immobiles*, could furniſh no thirds and ſixths, but what were intolerable; as their tetrachords were built upon theſe

B E B D G C F | Bb

numbers 1 3 9 27 81 243 729 | 2187. And the diviſions of Ariſtoxenus, who pretended to make the ear the ſovereign judge of ſounds, and yet gives to the octave ſix *equal* tones, twelve ſemitones, and twenty-four dieſes, or quarter-tones, muſt, to our conceptions, have rendered the ſcale unfit, not only for *harmony*, ſuch as ours, but *melody*. Ariſtoxenus, however, was a trimmer, and availed himſelf, in ſome particulars, of the doctrines of Pythagoras, at the very time he publicly condemned them. The abbé Rouſſier calls him *le chef des temperateurs*; and it would not be difficult to prove that a *temperament* was known to the ancients, even earlier than the time of Ariſtoxenus; but as ſuch a diſcuſſion does not ſeem properly to belong to this ſection, I ſhall reſerve it for a future chapter, in which not only a ſhort hiſtory of temperament will be given, but of *harmonics*, or the philoſophy of ſounds, as far as it appears to have been known to the ancients. At preſent I ſhall only obſerve, that though the *perfect harmony* of fourths and fifths was certainly corrupted by a temperament, which rendered the *perfect* concords *falſe*, in order to make the *imperfect* more *pleaſing*; yet it ſeems as if we were entirely indebted to *temperament* for *counterpoint*, or muſic in parts; as, without a temperament, either occaſional or fixed, thirds and ſixths would always have remained intolerable.

M. Burette by the word *ſymphony*, which is the ſubject of his Diſſertation, means the union of many harmonious ſounds in *concert*; and this is at preſent the general acceptation of the word, when applied to modern overtures.

(*c*) *Nugæ Antiquæ*, p. 209.

The

The Greeks gave the appellation of *harmony*, figuratively, to every thing that had proportion. The term, however, muſt be very cautiouſly uſed in treating of ancient muſic, as no deciſive inſtance can be found in Greek authors, muſicians by profeſſion, where any thing more is meant by it than the arrangement of *ſingle ſounds*, agreeable to ſome genus, mode, and rhythm; never the *union* or ſimultaneous uſe of them (*d*).

Ἁρμονια, *harmony*, is defined by Heſychius and Suidas ἡ εὐτακτος ἀκολεθια, *a well-ordered ſucceſſion*; which clearly makes it *melody*. And the general title of the Greek muſical treatiſes, in which nothing is mentioned but mere melody, fully confirms this definition.

Ariſtoxenus calls his work Ἁρμονικα Στοιχεια, *Elements of Harmony*; that of Euclid and Gaudentius is called Εισαγωγη ἁρμονικη, an *Introduction to Harmony*; the tract of Nichomachus is ſtyled Ἁρμονικης Εγχειριδιον, *An Harmonic Manual*; and that of Ptolemy Ἁρμονικα, *Harmonics*.

Lucian (*e*), in ſpeaking of the modes, which were only different kinds of melody, employs this word in the ſame ſenſe. And Plato's definition of harmony (*f*) is a farther confirmation of its being conſtantly uſed for melody. "We call *cadence*, ſays that philoſopher, the order or ſucceſſion of movement; and *harmony*, the order or ſucceſſion of ſounds, as to acute and grave, differently arranged and intermixed." And finally, Ariſtotle (*de Mundo*) uſes it in a ſenſe which ſtill fortifies this idea.

M. Burette therefore concludes, that the Greeks, in their choruſſes and concerts, ſung and played either *in uniſon*, which was called *Homophony*; or in *octaves*, which was called *Antiphony*. The acceptation of *Homophony* has never been diſputed; but it may be neceſſary to give authorities for that of the word *Anti-*

(*d*) Theocritus, Idyll. xviii. deſcribes the bride-maids of Helen in the act of dancing and ſinging altogether:

Ασιδον δ' αρα πασαι ἐς ἑν μελος ἐγκροτεοισαι.

They all ſung one and the ſame melody or tune, *beating the ground.*

(*e*) *In Harmonide*, *tome* i. p. 585. Ed. Græv.

(*f*) *De Legib.* ii. p. 664. Ed. Steph. In order to avoid, as much as poſſible, loading the page with Greek, I ſhall frequently give nothing more than references to the edition, and page of the authors in queſtion.

phony,

phony, a term frequently uſed in ſacred muſic during the firſt ages of the church.

Ariſtotle, Prob. XXXIX, Sect. 19. ſays *Antiphony is conſonance in the octave*: το μεν ἀντιφωνον συμφωνον ἐςι διαπασων: and adds, that it "reſults from the mixture of the voices of boys and men (*g*)." The ſame philoſopher, Prob. XVI. after aſking why *Antiphony* is more agreeable than *Homophony*, gives this reaſon: that in *Antiphony* the voices are diſtinctly heard; whereas in uniſon they are often ſo confounded that one abſorbs the other.

The ancients ſung in concert not only in the octave, but the double octave, or fifteenth. This appears from another problem in Ariſtotle, XXXIV. where he aſks why the double fifth, and double fourth, cannot be uſed in concert as well as the double octave? It likewiſe appears from the ſame author that the union of two voices in octaves was called *Magadizing*, from a treble inſtrument of the name of *Magadis*, Μαγαδις, ſtrung with *double* ſtrings tuned octaves to each other, like the octave ſtop in our harpſichords.

Thus far M. Burette has advanced nothing but what is reaſonable and indiſputable; but, when he adds, that beſides theſe two ways of ſinging and playing together in uniſons and octaves, there is room to conjecture that the ancients had ſtill another method, which conſiſted of ſinging and playing *by thirds*, here the Jeſuits, Bougeant and Cerceau, commence their attack; and here I ſhall leave him, as I ſhall every author, however reſpectable, when his reaſoning does not fully ſatisfy my mind; that is, when it rather raiſes than removes difficulties.

It is well known that there is nothing ſo agreeable in modern harmony as the alternate ſucceſſion of ſharp and flat thirds; but it is likewiſe as well known that a whole movement in two parts,

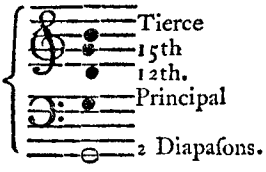
(*g*) In the ancient Greek muſic the literal meaning of *Antiphonia*, or *Antiphony*, is found oppoſed to ſound; as a note and its octave, its fourth, or its fifth: in the muſic of the Romiſh church it means oppoſition of voices, *reſponſe*, as when the congregation anſwers the prieſt; or in chanting, when each ſide of the choir ſings verſe for verſe, alternately.

com-

compoſed entirely of nothing elſe but of flat or of ſharp thirds, from the beginning to the end, would be intolerable.

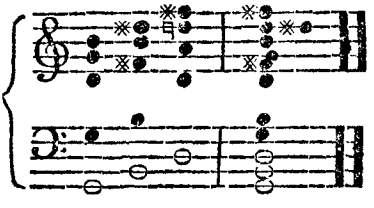
Let any one make the experiment with the two ſtops of an organ called the fifteenth and tierce, and he will find the effect deteſtable. No organiſt ever attempts to play on them together, without other ſtops; and in the full chorus they are ſo qualified by the great number of lower and more powerful ſounds produced by pipes which are longer, and of a larger diameter, that they cannot be diſtinguiſhed without great attention.

Full organ, when only G is put down.

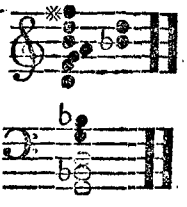


With theſe ſtops out, every ſingle note upon the inſtrument is furniſhed with its full harmony; but if the ſmall harmonic pipes were not governed by the greater, what a *cacophony* would a complete chord occaſion!

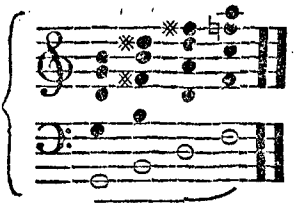
Common chord major.



The chord minor would be worſe.



Add any one diſcord to theſe, and the chord ſeems to include every inſult that can be put upon the ear.



M. Perrault ſuppoſed a paſſage in Horace could only be explained by admitting that the ancients ſometimes ſung and played

played *by thirds*, that is, in two different modes, which were diſtant a third from each other.

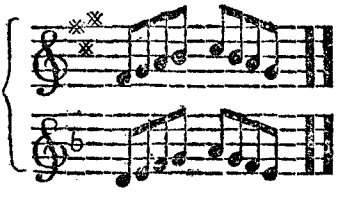
Sonante miſtum tibiis, carmen lyrâ
Hac Dorium, illis Barbarum. Epod. ix. v. 5.

M. Burette adopted this idea in the year 1717. In 1726 he ſeemed to give it up to the reaſoning of father Bougeant; but in 1729 he reſumed it again with more firmneſs than ever, upon being treated with ſome ſeverity by father Cerceau, for having adopted M. Perrault's explication of the paſſage in Horace.

It was urged againſt him, that the ancients always regarded thirds as diſcords; but this was thought a trivial difficulty. And M. Burette had reconciled it to his mind, he ſurely could not to his ear, that it was a common thing among them to ſing and play in two different modes, or keys, at once. He ſettles it therefore, that Horace by the *Barbarian mode* meant the Lydian, which is a ſharp third above the Dorian.

J. Baptiſti Doni, in ſpeaking of our imitating the ancients in muſical dramas, propoſes as a pleaſing variety, the accompanying ſome airs in the courſe of the piece entirely *by thirds*; but whether two parts always ſing in ſharp thirds, or flat thirds, the effect will be equally diſagreeable. Suppoſe, for inſtance, the melody was the following, and the upper part was the accompaniment:

Lydian mode.
Dorian mode.



Theſe parts would be moving in two keys very different from each other; the relations would be moſtly falſe, and there would be no preciſe idea of either of theſe keys impreſſed on the ear, in preference to the other; and yet M. Burette ſuppoſes that Horace, in ſpeaking of the pleaſures of the table, introduces a concert compoſed of a lyre, played in the Dorian mode, and accompanied by

by flutes in the Lydian; that is to ſay in the key of D ♮, and F ♯ with a minor third; as the general idea about the modes, before Ptolemy's time, was, that they were a ſemitone higher than each other.

But let them be placed how they will, either a fourth diſtant from each other, or thus; d c♯ B A G♯ F♯ E, no two of them can be uſed at the ſame time in thirds, without changing the intervals of one, which would be changing the *mode* or key.

Indeed a melody might be accompanied by thirds *in two different ſpecies of octave*; but that would be ſtill in *one mode*; and the matter in debate is how two perſons could ſing and play in *two different modes at the ſame time.*

In the fifteen modes, as underſtood by Bontempi and others, the Hyperphrygian, or Hypermixolydian mode, and the Hypodorian are only octaves to each other; and in the explanation which Sir Francis Eyles Stiles gives of the fifteen modes, there is not only a repetition in theſe two, but in the Hyperlydian and Hypophrygian, which are likewiſe octaves to each other; and it ſeems to explain the *Magadizing*, or playing in two modes at once, more naturally and probably, if we ſuppoſe it was done in the modes that were octaves, than in any two that were thirds, fourths, or fifths to each other.

This will likewiſe explain a paſſage in Athenæus, lib. xiv. cap. 5, concerning what Pindar ſays in writing to Hiero, that "when a boy ſings an air with a man, it is called *Magadizing*, "becauſe they ſing the ſame melody in *two different modes.*" Now boys and women naturally ſing an octave higher than a man, at the ſame time that they ſeem to be ſinging in uniſon.

Father Cerceau has preſſed M. Burette very hard in this diſpute, and driven him to a ſophiſtical defence. However, M. Burette would perſuade us that he has totally overthrown his adverſary, in the inſtances he gives of thirds, ſixths, and tenths, uſed *per ſaltum*, to the ſame ſyllable, in ancient melody; but becauſe *one third*, or *ſixth*, may be pleaſing in melody, does it follow that a ſucceſſion of nothing elſe but thirds of the ſame kind would have a good effect in harmony? If the ancients called

thirds and ſixths diſcords, on account of their being out of tune, from the too great perfection of fourths and fifths, which were never tempered, it but renders the fact inſiſted on by M. Burette, of a ſucceſſion of thirds flat or ſharp, the more improbable.

It is ſo humiliating a circumſtance for a diſputant to confeſs himſelf vanquiſhed, where ſagacity is the ſtake, that it is hardly ever done, publicly, with a good grace. M. Burette, a man of learning and candour, when he was not hard puſhed himſelf, could never have defended ſo improbable and diſagreeable a practice, as the ſucceſſion of flat or ſharp thirds throughout an entire piece, in the ancient muſic, for any other reaſon but that of having *once ſaid it*, after Claude Perrault, perhaps without ſufficiently reflecting upon the numerous objections to which ſuch an aſſertion was liable. But I am as certain as it is poſſible to be, of what cannot be proved, that though he may have thought with Perrault at firſt, yet, after he had read the arguments urged againſt ſuch a practice by the fathers Bougeant and Cerceau, he reaſoned againſt conviction; and in ſupporting his firſt propoſition, reputation, not truth, was the object of his defence.

But to return to M. Burette's Diſſertation. He examines the ſtructure of the ancient lyre, and the number of its ſtrings, and ſhews how far it was capable of the harmony of double ſtops. After which he enquires whether the ancients availed themſelves of all its powers in this particular; and concludes that he is able to diſcover no proofs in confirmation of ſuch an opinion.

However, in ſpeaking of the lyre in its improved ſtate, when it was furniſhed with a great number of ſtrings, M. Burette, after refuſing counterpoint to the ancients, allows that the lyriſts ſtruck ſometimes a chord compoſed of the key note, fifth and eighth, which was a fourth to the fifth; but though he ſuppoſes the ancients could bear a *whole movement* of *ſharp thirds*, he will not ſuppoſe that a *ſingle third* was ever uſed in thoſe chords to complete the harmony. Upon other inſtruments he allows for accompaniment a kind of drone, compoſed of key note and fifth, like that of a vielle or bagpipe; but this is all conjecture; and if we muſt have recourſe to that, why not generouſly grant the ancients counterpoint

terpoint at once, upon a ſuppoſition that ſo ingenious and refined a people as the Greeks could not help diſcovering it, with the great time and pains they beſtowed in the cultivation of muſic?

But not content with annihilating the *harmony* of the ancients, M. Burette adopts a remark of Perrault in his Vitruvius, which bears hard upon their *melody*. By comparing the ancient Greek tetrachord with our fourth, it appeared to theſe writers that we had the advantage in the number of ſounds; but the ſpecimen of Euclid's mixed genus, that has been given, p. 25, proves them to have been miſtaken.

According to Ariſtotle, Prob. 17. Sect. XIX. *neither the fifth nor fourth*, though concords, *were ſung together in concert* (*g*). In Plutarch (*h*), however, who wrote many ages after Ariſtotle, when it may be imagined that *ſymphony* had made ſome advances towards our harmony, it appears as if both the fourth and fifth were frequently ſounded together; whence they are called συμφωνα, *concords*; but whoever is verſed in modern counterpoint, muſt know that a ſucceſſion of theſe concords is inſufferable, and that a compoſition, in which no other concords than the fourth, fifth, and eighth, had admiſſion, would be ſo dry and inſipid, that it would ſcarce merit the name of harmony.

On the other ſide, if, in ſpite of ſuch formal and poſitive proofs to the contrary, we were, for argument's ſake, to allow that the ancients made uſe of their four diſcords in concert, as well as of the three concords, we muſt at the ſame time grant them the art of combining different chords; of preparing and reſolving diſcords, according to the rules, founded upon the nature of chords, and upon the effect which they produce upon the ear. Now we ought to conclude that a body of all theſe rules would form an eſſential part of the theory of muſic, with reſpect to *ſymphony*, as other parts have done with reſpect to melody, or a ſimple treble. However, in the moſt ample and complete treatiſes upon ancient muſic which are come down to us, not one rule with

(*g*) Δια πεντε και δια τεσσαρων οὐκ ᾀδουσιν αντιφωνα.

(*h*) *De ei Delphico*, p. 693. *Edit. Steph. Gr.*

reſpect to compoſition in parts, is to be found. The authors of theſe treatiſes, after promiſing at the beginning that they would ſpeak of every thing that concerned muſic, ſeparate the heads of their work, which they all divide into ſeven articles: *ſounds*, *intervals*, *ſyſtems*, *genera*, *tones*, or keys, *mutations*, and melody, or *melopoeia*; which with *rhythm*, or time, conſtituted the whole art and extent of their practical muſic. For there is not the leaſt probability that they would have omitted in their didactic writings ſo conſiderable a part of it as *counterpoint*, if it had come to their knowledge.

That diligent enquirer, father Martini of Bologna, whoſe learning and materials have afforded me great aſſiſtance in my muſical reſearches, ranks himſelf among the opponents of ancient *counterpoint*. The opinion of this reſpectable judge muſt have great weight with all thoſe who conſider that he has ſpent the chief part of a long and laborious life in the ſtudy of muſic, and muſical literature; that all the repoſitories, all the archives of Italy, where the moſt precious reliques of antiquity are treaſured up, have been opened to him; that his knowledge and materials are equally uncommon; and that the native candour and purity of his mind are ſuch as exempt him from all ſuſpicion of prejudice or partiality.

This author, after ſhewing a ſtrong deſire to favour the ancients in their claims, is obliged to confeſs, with ſeeming reluctance, that as they allowed no other intervals to be concords than the *octave*, *fourth*, and *fifth*, with their replicates, it indubitably robs them of the merit of having invented and practiſed what we call *counterpoint* (*i*); and this deciſion receives additional force from the teſtimony of ſeveral writers of the middle ages, cited in his book, who call muſic in parts, the *new muſic*, the *new art*, the *new invention* (*k*).

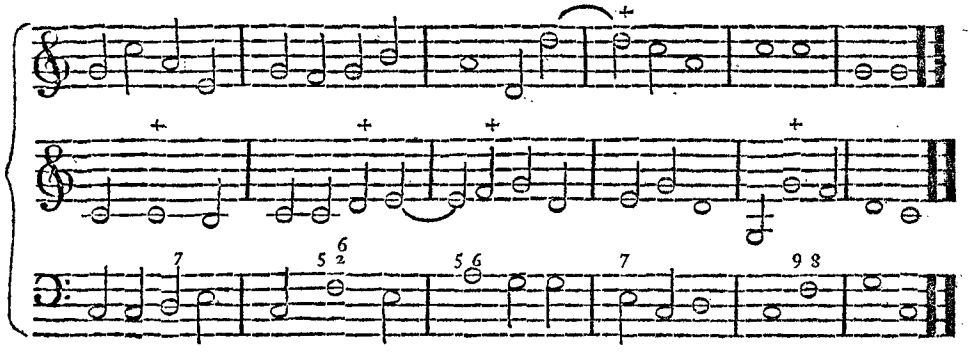
Padre Martini, however, before he quits the ſubject, gives the following ſpecimen of ſuch meagre counterpoint as was likely to

(*i*) *Ciò eſſendo, parmi queſto baſtevole a contraſtare a' Greci il vanto, e la notizia del* contrappunto, *che noi abbiamo ora in poſſeſſo.* Storia della Muſica, tom. i. p. 174. 1757.

(*k*) *Muſica nova*; *ars nova*; *novitium inventum.*

have

have been produced without the uſe of imperfect concords; in which he has been obliged to admit three ſixths, a ſecond, a ſeventh, and a ninth, contrary to the idea we have of what the delicate ears of the Greeks would allow.



But with all the care of ſo learned a compoſer, this little ſpecimen ſeems made up of every thing that he would have avoided, in a compoſition of ſo few parts, if thirds and ſixths had been allowed to be uſed.

M. Marpurg, of Berlin, publiſhed, in 1759, the firſt part of a Hiſtory of Muſic (*l*), the ſecond has not yet appeared. His enquiries in this work have been chiefly confined to ancient muſic and muſicians. He has read not only many of the authors already cited, but ſeveral others; and has conſidered the ſubject with the attention and ſagacity of a muſician of learning and experience. However, he is very cautious in delivering his opinions concerning ancient harmony, and thinks it ſafer, and perhaps more likely to conciliate parties, to grant ſome kind of counterpoint to the ancients, than wholly to deprive them of it; though what he gives them ſeems more to flow from generoſity, than a conviction of their juſt claim.

This writer ſets off with allowing, that as nature does nothing by large ſtrides, and all the arts have arrived at perfection by

(*l*) Kritiſche einleitung in die Geſchichte und Lehrſäße der alten und neuen MUSIK. 1. vol. thin 4to. *A Critical Introduction to the Hiſtory and Theory of Ancient and Modern Muſic.*

ſmall

ſmall degrees, the muſic of the moſt remote times muſt have conſiſted of only a *ſingle part*; and when the *two part* ſyſtem was at firſt adopted, diſcords could not have been in uſe. "There are no accounts to be met with, M. Marpurg is obliged to confeſs, by which the date can be fixed when the *two part* ſyſtem was invented, and generally received." However, he conjectures, that a kind of harmony in *pure conſonance*, by which I ſuppoſe he means *perfect concords*, of fourths, fifths, and eighths, continued from that period, to about the time of Guido. Indeed this is not allowing the ancients to have made much progreſs in the art of combining ſounds, as the example juſt given from Padre Martini will manifeſt.

M. Rouſſeau is very explicit upon this ſubject in his *Muſical Dictionary*, at the article *Counterpoint*, which he terminates by ſaying, "It has long been diſputed whether the ancients knew counterpoint; but it clearly appears from the remains of their muſic and writings, eſpecially the rules of practice, in the third book of Ariſtoxenus, that *they never had the leaſt idea of it*."

His reflections upon this ſubject, in the article *Harmony*, are curious. "When we reflect, that of all the people on the globe, none are without muſic and melody, yet only the Europeans have harmony and chords, and find their mixture agreeable; when we reflect how many ages the world has endured, without any of the nations who have cultivated the polite arts knowing this *harmony*; that no animal, no bird, or being in nature, produces any other ſound than uniſon, or other muſic than mere melody; that neither the Oriental languages, ſo ſonorous and muſical, nor the ears of the Greeks, endowed with ſo much delicacy and ſenſibility, and cultivated with ſo much art, ever led that enthuſiaſtic and voluptuous people to the diſcovery of our *harmony*; that their muſic, without it, had ſuch prodigious effects, and ours ſuch feeble ones with it; in ſhort, when we think, continues he, of its being reſerved for a northern people, whoſe coarſe and obtuſe organs are more touched with the *force* and *noiſe* of voices, than with the ſweetneſs of accents, and melody of inflexions, to make this great diſcovery, and to build all the principles and rules of the art

upon

upon it; when, ſays he, we reflect upon all this, it is hard to avoid ſuſpecting that all our harmony, of which we are ſo vain, is only a Gothic and barbarous invention, which we ſhould never have thought of, if we had been more ſenſible to the real beauties of the art, and to muſic that is truly natural and affecting."

This opinion is generally ranked among the paradoxes of M. Rouſſeau. However, the ſentiments of this wonderful writer ſeem here to proceed more from a refined taſte, enlargement of thought, and an uncommon boldneſs and courage in publiſhing notions ſo repugnant to eſtabliſhed opinions, than from a love of ſingularity. Beſides, M. Rouſſeau is not the only writer on muſic who has imagined it poſſible for melody to pleaſe without the aſſiſtance of harmony. Vincenzio Galilei and Merſennus went ſtill farther, and thought that the contrary effects of grave and acute ſounds in different progreſſions, muſt mutually weaken and deſtroy each other. Indeed Merſennus, in his *Harmonie Univerſelle* (*m*), declares, that he thinks it no reproach to the ancient Greeks, to have been ignorant of *counterpoint*.

"It is difficult, ſays this father, to prevail upon modern compoſers to allow that ſimple melody is more agreeable than when it is accompanied by different parts, becauſe they are in fear of diminiſhing the public eſteem for the learning and contrivance of their own compoſitions; which, indeed, would be the caſe, if a method could be deviſed of finding the moſt beautiful melodies poſſible, and of executing them with the utmoſt perfection.

"For it ſeems as if the art of compoſing in parts, which has been practiſed only *for theſe laſt hundred and fifty, or two hundred years*, had been invented merely to ſupply the defects of air, and to cover the ignorance of modern muſicians in this part of *melopoeia*, or melody, as practiſed by the Greeks, who have preſerved ſome veſtiges of it in the Levant, according to the teſtimony of travellers, who have heard the Perſians and modern Greeks ſing.

"And experience daily ſhews, that the generality of mankind are more attentive to pure melody, than to concertos, or pieces of

(*m*) *Liv.* IV. *de la Compoſition*, p. 197.

many

many different parts, which they readily quit, in order to hear a ſimple air ſung by a good voice; becauſe they can more eaſily diſtinguiſh the beauty of a ſingle part, or voice, than of harmonic relations; without taking into the account the beauties of poetry, which are certainly more eaſily comprehended in a ſingle part, than when it is accompanied by two or more parts, moving in different proportions of time."

"But granting that great pleaſure in muſic ariſes from hearing and diſtinguiſhing conſonance, a *duo* muſt be more agreeable than a *trio*, as the harmony is leſs confuſed and compounded. For, if an eighth, a fifth, a fourth, a third, or a ſixth, has any thing beautiful in itſelf, and affects the ear with a peculiar ſpecies of delight, the ſounding each of theſe concords with others of a different kind, muſt conſiderably weaken their force and effect.

"It is related of the famous compoſer, Claude le Jeun, that when he firſt preſented his pieces of five, ſix, and ſeven parts, to the maſters of Italy and Flanders, they regarded them with contempt; and his compoſitions would never have been performed by them, if he had not written ſomething in two parts; in which, however, he, at firſt, ſucceeded ſo ill, that he confeſſed himſelf to have been ignorant of the true principles of muſic."

And this father carries his predilection for ſimplicity ſo far as to ſay, that "as the beauties of a *trio* cannot be ſo eaſily diſcovered and comprehended as of a *duo*, the mind and the ear having too many things to attend to at the ſame time; when lovers of muſic are more delighted with *trios* than *duos*, it muſt proceed from their being more fond of crowds and confuſion, than of *unity* and *clearneſs*; and compares them to thoſe who love to fiſh in troubled waters, or who like fighting pell-mell with the multitude, better than in duel, where a want of courage and conduct is more eaſily diſcovered."

At the time when Merſennus lived, the rage for muſic in many parts, and the utter neglect, and indeed ignorance, of true melody, were ſuch, as to render his reaſoning juſt and neceſſary; but, at preſent, however harmony may be ſometimes abuſed, it muſt be allowed that great and pleaſing effects are produced from it,

it, by compoſers of genius, taſte, and experience, who, from the ſtudy of contraſt, know when to multiply the parts, and when to diſentangle melody.

Having given the opinions of the moſt reſpectable writers on both ſides of this long diſputed queſtion, it now remains to tell the reader ingenuouſly my own ſentiments: and, to confeſs the truth, I will venture to ſay, that I do *not* believe the ancients ever did uſe *ſimultaneous harmony*, that is, *muſic in different parts*; for without thirds and ſixths it muſt have been inſipid; and with them, the combination of many ſounds and melodies moving by different intervals, and in different time, would have occaſioned a confuſion, which the reſpect that the Greeks had for their language and poetry, would not ſuffer them to tolerate.

It has been frequently urged, and with apparent reaſon and probability, that ignorance and knowledge, taſte and inelegance, could not be ſo much united in the ſame people, as that they ſhould be poſſeſſed of every kind of refinement and perfection in poetry, ſculpture, and architecture, and yet be delighted with a rude, coarſe, and ordinary muſic. But ſtop any one principle of improvement in an art, or ſingle wheel in a watch, and it will check all the reſt; tie up one leg of an animal, to whom nature has even given four, and it will impede his progreſſive motion. The Turkiſh religion has not only ſtopt the advancement of human reaſon wherever it has been eſtabliſhed, but totally ſuppreſſed all the acquirements of former ages. If, therefore, it was a law with the ancients to regulate their melody by the length and number of ſyllables; and if every thing that was thought to injure poetry, by diſtracting the attention from it, and rendering it difficult to be underſtood, was avoided, the multiplicity of concords in ſimple counterpoint, and the contrary motion of parts in ſounds of different lengths, in more florid compoſitions, muſt have been held in utter abhorrence.

But muſic has not always kept pace with other arts in thoſe countries, where they have been moſt ſucceſsfully cultivated. Painting, Poetry, and Sculpture, in Italy, during the ſixteenth century, greatly ſurpaſſed the Muſic of that period; and in France,

though the compoſitions of Lulli, in Louis the fourteenth's time, were at leaſt as much extolled by the natives, as thoſe of the greateſt muſicians of ancient Greece, by ſuch as either heard them, or heard of them; yet the French themſelves, now, are of the ſame opinion as the inhabitants of other parts of Europe have long been, in thinking them not only greatly inferior to the beſt productions of the ſame period in all the other arts, but wholly intolerable and deteſtable.

I well know that many paſſages in ancient authors are pointed out as favourable to the ſide of muſic in parts; but what can *not* be found there by thoſe who are determined to ſee whatever they ſeek? However, counterpoint ſeems as much a *modern Diſcovery*, as gunpowder, printing, the uſe of the compaſs, or circulation of the blood; and if more proofs againſt its ever having exiſted are not given, it is not for want of them, but for fear of tiring the reader. One obſervation more, however, I muſt add, as it ſeems concluſive, and has not, to my knowledge, been urged by any other writer: it is generally allowed that the eccleſiaſtical modes, and *Canto Fermo* of the Romiſh church, are remains of the ancient Greek muſic; and as theſe have ever been written in manuſcript miſſals, *without parts*, and been always chanted in *uniſons* and *octaves*, it is a ſtrong preſumptive proof, among others, againſt the ancients having had *counterpoint*, as this ſpecies of melody is ſo ſlow and ſimple, as to be more capable of receiving, and, indeed, to ſtand more in need of, the harmony of different parts, than any other.

The chief uſe, therefore, which the ancients made of concords in muſic, ſeems only to aſcertain intervals and diſtances; as in our firſt leſſons of ſolmiſation it has been cuſtomary to ſpell intervals, as it were, by naming the intermediate ſounds; as *do re mi*, *do mi*; *do re mi fa*, *do fa*; *do re mi fa ſol*, *do ſol*, &c.

Upon the whole, therefore, it ſeems demonſtrable, that *harmony*, like ours, was never practiſed by the ancients: however, I have endeavoured to ſhew, that the ſtripping their muſic of counterpoint does not take from it the power of pleaſing, or of producing great effects; and, in modern times, if a Farinelli, a Gizziello, or a Cafarelli, had ſung their airs wholly without accompaniment, they

they would, perhaps, have been liſtened to but with ſtill more pleaſure. Indeed the *cloſes* of great ſingers, made wholly without accompaniment, are more attended to than all the contrivance of complicated parts, in the courſe of the airs which they terminate.

An elegant and graceful melody, exquiſitely ſung by a fine voice, is ſure to engage attention, and to create delight without inſtrumental aſſiſtance; and in a ſolo, compoſed and performed by a great maſter, the leſs the accompaniment is heard, the better. Hence it ſhould ſeem as if the harmony of accumulated vocal parts, or the tumult of inſtrumental, was no more than a ſuccedaneum to a mellifluous voice, or ſingle inſtrument of the firſt claſs, which is but ſeldom found. However, to diverſify and vary our muſical amuſements, and to aſſiſt in dramatic painting, a full piece, and a well written chorus, have their peculiar merit, even among ſongs and ſolos, however elegant the compoſition, or perfect the performance.

SECTION IX.

Of Dramatic Muſic.

ARISTOTLE tells us, in his *Poetics*, that muſic, μελοποιΐα, is an eſſential part of tragedy; but how it became eſſential, this philoſopher does not inform us. M. Dacier has endeavoured to ſupply this omiſſion, by ſuggeſting, that cuſtom, and a natural paſſion implanted in the Greeks for muſic, had incorporated it into their drama. Indeed Ariſtotle calls it, in the ſame work, "the greateſt embelliſhment that tragedy can receive." And innumerable paſſages might be quoted from other ancient writers, to prove, that all the dramas of the Greeks and Romans were not only ſung, but accompanied by muſical inſtruments.

However, many learned critics, not reflecting upon the origin of tragedy, and inſenſible, perhaps, to the charms of melody, have wondered how ſo intelligent a people as the Greeks could bear to

have their dramas ſung. But as antiquity is unanimous in deriving the firſt dramatic repreſentations at Athens from the *Dithyrambics*, or ſongs, ſung in honour of Bacchus, which afterwards ſerved as choruſſes to the firſt tragedies, we need not wonder at the continuation of muſic in thoſe choruſſes, which had been *always* ſung. Nor will the cuſtom of ſetting the *Epiſodes*, as the acts of a play were at firſt called, appear ſtrange to ſuch as recollect that they were written in *verſe*, and that *all verſe was ſung*, particularly ſuch as was intended for the entertainment of the public, aſſembled in ſpacious theatres, or in the open air, where it could only be heard by means of a very ſlow, ſonorous, and articulate utterance (*z*).

It is true that tragedy is an imitation of nature; but it is an exalted and embelliſhed nature; take away muſic and verſification, and it loſes its moſt captivating ingredients. Thoſe who think it unnatural to *ſing* during diſtreſs, and the agonies even of death, forget that muſic is a language that can accommodate its accents and tones to every human ſenſation and paſſion; and that the colouring of theſe on the ſtage muſt be higher than in common life, or elſe why is blank verſe, or a lofty and figurative language, neceſſary (*a*).

(*z*) Quintilian, *lib.* i. *cap.* 8. ſays, that "children ſhould be taught to read verſe differently from proſe; for verſe is a kind of muſic; and the poets tell us themſelves *that they ſing*; but this muſt not be overdone, in a whining effeminate tone, as if they were really ſinging a ſong.—Some, he continues, will have it, that children ſhould recite verſes *like actors on the ſtage*; but this is not my opinion; nothing more is neceſſary than a gentle inflection of the voice, merely to diſtinguiſh what the poet ſays himſelf, from what he makes others ſay."

(*a*) The ſtage cannot ſubſiſt without exaggeration; as verſe is the exaggeration of common ſpeech, ſo muſic is that of verſe; in like manner exaggerated geſture becomes dancing. M. Marmontel, in the Encyclopedie, Art. DECLAMATION, ſays, that the whole merit of ſpeaking on the ſtage conſiſts in being natural; and of acting, in being well acquainted with the cuſtoms and manners of the world. Now nature cannot be taught, nor can the manners of ſociety be learned from books; yet I ſhall give here an excellent reflection from this author, which ſeems to approximate parties, by making allowance for a ſmall deviation from the nature of common life, in favour of the poet and the actor, whoſe writings and ſpeech are ſomewhat more inflated when the buſkin is on, than at other times. "For the ſame reaſon as a picture, which is to be ſeen at a diſtance, requires bolder ſtrokes and higher colouring, the theatrical voice muſt be pitched higher, the language be more lofty, and the pronunciation more accentuated, than in ſociety, where we communicate our ideas with more facility, but always in proportion to the perſpective; that is to ſay, in ſuch a manner that the tone of voice ſhould be ſoftened and diminiſhed to the degree of nature, before it arrives at the ear of thoſe to whom it is addreſſed."

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From theſe, and other circumſtances, mentioned in the courſe of this ſection, there can remain no doubt but that the ancient dramas were *ſung:* dramatic recitation having been conſtantly called by the Greeks, μελος, *melody*; and by the Latins, *modulatio*, *modus*, *canticum*, and other muſical terms, which imply *ſinging*.

Indeed, ſo immenſe was the ſize of the theatres of Greece and Italy, that we may naturally conclude a *muſical* declamation for the ſtage to have been a neceſſary conſequence of ſpeaking loud; for whoever ſhouts, hallows, or bawls, with ſufficient force to be heard further than common ſpeech can penetrate, makes uſe of fixed tones, which, if ſoftened, would become muſical: and it is well known that the tones of ſpeech are too tranſient and undetermined to be aſcertained by thoſe of muſic, or to be audible at a great diſtance, or in a wide ſpace (*b*).

This want of natural power of voice ſufficient to be heard in the open air, for the ancient theatres had no cover, and by a great multitude, gave riſe not only to *ſinging* upon the ſtage, but, perhaps, to *chanting* in the church. The neceſſity of augmenting the force of a performer's voice by every poſſible means, likewiſe firſt ſuggeſted the idea of *metallic maſks*, which were uſed by the actors upon the principle of ſpeaking-trumpets, and to that of the *Echeia*, or *harmonic vaſes*; two expedients ſo peculiar to the ancient drama, that it ſeems neceſſary to give ſome account of them.

The maſk was called by the Latins *perſona*, from *perſonare*, to *ſound through*; and delineations of ſuch maſks as were uſed in each piece, were generally prefixed to it, as appears from the Vatican Terence. Hence *dramatis perſonæ*, *maſks of the drama*; which words, after maſks ceaſed to be uſed, were underſtood to mean *perſons of the drama*.

Quintilian, lib. ii. gives a liſt of invariable maſks appropriated to different characters, to which the public had for many ages been

(*b*) The theatre built by Auguſtus, and dedicated to the memory of his nephew Marcellus, though one of the ſmalleſt in Rome, contained 22,000 people; and, according to Pliny, *lib.* xxxvi. *cap.* 15. the theatre of Pompey was ſufficiently ſpacious to admit 40,000 people, and that of Scaurus 80,000.

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accuſtomed. And Julius Pollux (*a*) is ſtill more ample in his account of theatrical maſks, uſed in Tragedy, Satyr, and Comedy. Niobe, weeping; Medea, furious; Ajax, aſtoniſhed; and Hercules enraged. In comedy, the ſlave, the paraſite, the clown, the captain, the old woman, the harlot, the auſtere old man, the debauched young man, the prodigal, the prudent young woman, the matron, and the father of a family, were all conſtantly characteriſed by particular maſks. This cuſtom is, in ſome meaſure, ſtill preſerved in the Italian comedy, and in our pantomime entertainments, which originated from it (*b*).

"The ſpectators, ſays du Bos, ſpeaking of the ancient theatre, loſt but little on the ſide of *face-playing*, by the introduction of *maſks*; for not one third of the audience were near enough to the actor to diſcern the play of muſcles, or working of the paſſions in the features of his face; at leaſt to have received pleaſure from them; for an expreſſion muſt have been accompanied with a frightful grimace and diſtortion of viſage, to be perceptible at ſo great a diſtance from the ſtage (*c*)."

With reſpect to the *Echeia*, or *vaſes*, uſed in theatres for the augmentation of ſound, Vitruvius, book V. cap. 5, tells us, that they were placed in cells or niches, between the rows of ſeats oc-

(*a*) *Lib.* iv. *cap.* 19. Περι προσωπων τραγικων, Σατυρικων, και Κωμικων.

(*b*) The ancients had three ſeveral kinds of maſks; the tragic, comic, and ſatiric. Lucian, *de Saltat.* ſpeaks ſtill of a fourth kind, peculiar to dancers, of which the mouths were ſhut; whereas the others were always open, and of an enormous ſize.

(*c*) For the form of theſe maſks, ſee Plate IV. No. 1, 2, and 3. No. 1, is taken from an antique figure in metal, of Greek ſculpture; the maſk covered the whole head of a perſon ſinging on the ſtage. No. 2, is likewiſe taken from an antique maſk in metal. It has a large mouth in the ſhape of a ſhell; and by the horror expreſſed in the countenance, it ſeems to have been the maſk of a tragic actor, reciting ſome terrible event upon the ſtage. "The wide mouth, in the form of a ſhell, ſays Ficoroni, ſo common in the ancient maſks, ſerved to augment the power of the voice, upon the principle of a ſpeaking-trumpet." *Quella bocca a conchiglia, che ſi vede in altre maſchere, ſerviva per ingrandire la voce, come ſuccede nelle trombe a proporzione.* Le Maſchere Sceniche, cap. xvii. and xxii. See likewiſe Dacier's and Colman's Terence. No. 3, is taken from the maſk held in the hand of Thalia, the comic muſe, one of the moſt perfect and beautiful of the ancient paintings in the muſæum at Portici; it was dug out of Pompeii. See *Antich. de Ercolano, tom.* ii. That the maſk was an Egyptian invention ſeems certain, by one that is preſerved in the Brandenburg collection, and a drawing of it publiſhed by Berger. It repreſents Iſis, is gigantic, and covered with hieroglyphics, ſome of which have extended wings, like thoſe to be ſeen in the Iſiac table.

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cupied by the ſpectators, to which the voice of the actor had free paſſage; that they were made of braſs, or earthen ware, and proportioned in magnitude to the ſize of the building; and laſtly, that in the ſmall theatres, they were tuned in harmonical proportions of fourths, fifths, and eighths, with their replicates; and in theatres of great magnitude, there was a vaſe to correſpond with every ſound in the diſdiapaſon, or great muſical ſyſtem, in all the genera.

The Romans, according to the ſame author, were obliged to the Greeks for this invention, as well as for tragedy itſelf. For the *Echeia* were brought firſt into Italy from Corinth, by Mummius (*c*). Perhaps they had ſomething of the effect of the whiſpering gallery at St. Paul's church, which, by its orbicular form, augments ſound in the ſame manner as the belly of an inſtrument, a hogſhead, or a draw-well.

Sir Francis Bacon long ſince obſerved, that ſound diffuſes and waſtes itſelf in open air, but if incloſed and confined in a canal, or narrow limits, its force is augmented; and adds, that incloſures not only encreaſe and fortify ſound, but *preſerve* it (*d*). Reſonance is but an aggregate of echos, or of quick repetitions and returns of the ſame ſound, which ſoon uniting into one point, are conſolidated and embodied; and by this means, the force of the tone firſt given is greatly augmented upon the delivery, aud preſerved ſome time after the firſt cauſe ceaſes. This conſtitutes the *ringing* of muſical inſtruments, and places favourable to ſound; but with reſpect to the *whiſper*, which is inſtantly carried from the perſon who utters it, to the oppoſite ſide of the gallery, it runs along the ſmooth ſurface of the wall, and arrives at the place of its deſtination with nearly the ſame degree of force as it is delivered.

It is not eaſy now, however, to deſcribe, or even to conceive, the form and effects of the theatric vaſes; it is enough for the

(*c*) Vitruvius continues to theſe veſſels the Greek name—*Vaſa Ærea—que Græcè* Echeia *vocantur*, as more expreſſive of their uſe than any term he could find in the Latin language. Ηχειον, from Ηχεω, implying not only a *vaſe*, but one that is ſonorous and muſical. As the word *bell*, in Engliſh, conveys at once an idea of the *form*, as well as *uſe*, of ſuch an inſtrument.

(*d*) *Nat. Hiſt. Cent.* 2d and 3d.

preſent

preſent purpoſe that their exiſtence and uſe are recorded by ſo ſcientific a writer as Vitruvius. Our ſmaller theatres, luckily, are in want of no ſuch helps; but this is certain, if theſe veſſels were tuned to muſical tones and intervals, nothing but noiſe and confuſion could be produced from them by *common ſpeech*, or ſuch as is uſed in *modern declamation*. For if any one cough, ſpeak loud, or ſtrike forcibly upon the caſe of a harpſichord, with the lid propped up, or on any hard body near it, the ſhock will make every ſtring in the inſtrument ſound at the ſame inſtant; but if a fixed and muſical tone be produced by the voice, or upon a violin or flute, none but the uniſon will be heard upon the harpſichord; and though the cloathing of the jacks be in cloſe contact with all the ſtrings, which renders it impoſſible to produce a clear tone from any one of them, by the common means of quills, or hammers, yet if any perſon ſing near them, every note will be exactly echoed by the inſtrument.

If, therefore, theſe *Echeia* were of the uſe related by Vitruvius, it muſt have been from the voice approaching them in fixed and muſical tones, modulated in uniſon with the tones of the vaſes (*e*).

Every thing was upon a large ſcale in the ancient theatres. The figure, features, and voice, were all gigantic. The voice was, in a particular manner, the object of an actor's care; nothing was omitted, ſays father Brumoy, that could render it more ſonorous; even in the heat of action it was governed by the tones of inſtruments, that regulated the intervals by which it was to move, and to expreſs the paſſions.

What kind of muſic was applied to the *Epiſodes* and *Choruſſes* of tragedy, is another enquiry: ſome idea may perhaps be obtained concerning it, without having recourſe to conjecture; for Plutarch (*f*) tells us, that the dithyrambic and tragic poets, adopted

(*e*) The beſt commentary upon this obſcure ſubject in Vitruvius is that of Perrault, who has given an engraving of part of an ancient theatre, on purpoſe to exhibit the ſituation of the harmonic vaſes. *Les dix Livres d'Architecture de Vitruve*, Par. 1684. 2d Edit. folio. Kircher, whoſe pen was never impeded by doubts or difficulties, has not only deſcribed, but given them imaginary forms reſembling bells. See *Muſurgia*, tom. ii. p. 285.

(*f*) *De Muſica.*

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for their pieces that kind of muſical execution, of which Archilochus is ſaid to have been the inventor (*g*). The ſame author likewiſe informs us, that Archilochus performed the muſic to his Iambic verſes in two different ways; *reciting* ſome of them with an accompaniment, and *ſinging* others, while inſtruments ſervilely performed the *ſame notes* as the voice; and this was the method which the tragic poets afterwards adopted (*h*).

We learn from this ſame work of Plutarch, that even the declamatory Iambics were accompanied by the *Cithara*, and other inſtruments; but as the employment of the *Cithara* upon theſe occaſions was not conſtant, it ſeems as if only the general tone of declamation was given to the actor by the muſician, as the chord is given to the ſinger in modern recitative; whereas in the chorus, and other poetry that was *ſung*, the inſtrument conſtantly accompanied the voice, *note* for *note*.

Hence it appears that the ancient dramatic writers uſed a different kind of *melos* for the declamation of the actors, and for the ſongs of the chorus (*i*). The one may perhaps be compared to modern *recitative*, and the other to *chanting* in the Romiſh church (*k*).

That this muſic was ſimple, and intended to render ſpeech more articulate, as well as to fortify paſſion, both reaſon, and the authority of ancient writers enable us to believe.

Plutarch (*l*) ſays, "that the chromatic genus was never uſed in tragedy." Now, if the ancient dramas were declaimed in a ſpecies of *recitative*, it will bring it ſtill nearer the recitative of modern muſical dramas, in which no chromatic is ever admitted.

(*g*) Archilochus flouriſhed about ſix hundred and ſixty years before Chriſt.

(*h*) Iambics, or ſatyrs, are ſuppoſed to have given birth to comedy, as dithyrambics did to tragedy: and it is ſomewhat remarkable that religious myſteries ſhould have furniſhed ſubjects for the firſt dramatic exhibitions among the ancients as well as the moderns.

(*i*) Ariſtotle, in his *Poetics*, chap. xxvii. ſpeaks of two different kinds of rhapſodiſts; one of which *recited* epic poems, and the other *ſung* them.

(*k*) Father Meneſtrier conjectures, that the practice of *chanting* and *ſinging* in the church, was derived from the ancient manner of declaiming and ſinging in public. *Traité des Repreſentations en Muſique, Anc. et Mod.*

(*l*) *Ubi ſupra.*

Plutarch likewiſe informs us, that a ſtrict *rhythm*, or meaſure, was not obſerved in tragedy; another circumſtance reſembling modern recitative, in which no time is kept but that of the accent and cadence of the verſe. And this aſſertion of Plutarch ſeems to agree with what Ariſtotle ſays in his *Poetics*, chap. 1. "That dithyrambics, nomes, tragedies, and comedies, uſe alike number, verſe, and harmony, with this difference, that in ſome all three are employed at once, in others, they are uſed ſeparately."

By *number*, or *rhythm*, is here meant regular time: and by *harmony*, muſic, or ſong. In dithyrambics and nomes the verſe was always accompanied by melody, rhythm, and dance (*m*); and in tragedy and comedy, the verſe was only *recited* during the courſe of the acts; but in the choruſes it was accompanied by ſinging and dancing.

As candour forbids the loading the ancients with more cuſtoms, that are repugnant to modern ideas of propriety, than can be warranted by good authority, I ſhall endeavour to acquit them of ſome part of that exceſſive fondneſs for dancing, which many writers have laid to their charge, by ſuppoſing that not only the chorus, but the principal characters of the drama, were continually dancing all the time they were upon the ſtage. Indeed Χορος, *chorus*, equally means a band of ſingers and a company of dancers. Many inſtances occur, however, in ancient authors, where dancing in the old drama of the Greeks, ſeems but another word for moving and acting gracefully; and the term *hypocritic*,

(*m*) *Dithyrambics* and *nomes* were equally hymns ſung in honour of the Gods. The *nomes* were for Apollo, as the *dithyrambics* were for Bacchus. Now the literal meaning of νομος, *nome*, being a *law* or *rule*, it ſhould ſeem as if, after the invention of muſical characters, the *nomes* were the firſt melodies, or tunes, that were written down, and rendered permanent and unalterable; whereas, before that period, muſic muſt have been played extempore, or by memory: and as Terpander, the inventor of a muſical notation, is likewiſe ſaid to have ſet the νομοι, or *laws* of Lycurgus, to muſic, the conjecture has both a literal and a figurative foundation. Ariſtotle, Prob. XVII. 28. aſks why ſuch different things as *laws* and *ſongs* had the ſame appellations? and anſwers the queſtion himſelf, by ſaying, that before the knowledge of letters, *laws* were *ſung*, in order to their being the better retained in memory. If, according to Joſephus, the word νομος is not to be found in all the writings of Homer, it muſt, conſequently, be a more modern term. The word, however, *does* occur in Homer's Hymn to Apollo, v. 20, though not in the Iliad or Odyſſey.

which

which the Greeks likewiſe call *orcheſis*, and the Latins *ſaltatio*, though it ſometimes means dancing, more frequently is uſed to expreſs Geſture, or theatrical action. In the younger drama, according to Lucian (*n*), a ſingle dancer, or *mime*, was able to expreſs all the incidents and ſentiments of a whole tragedy, or epic poem, by dumb ſigns, but ſtill to muſic, as the actors recited it; though Ariſtotle expreſly ſays, that dancers want neither poetry nor muſic, as by the aſſiſtance of meaſure and cadence only, they can imitate human manners, actions, and paſſions.

The ſtrange cuſtom of dividing the declamation and geſtures, or ſpeaking and acting, between two perſons, was never thought of by the Greeks. It is mentioned by Livy as an invention of Livius Andronicus, an old Roman poet, who flouriſhed two hundred and forty years before Chriſt, in order to ſave himſelf the fatigue of ſinging in his own piece; to which he, like other authors of his time, had been accuſtomed. But being often *encored*, and hoarſe with repeating his canticle or ſong, he obtained permiſſion to transfer the vocal part to a young performer, retaining to himſelf only the *acting*, which he was able to go through with the more fire and propriety, ſays Livy, by being exempted from the labour of ſinging. M. Duclos endeavours to prove, that as the *Canticum* of Andronicus was compoſed of ſongs and dances, the words of Livy, *canticum egiſſe aliquanto magis vigenti motu, quia nihil vocis uſus impediebat*, imply no more than that the old poet, who at firſt ſung his *Canticum*, or, if you will, his *Cantata*, and afterwards danced in the interludes alternately, having ſung till he was hoarſe, transferred the ſinging to another performer, in order to dance with more force and activity; and thence came the cuſtom of making ſinging and dancing two different profeſſions (*o*). And it does ſeem as if the *ſeparation* in queſtion was that of the *ſinging* from the *dancing*, according to the opinion of M. Duclos; the ſtory which, when applied to *ſpeaking* and *acting*, is abſurd and incredible, becomes both natural and probable, in the other ſenſe. It has juſt been obſerved, that acting and

(*n*) *De Saltatione.*

(*o*) *Encyclop.* Art. *Declamation des Anciens.*

dancing were frequently confounded in ancient authors, and perhaps Livy meant no other *acting* than what *dancing* literally implied.

The Greek dramas conſiſted of ſoliloquy, dialogue, and chorus; but as the chorus was never adopted in the Latin comedy, it has been imagined, that ſuch *Cantica*, or ſoliloquies, as were full of ſentiment and paſſion, had a different, more elaborate, and refined melody and accompaniment ſet to them, than the *Diverbia*, or dialogues; and that, like the chorus of the Greek tragedy, they ſerved as interludes, or act tunes. But I have been able to meet with no ſatisfactory proof of theſe *cantica*, or ſongs, being a part of the piece, like the Greek chorus: for though Flaccus is mentioned as compoſer of the modes, or melodies, to which all the ſix comedies of Terence were ſung, no notice is taken of a different muſic for the *cantica*, or even interludes, if ſuch there were, uſed between the acts. Some of the ſoliloquies in Terence ſeem too ſhort and trivial to be ſung to different muſic from the *diverbia*; and others, that are longer and more ſentimental, have no diſtinction of verſification, like the odes or choruſes of Greek tragedy, to point them out as *cantica*; but are all in the ſame free Iambic verſe as the *diverbia*.

Donatus, who flouriſhed three hundred and fifty years after Chriſt, tells us, indeed, that "though the dialogues were ſpoken, the *cantica* were ſet to muſic, not by the poet, but by an able compoſer (*p*)." I ſhould therefore rather imagine that theſe *cantica* of the Latin comedy were real *Intermezzi*, or *Interludes*, wholly detached from the piece, and, perhaps, not only the productions of a different compoſer, but of a different poet (*q*).

The melody of ancient declamation being then only a ſpecies of recitative, could receive nothing but a poetical rhythm, far leſs exact than one ſtrictly *muſical*; exact, indeed, as to long and ſhort

(*p*) *Diverbia hiſtriones pronuntiabat; cantica verò temperabant modis, non à poetâ, ſed à perito artis muſices factis.* Scholia in Terent.

(*q*) That the Tibicines exhibited between the acts ſeems evident from a paſſage in Plautus, who makes one of his characters ſay, at the concluſion of the firſt act of the *Pſeudolus*; I muſt go in: "*Tibicen vos interea hic delectaverit.*"

ſyllables,

ſyllables, but as it approached nearer to common ſpeech than air, ſo it muſt have been more lax and incommenſurate as to time, than meaſured melody, ſuch as conſtitutes air at preſent. Long and ſhort ſyllables are rigouroufly attended to in modern recitative, the words are ſtrongly accentuated, and yet the muſical meaſure, or time, is never attended to, or beaten.

M. de Voltaire, ſo much attached to the ancient drama, and ſo little to modern muſic, ſays, we can no where find ſuch an exact reſemblance of the Greek ſtage, as in the Italian opera. "The Italian recitative is preciſely the *melopoeia* of the ancients; and though this recitative is tireſome in ill written pieces, yet it is admirable in good ones; and the choruſes in ſome of them, which are interwoven in the ſubject, reſemble the ancient chorus ſo much the more, as they were ſet to a different kind of muſic from the recitative; for the ſtrophe, epode, and antiſtrophe, were ſung by the Greeks quite differently from the *melopoeia* of the reſt of the play."

"I know, continues M. de Voltaire, that theſe tragedies, ſo bewitching by the charms of the muſic, and magnificence of the decorations, have a *defect* which the Greeks always avoided; a defect which has transformed the moſt beautiful, and, in other reſpects, the moſt regular tragedies that ever were written, into monſters: for what can be more abſurd than to terminate every ſcene by one of thoſe *detached airs*, which interrupt the buſineſs, and deſtroy the intereſt of the drama, in order to afford an opportunity to an effeminate throat to ſhine in trills and diviſions, at the expence of poetry and good ſenſe (*q*)."

The laſt period of this quotation proves the impoſſibility of ſatisfying all parties in theatrical diſputes; for thoſe very airs which are ſo delightful to lovers of muſic, and which alone render an opera ſupportable to them, are regarded by the excluſive lovers of poetry as the only blemiſhes in this kind of drama, which render it inferior to the Greek. However, notwithſtanding the acknowledged merit of particular ſcenes of recitative in an opera, I am inclined

(*q*) *Diſſert. ſur la Tragedie Ancienne et Moderne.*

to

to believe, if the *airs* were omitted, that the rendering this kind of ſpectacle more Grecian, would neither encreaſe the number of its admirers, nor enrich the managers of the theatre.

Indeed all modern muſicians, who have imagined that they have diſcovered what ancient dramatic muſic was, ſuppoſe it to have been a ſpecies of Recitative, as will be ſhewn hereafter, in the ſpecimens that will be given of the muſic of the firſt operas and oratorios.

The abbé du Bos has not ſcrupled to aſſert boldly, that the actor, in the ancient dramas, was accompanied by a *baſſo continuo*, not like that of the French opera, but like the baſe accompaniment to Italian recitative; and determines, from a paſſage and plate in Bartholinus (*r*), that the inſtrument upon which this *continued baſe* was played, was a *flute* (*s*)! With the ſame courage, and the ſame truth, this lively author aſſerts (*t*), that the *ſemeia*, or muſical characters of the Greeks, were nothing more than the initial letters of the names of the ſixteen notes in the great ſyſtem, or diagram! Opinions which merely to mention, is to confute.

M. Duclos, contrary to the general opinion, denies, in the article above cited, that the *melos* of Greek tragedy was *ſinging*, or even *recitative*, to fixed and muſical tones; but if not, why does Ariſtotle tell us, that muſic was an *eſſential part of tragedy?* or how could the lyres and flutes, with which declamation was accompanied, and of which the tones were fixed and muſical, be either uſeful to the actor, *or an embelliſhment to the piece?* There are ſeveral paſſages in Cicero, concerning Roſcius, which, if the ancient actors, Roman, as well as Greek, did not declaim in muſical notes, would be wholly unintelligible. He tells us, *de Orat.* that Roſcius had always ſaid, when age ſhould diminiſh his force, he would not abandon the ſtage, but would proportion his performance to his powers, and make muſic conform to the weakneſs of his voice; which really happened; for the ſame author

(*r*) *De Tibiis Veterum.*
(*s*) *Reflex. Crit. tom.* iii. p. 111, 120, and 126. Edit. de Par. 1733.
(*t*) Ib. p. 80.

informs

informs us, *de Leg.* that in his old age he ſung in a lower pitch of voice, and made the *tibicines* play ſlower (*u*).

M. Duclos, who has cenſured ſo many of the bold and hazarded aſſertions of the abbé du Bos, falls into one of his worſt miſtakes, by ſaying, that the ancient declamation, which he denies to have been *muſical*, was accompanied by a baſe part played on the flute. But it ſeems demonſtrable, that no kind of baſe accompaniment was known to the ancients (*x*).

We have the authority of Plutarch, however, for the recitation of tragedy among the Greeks having been accompanied by the *cithara*, and other ſtringed inſtruments, after the manner in which Archilochus had accompanied his iambics (*y*).

The Roman comedy, in the time of Terence was accompanied *tibiis paribus et imparibus*, with *equal* and *unequal flutes*, occaſionally. This is upon record in all the moſt ancient manuſcripts of that author. What theſe *double flutes* were, or how played upon by one perſon, has much perplexed the learned, as well as practical muſicians. For my own part, I had long been of opinion, that the *equal* flutes were *uniſons*, and the *unequal* octaves to each other, blown by one mouth piece, before my journey into Italy;

(*u*) *Solet idem Roſcius dicere, ſe, quo plus ſibi accederet ætatis, eo tardiores tibicinis modos et cantus remiſſiores eſſe facturum.* —— *In ſenectute numeros in cantu ceciderat, ipſaſque tardiores fecerat tibias.*

(*x*) Though the idea of a *baſe* part to mere declamation is not probable, yet the ſuppoſition of its being played upon a Flute is perhaps leſs abſurd than it will at firſt appear to thoſe, who regard all Flutes as *treble inſtruments*. Ariſt. Quint. who gives a kind of ſcale of Lyres, (ſee Deſcription of Plates) gives likewiſe one for wind inſtruments. The σαλπιγξ, or Trumpet, at the grave, or, as he calls it, *maſculine* extremity; and the Phrygian αυλος, or Flute, at the *feminine*. Of the middle claſs he mentions the *Pythic* Flute as of a maſculine character, on account of its *gravity*; δια το βαρος. Now, according to Diomedes, this Pythic Flute was the very inſtrument uſed in the *Cantica*, or declamation. The *melos* of tragedy is ſaid to be *Hypatoides* (Ariſt. Quint. p. 30.); that is, of the *loweſt* pitch. Accordingly, Ariſtotle tells us, expreſly, in his Problems, that the modes appropriated to declamation, were the Hypodorian and Hypophrygian; that is, the two loweſt in the ſyſtem. The Flute that accompanied theſe could not well be a *treble inſtrument*, without playing in octaves, or double octaves, to the voice. However, if we were to ſuppoſe a baſe accompaniment to theſe low modes, different from the voice part, it muſt have been performed on a Flute of an enormous ſize.

(*y*) As to the recitation of tragedy being accompanied by the *Cithara*, there is a ſtrong ſupport for the opinion in Ariſtotle's 49th Problem, where he calls the Hypodorian mode uſed in declamation, κιθαρωδικωτατη των αρμονιων; that is, *the moſt adapted to the Cithara of all the modes*. And Athenæus, *lib.* i. *cap.* 17. p. 20. ſpeaks of Sophocles *playing the Cithara himſelf*, in his tragedy of Thamyris.

and

and the numerous repreſentations I ſaw of them there in ancient ſculpture, did not furniſh me with any more probable conjecture. But frequent occaſions will occur of making ſome further reflexions upon theſe inſtruments, of which drawings will be given, in the courſe of the work.

It now remains to ſpeak of the *Chorus*, ſo celebrated in the tragedy of the ancients.

In the moſt flouriſhing times of the Athenian republic, ſo great was the paſſion of the people for ſhews and public ſpectacles, that the government, which was at the charge of theſe exhibitions, has been accuſed by Plutarch, of ſupporting them at a greater expence than their fleets and armies.

The performers of the odes, or full choruſſes, were multiplied in the time of Æſchylus to fifty perſons. Indeed their number was afterwards reduced by a law to fifteen. Their chief, or leader, who was called *Coryphæus*, frequently ſpoke in the courſe of the drama, as a ſingle perſon, and ſometimes for the whole band, either in dialogue with the characters of the piece, or to acquaint the audience with what was going forwards, as well as to pity virtue in diſtreſs, or to deplore the unruly paſſions of the vicious. Father Brumoy calls him *l'honnête-homme de la piece*.

The great choruſes, or interludes, were generally four in number; and, in the beginning of tragedy, they ſerved as act tunes. Æſchylus firſt interwove them into the texture of the drama; and, according to Dacier, there was ſomething different in the verſification and melody of each chorus, which diſtinguiſhed it from the reſt ſo much, that let a perſon enter the theatre when he would, it was eaſy for him to diſcover by the muſic of the chorus what part of the piece was then repreſenting.

As the acts of a play were at firſt but epiſodes, or interludes, between the dithyrambics, or choruſes; in proceſs of time they changed hands, and the choruſes became a ſpecies of act tunes, or interludes, to the epiſodes, or *cantica* and *diverbia*, formed into ſcenes and acts. Dr. Franklin denies this diviſion into acts; and he ſeems right in denying the number to have been conſtantly five; but that the great choruſes were wrought into a more lofty

and

and ſublime kind of poetry, and of different meaſure from the ſoliloquies and dialogues, is ſo certain in all the ancient tragedies which are come down to us, that it has been ſaid, if during the acts the performers ſpoke the language of heroes and kings, in the choruſes they ſpoke that of the Gods; and it is equally certain that they were generally performed in the abſence of the interlocutors of the play. Indeed the ſtage was never empty, nor were the performers idle; ſo that when the choruſes were incorporated in the piece, as in ſome of the tragedies of Sophocles, it may be ſaid ſtrictly to conſiſt of only one act.

The Greek name for act being δραμα, *drama*, it encourages an opinion, that in the beginning of theatrical exhibitions, each chorus and epiſode was a diſtinct and entire piece. The Romans, however, underſtood by the term *actus*, a part of a play, divided from another part; and the intermediate ſpace of time between theſe diviſions was uſually filled up by a Chorus, a Dance, or a Song. In the time of Horace, the number of five acts ſeems to have been ſettled for the Roman theatre; and in the comedies of Terence, and tragedies of Seneca, that number is conſtant.

The Greek tragedies being compoſed of fifteen or ſixteen hundred verſes, would be too long, if ſung to airs like ours, and too ſhort, if ſpoken. Relaxation, however, was neceſſary both to the actors and the audience; and this, if it did not give birth to the chorus, at leaſt eſtabliſhed it into a cuſtom to have a chorus between the principal diviſions of the piece.

A drama is compoſed of many circumſtances, out of which the poet chuſes ſuch as are moſt proper for the ſtage, and moſt intereſting in the repreſentation: the reſt are underſtood to be tranſacting elſewhere; and in order to allow time for theſe external circumſtances, the ſpace between the acts of ancient dramas was filled up by the chorus, or other *intermediate* amuſements.

In all the Greek tragedies that are come down to us, the action is interrupted from time to time by the intervention of choruſes, which fill up the intermediate ſpace between the principal events of the piece, while the interlocutors are either abſent, or remain ſilent and inactive upon the ſtage: and theſe form

the true diviſions of the drama into acts. But that theſe acts always amount to four, five, or any ſtated number, cannot be proved by the ancient manuſcripts of the Greek dramatic poets, however new editions and modern critics may have divided them.

If the number of odes, or great choruſes, is to determine the diviſion into acts, they amount most frequently to ſix or ſeven.

Each of theſe principal odes, or choruſes, conſiſted of three couplets, or ſtanzas; the *Strophe*, *Antiſtrophe*, and *Epode*.

Demetrius Triclinius, in his book upon the verſes of Sophocles, ſays, that the *ſtrophe* was ſung by the chorus moving to the the right; the *antiſtrophe* to the left, and the *epode*, after performing theſe two evolutions, without moving at all. He aſſerts that, by theſe evolutions, which were borrowed from the Ægyptians, the Greeks meant to imitate the courſe of the heavenly bodies; that by the *ſtrophe*, and wheeling to the right, they deſigned the movement of the fixed ſtars; by the *antiſtrophe*, and turning to the left, was indicated the courſe of the planets; and that the *epode*, which was performed without any motion, ſhewed the fixed ſituation of the earth. Pindar, in his Odes, has introduced the ſame changes; probably becauſe in ſinging them, the ſame evolutions were performed. Theſeus, when he returned from Crete, invented a dance conſiſting of different turnings, in memory of the labyrinth, which was afterwards adopted by the tragic chorus. But as to the manner of moving from the right to the left, it is very difficult to form any idea of it. M. Dacier ſays, "I am of opinion that the chorus was parted into two diviſions, as among the Hebrews; the band to the right began, advancing to the left half the breadth of the theatre, and this was the *ſtrophe*; the other troop did the ſame, and this was called the *antiſtrophe* (*x*)."

The profeſſion of an actor was long honourable among the Greeks. Their poets, who were likewiſe orators, ſtateſmen, and generals, performed the principal parts in their own pieces; and Sophocles, who was the firſt that did not appear on the ſtage in

(*x*) *Theatre des Grecs, du pere Brumoy, tome* I.

his

his tragedies, was compelled to decline it, by the want of voice.

Livy, *lib.* vii. *cap.* 2, tells us, that Andronicus, who firſt wrote regular plays among the Latins, acted in his own pieces, as every author, at that time, did: and all antiquity aſſerts, that the firſt poets were muſicians, and that muſic was inſeparable from poetry: but the Greek dramatic poets not only ſet their own pieces to muſic, but regulated all the ſteps and attitudes of the dancers in the chorus, and the geſtures of the actors. It was the opinion of Fontenelle, that muſical dramas could never ſatisfy men of learning and taſte, till the poet and muſician were again united in the ſame perſon; and when the *Devin du Village*, which was both written and ſet by M. Rouſſeau, was ſo univerſally approved, and had ſo long a run during its firſt repreſentation at Paris, he attributed its great ſucceſs to this union.

"Ancient Greece had many muſicians, ſays M. Dacier (*y*), who were not poets, but not one poet who was not a muſician, and who did not compoſe the muſic of his own pieces: *Muſici qui erant quondam iidem poetæ*, ſays Cicero; for in Greece, muſic was the foundation of all ſciences; the education of children was begun by it, from a perſuaſion that nothing great could be expected from a man who was ignorant of muſic. This probably gave the Greek poetry ſuch a ſuperiority over the Latin, as well as over that of modern languages; for at Rome poetry and muſic were two diſtinct arts, and poets were there obliged to give their pieces to be ſet by profeſſed muſicians, as is the caſe at preſent every where elſe."

Such were the ſentiments of this profound critic, and theſe were likewiſe the opinions of the late Dr. Browne, and are thoſe of moſt learned men, who, being out of the way of good muſic, and good performers of the preſent times, have formed a romantic idea of ancient muſic upon the exaggerated accounts of its effects, which they have read in old authors.

The abate Metaſtaſio, more a man of the world, and more reaſonable, confeſſes, that the ſtudy of modern muſic requires

(*y*) *Remarques ſur la Poetique d'Ariſtote*, p. 105.

too much time for a man of letters ever to be able to qualify himſelf for the buſineſs of a compoſer.

The Greeks, indeed, during the time of their education, had no language to learn but their own: hence they had more time for other ſtudies. But with all the ſimplicity of their muſic, the poets themſelves being able to ſet their own pieces, and to ſing them ſo well to the ſatisfaction of the public, is to me a certain proof that their muſic had not only fewer difficulties, but fewer excellencies than the modern.

This is not the place to diſcuſs the point; but it appears to me as if the being at once a great poet, and a great muſician, were utterly impoſſible; otherwiſe why ſhould not ſuch a coincidence of talents frequently happen? Milton ſtudied muſic, and ſo have many of our poets; but to know it equally well with a profeſſor, is a drudgery to which they cannot ſubmit; beſides, a genius for poetry is ſo far from including a genius for muſic, that ſome of our greateſt poets have not only been enemies to harmony, but have had ears ſo unfortunately conſtructed, as not to enable them to diſtinguiſh one ſound from another.

The Grecian ſage, according to Gravina (*x*), was at once a philoſopher, a poet, and a muſician. "In ſeparating theſe characters, ſays he, they have all been weakened; the ſphere of philoſophy has been contracted; ideas have failed in poetry, and force and energy in ſong. Truth no longer ſubſiſts among mankind; the philoſopher ſpeaks not, at preſent, through the medium of poetry, nor is poetry any more heard through the vehicle of melody." Now, to my apprehenſion, the reverſe of all this is exactly true; for, by being ſeparated, each of theſe profeſſions receives a degree of cultivation, which fortifies, and renders it more powerful, if not more illuſtrious. The muſic of ancient philoſophers, and the philoſophy of modern muſicians, I take to be pretty equal in excellence.

Having now mentioned the principal ſubjects of the ancient drama, as far as they concern muſic, ſuch as the *Maſks*, *Echeia*, *Melo-*

(*x*) *Della Ragion Poetica.*

poeia

poeia of the *Cantica*, *Diverbia*, and *Choruſes*, divided into *Strophe*, *Antiſtrophe*, and *Epode*; the *Accompaniments* of theſe by the *cithara* and *flutes*, *equal* and *unequal*; the *union* of *poet* and *muſician*, in the authors of ancient dramas; all which, ſingly, and collectively, prove the declamation of the Greeks and Romans to have been muſical, and regulated, like the recitative of modern operas, by a notation: I ſhall now beſtow a few words upon the expediency and poſſibility of reducing modern declamation in the natural tones of ſpeech, unaccompanied by muſical inſtruments, to a *notation*, ſuch as would accurately mark the elevation, depreſſion, and inflexions of voice, as well as determine its degree of force, and the accentuation of words and ſyllables. As to the expediency of ſuch an invention, it ſeems on many occaſions devoutly to be wiſhed; but, for the poſſibility of its being practicable, that is certainly problematical. However, Dionyſius Hallicarnaſſus, *de Struct. Orat.* (*y*), tells us, in a famous paſſage which has often been diſcuſſed, that "the fifth was the common boundary to the melody of ſpeech:" that is, ſays the abbé Arnaud (*z*), "the tones which conſtitute language, were commonly all compriſed within the compaſs of a fifth, and the inflexions of voice extended to all the ſeveral degrees of that interval. Each word had its accent; the ſyllable was elevated by the acute accent, and lowered by the grave. This rule was fixed and unalterable; the degree of high and low was free and various; and it was this variety and freedom, which threw not only grace and variety into the pronunciation, but which ſerved to ſhew the limits and even ſhades of elocution."

Many paſſages from Cicero, Quintilian, Plutarch, and Boethius, might be cited, to prove, that not only muſicians and actors, but even orators, had a notation, by which the inflexions of voice, peculiar to their ſeveral profeſſions of ſinging, declaiming, and haranguing in public, were aſcertained (*a*).

(*y*) Sect. ii. p. 76. Edit. Upton.

(*z*) *Mem. de Litterature, tome* xxxii. p. 442.

(*a*) As there were combats, or conteſts, eſtabliſhed by the ancients for the voice, as well as other parts of the *Gymnaſtice*, thoſe

But orators, though not conſtantly accompanied by an inſtrument, had their voices ſometimes regulated by one, which Quintillian calls a *tonorium*, Cicero, a *fiſtula*, and Plutarch, συριγγιον, or *ſyrinx*, which is the ſame thing; and this inſtrument ſerved as a kind of *pitch-pipe*. Both Cicero (*b*) and Plutarch (*c*), relate the well known ſtory of the voice of the furious tribune, Caius Gracchus, being brought down to its natural pitch, after he had loſt it in a tranſport of paſſion, by means of a ſervant placed behind him with one of theſe inſtruments (*d*). It is not eaſy, however, to conceive of what uſe this expedient could be, unleſs rhetorical tones were regulated by thoſe of muſic.

M. Duclos (*e*) denies the poſſibility of a notation for ſpeech, as the intervals are too minute to be aſcertained; and adds that, "even if ſuch an invention were poſſible, the uſe of it would do more harm than good, as it would ſerve no other purpoſe than to render actors cold and inſipid; for by a ſervile imitation they would deſtroy the natural expreſſion which the ſentiments inſpire; and ſuch notes would not give the refinement, delicacy, grace, or paſſion, which conſtitute the merit of an actor, and the pleaſure of an audience." To refute this aſſertion it ſhould be remarked, that a well-written, and well-ſet ſcene of *recitative*, from the mouth of a great ſinger, and good actor, overſets all his reaſoning; for though confined to muſical notes, it has frequently great power over the paſſions of that part of an audience who underſtand the language. Give it to a man without voice, it will ſtill be a fine piece of recitative; a bad ſinger, indeed, may ſpoil it: however, it eſcapes annihilation, and ſtill remains to be taken up by a future performer of ſuperior talents; as a ſpeech in

thoſe who taught the management of the voice were called φωνασκοι, *phonaſci*; and under their inſtructions were put all thoſe who were deſtined to be orators, ſingers, and comedians. Roſcius had an academy for declamation, at which he taught ſeveral perſons, preparatory to their ſpeaking in public, or going on the ſtage. He had a law-ſuit with one of them, in which Cicero pleaded his cauſe.

(*b*) *De Orat.* lib. iii.

(*c*) *In Vit. C. Gracch.*

(*d*) Cicero tells us that this *tibicen*, with his *flapper*, *qui ſtaret occulte poſt ipſum*, and was not ſeen by the people, does not confine his employment to appeaſing the paſſion of his maſter; he was, upon occaſion, to incite it: *Qui inflaret celeriter cum ſonum, quo illum aut* remiſſum excitaret, *aut* à contentione revocaret.

(*e*) *Encyclop.* Art. *Declamat. des Anc.*

Shakeſpeare

Shakeſpeare does, that has been mangled by a ſtroller in a barn. But it is not to be wiſhed, perhaps, that the tones of ſpeech preſerved by ſuch notes, ſhould be more permanent than thoſe of muſic. Every new ſinger of peculiar powers is furniſhed with; ſo might an actor: the plays of Shakeſpeare might be *reſet*, as well as the operas of Metaſtaſio; and upon ſuch an occaſion it were to be wiſhed that Mr. Garrick would undertake to be the *Compoſer*.

M. Duclos throws the impracticability of ſuch an expedient upon the multiplicity of notes that would be neceſſary for ſuch minute inflexions; a difficulty that ſeems obviated by the paſſage juſt cited from Dionyſius; which ſays, that the compaſs of voice in declamation, even during a ſcene of paſſion, ſeldom exceeds the interval of a fifth. I therefore cannot help giving a place to the invention of characters, for theatrical elocution among muſical *deſiderata* (*f*). Mr. Garrick, indeed, with ſeeming reaſon, objects to the uſe of them for himſelf, as "they would render his declamation cold and monotonous, and deprive him of the power of varying the tones of his voice, according to his preſent feelings." But in anſwer to this it might be urged, that a great ſinger, notwithſtanding the outline that is given him by the compoſer, ſeldom performs an air twice in the ſame manner; though, on account of the accompaniments, and regularity of the meaſure, to which every change, or embelliſhment, muſt correſpond, it is much more difficult to vary muſical ſounds in melody, than the tones of ſpeech in declamation, which are not only unconnected with other parts, but uncontrouled by time.

It is far from being my wiſh ever to hear our tragedy *ſung*, or pronounced in *recitative*, however deſirable it may be to preſerve the tones of voice uſed by great actors, if it were only to aſſiſt the young, the ignorant, and unfeeling candidates for theatrical fame.

(*f*) Since the publication of the firſt edition of this vol. the particular *deſideratum* in queſtion has been as amply ſupplied as ſeems poſſible, by Mr. Steele, in his ingenious *Eſſay towards eſtabliſhing the Melody and Meaſure of Speech*.

Moliere,

Moliere, when he performed in his own plays, and Beaubourg, the actor, are confidently affirmed, by the abbé du Bos, to have *noted* their particular ſcenes of declamation (*g*). This author ſays againſt ſuch reſtraint; mankind is naturally fond of liberty in all things: *il ne veut pas être contraint dans ſes allures*; they will not be confined in their natural gait, ſays Montaigne. But though actors and actreſſes of the firſt claſs are ſure to charm an audience, let their humour be what it will, yet the notation of the tones, in which a favourite and affecting ſpeech was ſpoken by a Garrick, or a Cibber, would not only be an excellent leſſon to inferior actors, but would be a means of conveying it to poſterity, who will ſo frequently meet with their names and elogiums, in the Hiſtory of the Stage, and be curious to know in what manner they acquired ſuch univerſal admiration.

SECTION X.

Of the Effects attributed to the Muſic of the Ancients.

MATERIALS for this part of my Diſſertation are ſo numerous, that if I were only to preſent the reader with all the ſtories that have been related by the moſt grave and reſpectable hiſtorians and philoſophers of Greece and Rome, concerning the moral, medicinal, and ſupernatural powers of ancient muſic, this ſection would be as full of the *miracles* of muſicians, as the *Golden Legend* is of thoſe operated by the ſaints. The credulous and excluſive admirers of antiquity have, however, ſo long read and reverenced all theſe narrations, that they are impreſſed by them with an extravagant idea of the excellence of ancient muſic, which they are very unwilling to relinquiſh; and yet, after a moſt careful inveſtigation of the ſubject, and a minute

(*g*) *Reflex. Crit. tome* iii. ſect. 18.

analyſis

analyſis of this muſic, by examining its conſtituent parts, I have not been able to diſcover that it was ſuperiour to the modern in any other reſpects than its ſimplicity, and ſtrict adherence to metrical feet, when applied to poetry. For, *as muſic*, conſidered abſtractedly, it appears to have been much inferiour to the modern, in the two great and eſſential parts of the art, *melody* and *harmony*.

It ſhall therefore be my buſineſs in this ſection to collect and examine the principal facts, purely hiſtorical, that have been related by ancient writers, and which are urged by the moderns in its favour, under the three following heads:

Firſt, of the effects of ancient muſic in ſoftening the manners, promoting civilization, and humanizing men, naturally ſavage and barbarous:

Secondly, its effects in exciting, or repreſſing the paſſions:

And, thirdly, its medicinal power, in curing diſeaſes.

Among the effects of the *firſt* claſs, one of the moſt ſingular and ſtriking is related by Polybius the hiſtorian, a grave, exact, and reſpectable writer, who, in ſpeaking of ſeveral acts of cruelty and injuſtice exerciſed by the Ætolians againſt their neighbours the Cynætheans, has the following remarkable paſſage, which I ſhall give at full length from Mr. Hampton's excellent tranſlation.

"With regard to the inhabitants of Cynætha, whoſe misfortunes we have juſt now mentioned, it is certain, that no people ever were eſteemed ſo juſtly to deſerve that cruel treatment to which they were expoſed. And ſince the Arcadians, in general, have been always celebrated for their virtue throughout all Greece; and have obtained the higheſt fame, as well by their humane and hoſpitable diſpoſition, as from their piety alſo towards the Gods, and their veneration of all things ſacred; it may perhaps be uſeful to enquire, from whence it could ariſe, that the people of this ſingle city, though confeſſed to be Arcadians, ſhould, on the contrary, be noted for the ſavage roughneſs of their lives and manners, and diſtinguiſhed by their wickedneſs and cruelty above all the Greeks. In my judgment then, this difference has happened

from no other cauſe, than that the Cynætheans were the firſt and only people among the Arcadians, who threw away that inſtitution, which their anceſtors had eſtabliſhed with the greateſt wiſdom, and with a nice regard to the natural genius, and peculiar diſpoſition of the people of the country; I mean, the diſcipline and exerciſe of muſic: of that genuine and perfect muſic, which is uſeful indeed in every ſtate, but abſolutely neceſſary to the people of Arcadia. For we ought by no means to adopt the ſentiment that is thrown out by Ephorus in the preface to his hiſtory, and which indeed is very unworthy of that writer, "That muſic was invented to deceive and delude mankind." Nor can it be ſuppoſed, that the Lacedæmonians, and the ancient Cretans, were not influenced by ſome good reaſon, when, in the place of trumpets, they introduced the ſound of flutes, and harmony of verſe, to animate their ſoldiers in the time of battle: or that the firſt Arcadians acted without ſtrong neceſſity, who, though their lives and manners, in all other points, were rigid and auſtere, incorporated this art into the very eſſence of their government; and obliged not their children only, but the young men likewiſe, till they had gained the age of thirty years, to perſiſt in the conſtant ſtudy and practice of it. For all men know, that Arcadia is almoſt the only country, in which the children, even from their moſt tender age, are taught to ſing in meaſure their ſongs and hymns, that are compoſed in honour of their gods and heroes: and that afterwards, when they have learned the muſic of Timotheus and Philoxenus, they aſſemble once in every year in the public theatres, at the feaſt of Bacchus; and there dance, with emulation, to the ſound of flutes, and celebrate, according to their proper age, the children thoſe that are called the puerile, and the young men, the manly games. And even in their private feaſts and meetings, they are never known to employ any hired bands of muſic for their entertainment; but each man is obliged himſelf to ſing in turn. For though they may, without ſhame or cenſure, diſown all knowledge of every other ſcience, they dare not on the one hand diſſemble or deny, that they are ſkilled in muſic, ſince the laws require, that every one ſhould be inſtruct-

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ed in it; nor can they, on the other hand, refuſe to give ſome proofs of their ſkill when aſked, becauſe ſuch refuſal would be eſteemed diſhonourable. They are alſo taught to perform in order all the military ſteps and motions, to the ſound of inſtruments: and this is likewiſe practiſed every year in the theatres, at the public charge, and in ſight of all the citizens."

"Now to me it is clearly evident, that the ancients by no means introduced theſe cuſtoms, to be the inſtruments of luxury and idle pleaſure: but becauſe they had conſidered with attention, both the painful and laborious courſe of life, to which the Arcadians were accuſtomed; and the natural auſterity alſo of their manners, derived to them from that cold and heavy air, which covered the greateſt part of all their province. For men will be always found to be in ſome degree aſſimilated to the climate in which they live: nor can it be aſcribed to any other cauſe, that in the ſeveral nations of the world, diſtinct and ſeparated from each other, we behold ſo wide a difference, in complexion, features, manners, cuſtoms. The Arcadians, therefore, in order to ſmooth and ſoften that diſpoſition, which was by nature ſo rough and ſtubborn, beſides the cuſtoms above deſcribed, appointed frequent feſtivals and ſacrifices, which both ſexes were required to celebrate together; the men with women, and the boys with virgins; and, in general, eſtabliſhed every inſtitution, that could ſerve to render their rugged minds more gentle and compliant, and tame the fierceneſs of their manners. But the people of Cynætha, having ſlighted all theſe arts, though both their air and ſituation, the moſt inclement and unfavourable of any in Arcadia, made ſome ſuch remedy more requiſite to them than to the reſt, were afterwards engaged continually in inteſtine tumults and contentions; till they became at laſt ſo fierce and ſavage, that, among all the cities of Greece, there was none in which ſo many and ſo great enormities were ever known to be committed. To how deplorable a ſtate this conduct had at laſt reduced them, and how much their manners were deteſted by the Arcadians, may be fully underſtood from that which happened to them, when they ſent an embaſſy to Lacedæmon, after the time of a dreadful ſlaughter which had been

made among them. For in every city of Arcadia, through which their deputies were obliged to paſs, they were commanded by the public crier inſtantly to be gone. The Mantineans alſo expreſſed even ſtill more ſtrongly their abhorrence of them: for as ſoon as they were departed, they made a ſolemn purification of the place; and carried their victims in proceſſion round the city, and through all their territory."

"This then may be ſufficient to exempt the general cuſtoms of Arcadia from all cenſure; and at the ſame time to remind the people of that province, that muſic was at firſt eſtabliſhed in their government, not for the ſake of vain pleaſure and amuſement, but for ſuch ſolid purpoſes, as ſhould engage them never to deſert the practice of it. The Cynætheans alſo may perhaps draw ſome advantage from theſe reflexions; and, if the Deity ſhould hereafter bleſs them with better ſentiments, may turn their minds towards ſuch diſcipline, as may ſoften and improve their manners, and eſpecially to muſic; by which means alone, they can ever hope to be diveſted of that brutal fierceneſs, for which they have been ſo long diſtinguiſhed (*a*)."

Though Polybius in this paſſage ſeems to attribute the happy change that was brought about in the manners of the Arcadians to muſic alone, it does not appear to merit all the honour, as a conſiderable part was doubtleſs due to the poetry that accompanied it; which being grave, majeſtic, and full of piety and reſpect for the Gods and heroes, whoſe glorious actions and benefits were celebrated in it, muſt have had great influence upon the minds of young perſons, in whoſe education thoſe two arts had ſo conſiderable a ſhare.

Homer places a muſician over Clytemneſtra during the abſence of Agamemnon, as a guard over her chaſtity; and till he was ſent away, her ſeducer, Ægiſthus, had no power over her affections:

> At firſt with worthy ſhame, and decent pride,
> The royal dame his lawleſs ſuit deny'd.

(*a*) Book IV. Ch. 3.

For

For virtue's image yet poſſeſt her mind,
Taught by a maſter of the tuneful kind:
Atrides parting for the Trojan war,
Conſign'd the youthful conſort to his care;
True to his charge, the bard preſerv'd her long
In honour's limits, ſuch the power of ſong.

POPE's Homer's Iliad, Book iii.

It is not, however, to be ſuppoſed, that mere leſſons of *Muſic* could be leſſons of prudence and virtue: it muſt have been the *Poetry* in which the bard's inſtructions and precepts were conveyed, that kept the queen from infidelity, and not the ſound of his lyre; though Pauſanias, in his *Attics*, calls him ἀοιδος ἀνηρ, a *Singer*, and not a Poet.

But if theſe accounts from Polybius and Homer were to be taken literally, they would prove the ſenſibility of the Greeks more than the excellence of their muſic, in ſuch remote antiquity; for though all writers agree in ſaying that the Grecian lyre was at firſt furniſhed with only three or four *open* ſtrings, and for many ages after, had, at moſt, but ſeven or eight, by which ſmall number of ſounds the voice was wholly regulated and governed; yet the miraculous effects of muſic are thrown into thoſe dark and fabulous times, when the art may be ſuppoſed to have been in its infancy; and the hearers at leaſt as ignorant as the performers (*b*).

But now, ſince Gods and Goddeſſes are humanized, and ancient heroes are reduced to the common ſtandard of mankind, why, it may be aſked, are we to retain only the marvellous ſtories concerning the *muſic* of thoſe remote periods, when all the reſt are given up?

I ſhall now conſider, under the *ſecond head*, what has been related by ancient authors, concerning the empire of muſic over the paſſions.

(*b*) From the heavy complaints made by Plato and Ariſtotle of the degeneracy of muſic in their time, from its *too great refinement*, we may ſuppoſe that its miraculous powers had then ceaſed.

Plutarch,

Plutarch, in his *Dialogue on Muſic*, tells us, that Terpander appeaſed a violent ſedition among the Lacedæmonians by the aſſiſtance of muſic.

The ſame author, in his Life of Solon, relates, that this celebrated legiſlator, by ſinging an elegy of his own writing, conſiſting of a hundred verſes, excited his countrymen, the Athenians, to a renewal of the war againſt the Megarians, which had been put an end to in a fit of deſpair, and which was forbidden to be mentioned on pain of death; but by the power of his ſong, they were ſo enflamed, that they never reſted till they had taken Salamine, which was the object of the war. This circumſtance is not only related by Plutarch, but by Diogenes Laertius, Pauſanias, and Polyænus.

Pythagoras, according to Boethius (*c*), ſeeing a young ſtranger enflamed with wine, in ſo violent rage, that he was on the point of ſetting fire to the houſe of his miſtreſs, for preferring his rival to him; and, moreover, animated by the ſound of a flute playing to him in the Phrygian mode, had this young man reſtored to reaſon and tranquillity, by ordering the *Tibicina*, or female performer on the flute, to change her mode, and play in a grave and ſoothing ſtyle, according to the meaſure uſually given to the *Spondee* (*d*). The ſame kind of ſtory is recorded by Galen, of Damon, the muſic-maſter of Socrates; and Empedocles is, in like manner, ſaid to have prevented murder by the ſound of his lyre.

Plutarch relates of Antigenides, what others have given to Timotheus, that in playing a ſpirited air to Alexander, it ſo enflamed the courage of that prince, that he ſuddenly aroſe from table, and ſeized his arms.

The painter, Theon, who knew the virtue of this martial muſic, availed himſelf of its power; for, according to Ælian (*e*), at an exhibition of a picture, in which he had repreſented a ſoldier

(*c*) *De Muſica*, lib. i. cap. 1.

(*d*) This meaſure the French imagine to have been the ſame as that of the airs known in their old ſerious operas by the name of *ſommeils*, ſo proper to tranquillize, and excite drowſineſs.

(*e*) *Lib.* ii. *cap.* 44.

ready

ready to fall on the enemy, he firſt took the precaution of making a *Tibicen* ſound the charge; and as ſoon as he ſaw the ſpectators ſufficiently animated by this muſic, he uncovered his picture, which gained univerſal admiration.

Thucydides, as quoted by Aulus Gellius *(f)*, ſays, when the Lacedæmonians went to battle, a *Tibicen* played ſoft and ſoothing muſic to temper their courage, leſt by an ardent temerity they ſhould have ruſhed on with too great impetuoſity; for, in general, they had more need of having their courage repreſſed than excited.

However, in an engagement with the Meſſenians, they were very near being diſcomfited, when the celebrated Tyrtæus, who performed the part of a *Tibicen* that day, finding the troops give way, immediately quitted the Lydian mode, and played in the Phrygian, which ſo reanimated their courage, repreſſed by the preceding mode, that they obtained a complete victory (*g*).

Such are the wonderful effects upon the paſſions, which the ancient muſic is ſaid to have produced. Now, without diſputing the truth of the facts, let us enquire whether, in thoſe early ages, it was neceſſary for the art to have been brought to great perfection, in order to operate ſo powerfully.

To begin with the ſedition at Sparta, that Terpander was able to appeaſe ſo opportunely; upon which I ſhall only obſerve, that it does not appear as if the lyre had had the principal ſhare in the buſineſs; that inſtrument only ſerving as an accompaniment to the voice of the muſician, who was likewiſe an excellent poet, and whoſe verſes upon this occaſion, it is moſt likely, were far more perſuaſive than his muſic. It has already been obſerved how much his melody and modulation muſt have been confined by the ſmall compaſs of the lyre; and yet, however deſirous Terpander might have been to extend its limits, he would hardly have been ſo imprudent as to expoſe himſelf a ſecond time to the penalty which the ephori had before made him pay, for only adding a ſingle ſtring to his lyre (*h*).

(f) Lib. i. *cap.* 11.
(g) Patritius, lib. ii. *cap.* 2.

(*h*) The Spartans, though the firſt cultivators of muſic among the Greeks, were ſuch

As to the adventure of Solon, with reſpect to Salamine, the favourable diſpoſition in which he found the Athenian youth for war, and the perſuaſive ſtrains of his elegy, the poetry of which was rendered intereſting and pathetic, by every circumſtance that could be urged upon ſuch an occaſion, contributed no leſs to his being favourably heard than the muſic. For *melody* at this time confined to few notes, could not be ſuſceptible of great variety: and we may eaſily form an idea of the rhythm, as it muſt have been regulated by dactyls, ſpondees, and anapæſts, the only feet admiſſible in elegiac verſe.

With reſpect to the power attributed to the flute, it leſſens the marvellous very much, when we conſider that, in the inſtances juſt given, this power was only exerciſed upon perſons agitated by the fumes of wine; for, at preſent, it certainly would not be difficult to render a company of drunken fellows furious, by a bad hautbois, or tabor and pipe; but, when the firſt rage had ſpent itſelf, if the hautbois were to play a graver ſtrain, and retard the meaſure by degrees, we ſhould ſoon ſee theſe pot-valiant heroes fall faſt aſleep, without reflecting any great honour upon the excellence of the muſic, or performance.

The flutes, therefore, that were uſed under the direction of Pythagoras and Damon, cannot eaſily be regarded in a more wonderful light, any more than the lyre of Empedocles, which is ſaid to have had the power of preventing murder; for all that can be inferred from what has been related of this poet and muſician is, that he reſtored a furious young man to reaſon and moderation by the aſſiſtance of poetical counſel, conveyed to him in a ſong; for the chief uſe made of the lyre at that time, as before obſerved, was to accompany the voice.

With regard to the particular power of the flute of Timotheus, or of Antigenides, over Alexander, where is the wonder that a

ſuch enemies to *variations* in that art, that Terpander was not the only reformer and innovator who felt their reſentment: Phrynis and Timotheus underwent a ſtill ſeverer puniſhment. And Plutarch ſpeaks of a lyriſt whom they heavily fined for playing with his fingers, inſtead of the *plectrum*, as their forefathers had done.

young

young and martial prince, extremely ſenſible to the charms of muſic, ſhould ſuddenly riſe from table upon hearing ſome military charge or march ſounded, and, ſeizing his arms, dance a Pyrrhic dance? Muſt a muſician's abilities be very extraordinary, or the muſic miraculous, to operate ſuch a natural effect?

A Thracian prince, mentioned by Xenophon (*h*), was rouſed in the ſame manner by the ſound of flutes and trumpets, made of raw hides, and is ſaid to have danced with as much impetuoſity and ſwiftneſs, as if he had tried to avoid a dart. But muſt we conclude from this circumſtance, that in the city Ceraſontes, where it is ſaid to have happened, muſic was arrived at a greater degree of perfection than elſewhere?

The trumpeter, Herodorus, of Megara, had the power, according to Athenæus, of animating the troops of Demetrius ſo much, by ſounding two trumpets at a time, during the ſiege of Argos, as to enable them to move a machine towards the ramparts, which they had in vain attempted to do for ſeveral days before, on account of its enormous weight. Now the whole miraculous part of this exploit may ſafely be conſtrued into a *ſignal* given by the muſician to the ſoldiers for working *in concert* at the battering ram, or other military engines; for want of which ſignal, in former attempts, their efforts had never been united, and conſequently were ineffectual.

Nor can any thing be inferred very much in favour of either the muſic or muſician, mentioned by Saxo Grammaticus (*i*), who, under the reign of Eric the ſecond of Denmark, could work his hearers up to a fury at his pleaſure; for it was in a dark and barbarous age, when muſic was extremely degenerated. However, imperfect as it was, its power over the paſſions ſeems to have been as great as in the days of Alexander. Giraldus aſſures us, that he ſaw the ſame effects produced at the court of Leo X. Muſic was then, indeed, a little emerged from barbariſm, though very remote from its preſent degree of perfection.

(*h*) Κυρ. αναβασ. *lib.* vii. (*i*) *Lib.* xii. p. 226.

All this only proves, that the beſt muſic of every age, be it ever ſo coarſe and imperfect, has great power over the human affections, and is thought delightful, perfect, and inimitable: hence thoſe hyperbolical praiſes at all times, and in all countries, concerning muſic, that becomes intolerable to perſons of taſte in future ages: and, perhaps, the more barbarous the age and the muſic, the more powerful its effects (*k*).

I ſhall now lay before my readers, under the *Third head*, the *Medicinal* powers that have been attributed to muſic by the ancients.

Martianus Capella (*l*) aſſures us, that fevers were removed by ſong, and that Aſclepiades cured deafneſs by the ſound of the trumpet. Wonderful, indeed! that the ſame noiſe which would occaſion deafneſs in ſome, ſhould be a ſpecific for it in others! it is making the viper cure her own bite. But perhaps Aſclepiades was the inventor of the *Acouſticon*, or ear-trumpet, which has been thought a modern diſcovery; or of the ſpeaking-trumpet, which is a kind of cure for diſtant deafneſs. Theſe would be admirable proofs of muſical power (*m*)! We have the teſtimony of Plutarch (*n*), and ſeveral other ancient writers, that Thaletas the Cretan delivered the Lacedæmonians from the peſtilence by the ſweetneſs of his lyre.

Xenocrates, as Martianus Capella further informs us, employed the ſound of inſtruments in the cure of maniacs; and Apollonius Dyſcolus (*o*), in his fabulous hiſtory, *Hiſtoria Commentitia*, tells us, from Theophraſtus's *Treatiſe upon Enthuſiaſm*, that muſic is a ſovereign remedy for a dejection of ſpirits, and a diſordered

(*k*) "For ſtill the leſs they underſtand,
The more they admire the ſlight of hand."

In the firſt ages of Greece, when muſic was a new art, and the hearers, unaccuſtomed to excellence, gave way to their feelings, without aſking their judgment leave to be pleaſed, its operations were moſt miraculous.

(*l*) *Lib.* ix. *De Muſica.*

(*m*) It has been aſſerted by ſeveral moderns, that deaf people can hear beſt in a great noiſe; perhaps to prove, that Greek noiſe could do nothing which the modern cannot operate as effectually; and Dr. Willis, in particular, tells us of a lady who could hear only while a drum was beating, in ſo much that her huſband, the account ſays, hired a *Drummer* as her ſervant, in order to enjoy the pleaſure of her converſation.

(*n*) *De Muſica.*

(*o*) *Cap.* xlix. *De Muſica*, p. 42.

mind;

mind; and that the ſound of the Flute will cure an epilepſy, and a ſciatic gout. Athenæus quotes the ſame paſſage from Theophraſtus, with this additional circumſtance, that as to the ſecond of theſe diſorders, to render the cure more certain, the Flute ſhould play in the Phrygian mode (*o*). But Aulus Gellius, who mentions this remedy (*p*), ſeems to adminiſter it in a very different manner, by preſcribing to the Flute-player a ſoft and gentle ſtrain; *ſi modulis lenibus*, ſays he, *tibicen incinat*: for the Phrygian mode was remarkably vehement and furious. This is what Cœlius Aurelianus calls *loca dolentia decantare, enchanting the diſordered places* (*q*). He even tells us how this enchantment is brought about upon theſe occaſions, in ſaying that the pain is relieved by cauſing a vibration in the fibres of the afflicted part: *Quæ cum ſaltum ſumerent palpitando, diſcuſſo dolore miteſcerent.* Galen ſpeaks ſeriouſly of playing the Flute on the ſuffering part, upon the principle, I ſuppoſe, of a medicated vapour bath (*r*). The ſound of the flute was likewiſe a ſpecific for the bite of a viper, according to Theophraſtus and Democritus, whoſe authority Aulus Gellius gives for his belief of the fact. But I find nothing more extraordinary among the virtues attributed to muſic by the ancients, than what Ariſtotle relates of its ſuppoſed power in ſoftening the rigour of puniſhment. The Tyrrhenians, ſays he, never ſcourge their ſlaves, but by the ſound of flutes, looking upon it as an inſtance of humanity to give ſome counterpoiſe to pain, and thinking, by ſuch a diverſion to leſſen the ſum total of the puniſhment (*s*). To this account may be added a paſſage from Jul. Pollux (*t*), by which we learn, that in the *triremes*, or veſſels of three banks of oars, there was always a *Tibicen*, or flute-player, not only to mark the time, or cadence, for each ſtroke of the oar, but to ſooth and cheer the rowers by the ſweetneſs of the melody.

(*o*) *Deipnoſ. lib.* xiv. *cap.* 15.
(*p*) *Lib.* iv. *cap.* 13.
(*q*) *Chron. lib.* v. *cap.* 1. *ſect.* 23.
(*r*) Many of the ancients ſpeak of muſic as a recipe for every kind of malady; and it is probable that the Latin word *præcinere*, to charm away pain, *incantare*, to enchant, and our word *incantation*, came from the medicinal uſe of ſong.
(*s*) It ſeems, by the lightneſs of the muſic, from a very different reaſon, that the Pruſſian ſoldiers are ſcourged to the ſound of inſtruments, at preſent.
(*t*) *Lib.* iv. *cap.* 8.

And from this cuſtom Quintilian took occaſion to ſay, that muſic is the gift of nature, to enable us the more patiently to ſupport toil and labour (*u*).

Theſe are the principal paſſages which antiquity furniſhes, relative to the medicinal effects of muſic; in conſidering which, I ſhall rely on the judgment of M. Burette, whoſe opinions will come with the more weight, as he had not only long made the muſic of the ancients his particular ſtudy, but was a phyſician by profeſſion. This writer, in a Diſſertation on the ſubject, has examined and diſcuſſed many of the ſtories above related, concerning the effects of muſic in the cure of diſeaſes. He allows it to be poſſible, and even probable, that muſic, by reiterated ſtrokes and vibrations given to the nerves, fibres, and animal ſpirits, may be of uſe in the cure of certain diſeaſes; yet he by no means ſuppoſes that the muſic of the ancients poſſeſſed this power in a greater degree than the modern, but rather, that a very coarſe and vulgar muſic is as likely to operate effectually on ſuch occaſions as the moſt refined and perfect. The ſavages of America pretend to perform theſe cures by the noiſe and jargon of their imperfect inſtruments; and in Apulia, where the bite of the tarantula is pretended to be cured by muſic, which excites a deſire to dance, it is by an ordinary tune, very coarſely performed (*x*).

Credulity muſt be very ſtrong in thoſe who can believe it poſſible for muſic to drive away the peſtilence. Antiquity, however, as mentioned above, relates, that Thaletas, a famous lyric poet, cotemporary with Solon, was gifted with this power; but it is impoſſible to render the fact credible, without qualifying it by ſeveral circumſtances omitted in the relation. In the firſt place it is certain, that this poet was received among the Lacedæmonians during the plague, by command of an oracle; that by virtue of this miſſion, all the poetry of the hymns which he ſung, muſt

(*u*) *Inſtit. Orat. lib.* i. *cap.* x.

(*x*) M. Burette, with our Dr. Mead, Baglivi, and all the learned of their time, throughout Europe, ſeem to have entertained no doubt of this fact, which, however, philoſophical and curious enquirers have ſince found to be built upon fraud and fallacy. See Serrao, *della Tarantola o vero Falangio di Puglia*.

have

have conſiſted of prayers and ſupplications, in order to avert the anger of the Gods againſt the people, whom he exhorted to ſacrifices, expiations, purifications, and many other acts of devotion; which, however ſuperſtitious, could not fail to agitate the minds of the multitude, and to produce nearly the ſame effects as public faſts, and, in catholic countries, proceſſions, at preſent, in times of danger, by exalting the courage, and by animating hope.

The diſeaſe having, probably, reached its higheſt pitch of malignity when the muſician arrived, muſt afterwards have become leſs contagious by degrees; till, at length, ceaſing of itſelf, by the air wafting away the ſeeds of infection, and recovering its former purity, the extirpation of the diſeaſe was attributed by the people to the muſic of Thaletas, who had been thought the ſole mediator, to whom they owed their happy deliverance.

This is probably what Plutarch means, who tells the ſtory; and what Homer meant, in attributing the ceſſation of the plague among the Greeks, at the ſiege of Troy, to muſic.

> With hymns divine the joyous banquet ends,
> The Pœans lengthen'd till the ſun deſcends:
> The Greeks reſtor'd, the grateful notes prolong;
> Apollo liſtens, and approves the ſong.
>
> POPE's Homer's Iliad, Book I.

For the poet, in this paſſage, ſeems only to ſay, that Apollo was rendered favourable, and had delivered the Greeks from the ſcourge with which they were attacked, in conſequence of Chryſeis having been reſtored to her father, and of ſacrifices and offerings.

M. Burette thinks it eaſy to conceive, that muſic may be really efficacious in relieving, if not removing, the pains of the Sciatica; and that, independent of the greater or leſs ſkill of the muſician. He ſuppoſes this may be effected in two different ways: firſt, by flattering the ear, and diverting the attention; and, ſecondly, by occaſioning oſcillations and vibrations of the nerves, which may, perhaps, give motion to the humours, and remove the obſtructions

tions which occaſion this diſorder. In this manner the action of muſical ſounds upon the fibres of the brain, and animal ſpirits, may ſometimes ſoften and alleviate the ſufferings of Epileptics and Lunatics, and even calm the moſt violent fits of theſe two cruel diſorders. And if antiquity affords examples of this power, we can oppoſe to them ſome of the ſame kind, ſaid to have been effected by muſic, not of the moſt exquiſite ſort. For, not only M. Burette, but many modern philoſophers, phyſicians, and anatomiſts, as well as ancient poets and hiſtorians, have believed that muſic has the power of affecting, not only the mind, but the nervous ſyſtem, in ſuch a manner, as will give a temporary relief in certain diſeaſes, and, at length, even operate a radical cure.

In the Memoires of the Academy of Sciences for 1707, and 1708, we meet with many accounts of diſeaſes, which, after having reſiſted and baffled all the moſt efficacious remedies in common uſe, had, at length, given way to the ſoft impreſſions of harmony.

M. de Mairan, in the Memoires of the ſame Academy, 1737, reaſons upon the medicinal powers of muſic in the following manner. "It is from the mechanical and involuntary connexion between the organ of hearing, and the conſonances excited in the outward air, joined to the rapid communication of the vibrations of this organ to the whole nervous ſyſtem, that we owe the cure of ſpaſmodic diſorders, and of fevers attended with a delirium and convulſions, of which our Memoires furniſh many examples."

The learned Dr. Bianchini, profeſſor of phyſic at Udine, has lately collected all the paſſages preſerved in ancient authors, relative to the medicinal application of muſic by Aſclepiades; and it appears from this work (*y*), that it was uſed as a remedy by the ancient Egyptians, Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans, not only in acute, but chronical diſorders. And this writer gives ſeveral caſes within his own knowledge, in which muſic has been efficacious; but the conſideration, as well as the honour, of theſe, more properly belong to *modern* muſic, than to the ancient.

(*y*) *La Medicina d'Aſclepiade per ben curare malatie acute.* Ven.

And

And now, after an examination of the power attributed to ancient muſic over the human ſpecies, in *ſoftening the manners, governing the paſſions*, and *healing diſeaſes*, this ſection might be conſiderably ſwelled, by accounts of its influence over the *brute creation*. But I ſhall wave the diſcuſſion of theſe, as ſome of them belong to poetical fables, moral allegories, and mythological myſteries; and others are too puerile and trivial to merit attention, unleſs among *ſtories to be laughed at*.

Indeed, with reſpect to this boaſted influence of muſic upon animals, though not only antiquity, but ſeveral eminent and philoſophical modern writers ſeem to have entertained no doubt of it, yet the articles of my creed, upon this ſubject, are but very few. Even *Birds*, ſo fond of their own muſic, are no more charmed and inſpired by ours, than by the moſt diſſonant noiſe; for I have long obſerved that the ſound of a voice, or inſtrument of the moſt exquiſite kind, has no other effect upon a bird in a cage, than to make him almoſt burſt himſelf in envious efforts to ſurpaſs it in loudneſs; and that the ſtroke of a hammer upon the wainſcot, or a fire ſhovel, excites the ſame rival ſpirit. A ſinging-bird is as unwilling to liſten to others, as a loquacious diſputant.

As to quadrupeds, it is by no means certain, that muſic affects them naturally with any thing but ſurprize and terror. A dog and cat, not accuſtomed to hear muſic, will howl, when an inſtrument is touched in the ſame room with them, as if the ſound were too much for their nerves to bear. Some have, indeed, conſtrued this effect into ecſtatic pleaſure; but, open the door, and they will run away from the muſic, as haſtily as from a whip and a bell. By education and diſcipline, ſeveral animals have indeed been taught to attend to it: the ſound of a trumpet will rouſe a horſe (z); and a pack of hounds will obey orders iſſued through a French horn.

But if the truth of every ſtrange ſtory related by Ælian, Pliny, and other authors, concerning the great ſenſibility of all kinds of animals for ancient muſic, could be aſcertained, the power it had

(z) *Fremit equus quum ſigna dedit tubicen.* OVID.

over

over them would by no means prove its ſuperior excellence. Indeed, if it ſhould be granted that any ſupernatural effects upon *man* were ever produced in former times by mere *practical muſic*, it would be ſo far from proving its *ſuperiority* to the modern, that it ſeems to demonſtrate the direct contrary. For, at preſent, it is not the moſt refined and uncommon melody, ſung in the moſt exquiſite manner, or the moſt artificial and complicated harmony, which has the greateſt power over the paſſions of the multitude: on the contrary, the moſt ſimple muſic, ſung to the moſt intelligible words, applied to a favourite and popular ſubject, in which the whole audience can occaſionally join, will be more likely to rouſe and tranſport them, than the moſt delicate or learned performance in an opera or oratorio.

But in proportion as an age, or nation, grows refined, and accuſtomed to muſical excellence, it becomes more difficult to pleaſe. The doſe of any medicine muſt be doubled, if frequently taken; an opiate, or cathartic, that would cauſe eternal ſleep, or the moſt violent convulſions, if adminiſtered to a patient at firſt in a large quantity, would become mild and anodyne by uſe, and a gradual encreaſe of the quantity. The nearer the people of any country are to a ſtate of nature, the fonder they are of noiſy muſic: like children, who prefer a rattle and a drum to a ſoft and refined melody, or the artful combinations of learned harmony.

It is not, therefore, difficult to conceive, that the muſic of the ancients, with all its ſimplicity, by its ſtrict union with poetry, which rendered it more articulate and intelligible, could operate more powerfully in theatric, and other public exhibitions, than the artificial melody, and complicated harmony of modern times; for though poetry was aſſiſted by ancient muſic, it is certainly injured by the modern.

And here I can believe great effects to have ariſen from little cauſes, however, many hyperbolical accounts of its ſupernatural powers that have been handed down from age to age, are not only too improbable for belief, but too ridiculous to be treated ſeriouſly.

Poetical

Poetical fables, and ingenious allegories, come not under this claſs. Amphion building the walls of Thebes with the ſound of his lyre, may be ſolved into the ſweetneſs of his poetical numbers, and the wiſdom of his counſel prevailing upon a rude and barbarous people to ſubmit to law and order, to live in ſociety, and to defend themſelves from the inſults of ſavage neighbours, by building a wall round their town.

It is not quite ſo eaſy to unfold the myſteries of *ſinging Swans*, or *intelligent Graſshoppers*. However, the chevalier de Jaucourt tells us, *ſeriouſly*, that "the Swan, whoſe ſweet ſong is ſo celebrated by the poets, does not produce the ſounds by his *voice*, which is very coarſe and diſagreeable, but by his *wings*, which, being raiſed and extended when he ſings, are played upon by the winds, like the Æolian harp, and produce a ſound ſo much the more agreeable, as it is not monotonous, which is the caſe in the warble of moſt other birds; but, on the contrary, this ſound is continually changing, being compoſed of many different tones, which form a kind of harmony, in proportion as the wind happens to fall on different parts of the wings, and in different poſitions (*a*)." But whoever heard this harmony? and why was it more remarkable and mellifluous in the *dying ſwans* of antiquity, than in thoſe of youth and vigour?

The ſtory of a Graſshopper ſupplying the place of a broken ſtring in the muſical conteſt between Eunomes and Ariſton, at the Pythian games, is gravely related by Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, Pliny, and Pauſanias. The firſt of theſe authors gives a very plauſible reaſon for one particular breed of graſshoppers ſinging better than another, though not for the ſagacity of the individual inſect in queſtion. He ſays, that though the two cities of Rhegium and Locris were only ſeparated by the river Alex, the graſshoppers ſung on the ſide of Locris, and were utterly mute on that of Rhegium: for at Rhegium, the country being moiſt and woody, the inſect is languid and dull: whereas on the Lo-

(*a*) *Encyc.* Art. *Voix.*

crian ſide, which is dry and open, the graſshoppers are more lively, and fond of ſinging.

The Dolphins ſeem, at all times, to have had a great attachment to human kind (*b*), but particularly to poets and muſicians. I ſhall give the celebrated ſtory of Arion from Herodotus, in the words of his Engliſh tranſlator.

"Periander, the ſon of Cypſelus, was king of Corinth; and the Corinthians ſay, that a moſt aſtoniſhing thing happened there in his time, which is alſo confirmed by the Leſbians. Thoſe people give out, that Arion of Methymna, who was ſecond to none of his time in playing on the harp, and firſt inventor of dithyrambics, both name and thing, which he taught at Corinth, was brought by a dolphin to Tænarus; and thus they tell the ſtory: Arion having continued long with Periander, reſolved to make a voyage to Italy and Sicily, where, when he had acquired great riches, determining to return to Corinth, he went to Tarentum, and hired a ſhip of certain Corinthians, becauſe he put more confidence in them than in any other nation. But theſe men, when they were in their paſſage, conſpired together to throw him into the ſea, that they might get his money; which he no ſooner underſtood, than offering them all his treaſure, he only begged they would ſpare his life. But the ſeamen being inflexible, commanded him either to kill himſelf, that he might be buried aſhore, or to leap immediately into the ſea. Arion ſeeing himſelf reduced to this hard choice, moſt earneſtly deſired that, as they had determined on his death, they would permit him to dreſs in his richeſt apparel, and to ſing, ſtanding on the ſide of the ſhip, promiſing to kill himſelf when he had done. The ſeamen, highly pleaſed that they ſhould hear a ſong from the beſt ſinger in the world, granted his requeſt, and went from the ſtern to the middle of the veſſel. In the mean time, Arion having put on all his

(*b*) Pliny, *lib.* ix. *cap.* 8. tells us of a dolphin that became ſo fond of a child, by whom he had been regaled with ſome crumbs of bread, and the ſweet name of *Simon*, that he carried him every day, during ſeveral years, acroſs the ſea, to ſchool, from Baii to Puzzuoli, and back again.

robes,

robes, took up his harp, and began an Orthian ode, which, when he had finiſhed, he leapt into the ſea as he was dreſſed, and the Corinthians continued their voyage homeward. They ſay a Dolphin received him on his back, from the ſhip, and carried him to Tænarus, where he went aſhore, and thence proceeded to Corinth, without changing his cloaths; that, upon his arrival there, he told what had happened to him; but that Periander, giving no credit to his relation, put him under a cloſe confinement, and took eſpecial care to find out the ſeamen: that when they were found, and brought before him, he enquired of them concerning Arion; and they anſwering, that they had left him with great riches at Tarentum, and that he was undoubtedly ſafe in ſome port of Italy, Arion in that inſtant appeared before them in the very dreſs he had on when he leaped into the ſea; at which they were ſo aſtoniſhed, that having nothing to ſay for themſelves, they confeſſed the fact. Theſe things are reported by the Corinthians and Leſbians; in confirmation of which, a ſtatue of Arion, made of braſs, and of a moderate ſize, repreſenting a man ſitting upon a dolphin, is ſeen at Tænarus (*e*)."

Plutarch, in his Banquet of the ſeven Wiſe Men, puts a ridiculous account of the death of Heſiod into the mouth of Solon, who, after telling us that the poet was killed at the Nemean temple at Locris, ſeriouſly aſſures us, that his body being caſt into the ſea, was inſtantly caught up by a ſhoal of Dolphins, and carried to Rhium, and Molycrium, where it was ſoon recognized, and buried by the inhabitants in the temple of Nemean Jove.

All theſe ſtories, and many more, have frequently been quoted in favour of ancient muſic; yet, to realize or demonſtrate its excellence now, ſeems out of the power even of thoſe who have ſpent the greateſt part of their lives in the ſtudy of it. Meibomius, the great and learned Meibomius, when prevailed on at Stockholm to ſing *Greek Strophes*, ſet the whole court of Chriſtina in a roar, as Naudé did in executing a Roman dance (*f*); but who would venture to appear at court now, in a dreſs that was worn a thou-

(*e*) Littlebury's *Herod.* vol. i. p. 13. (*f*) *Vie de Chriſtine, Reine du Suede.*

ſand years ago? Yet men delight in the marvellous; and many bigoted admirers of antiquity, forgetting that moſt of the extraordinary effects attributed to the muſic of the ancients had their origin in poetical inventions, and mythological allegories, have given way to credulity ſo far as to believe, or pretend to believe, theſe fabulous accounts, in order to play them off againſt modern muſic; which, according to them, muſt remain in a ſtate far inferior to the ancient, till it can operate all the effects that have been attributed to the muſic of Orpheus, Amphion, and ſuch wonder-working bards.

A

GENERAL HISTORY

OF

MUSIC.

HARMONY ſeems a part of nature, as much as light or heat; and to number any one of them among human inventions would be equally abſurd. Indeed nature ſeems to have furniſhed human induſtry with the principles of all ſcience: for what is *Geometry*, but the ſtudy and imitation of thoſe proportions, by which the world is governed? *Aſtronomy*, but reflecting upon and calculating the motion, diſtances, and magnitude, of thoſe viſible, but wonderful objects, which nature has placed before our eyes? *Theology*, but contemplating the works of the Creator, and adoring him in his attributes? *Medicine*, but the ſtudy of nature, or the diſcovery and uſe of what inferior beings inſtinctively find, in every wood and field through which they range, when the animal œconomy is diſturbed by accident or intemperance?

The ancients, by experiments on a ſingle ſtring, or monochord, found out the relations and proportions of one ſound to another; but the moderns have lately diſcovered that nature, in every ſounding body, has arranged and ſettled all theſe proportions in ſuch a manner, that a ſingle ſound appears to be compoſed of the moſt perfect harmonies, as a ſingle ray of light is of the moſt beautiful colours; and when two concordant ſounds are produced in

juſt

juſt proportion, nature gives a third, which is their true and fundamental baſe (*a*).

This is only ſpeaking of *natural* harmony, and the ſcience of harmonical proportion: but even the *art* or *practice* of muſic cannot be ſaid to have been *invented* by any one man, for that muſt have had its infancy, childhood, and youth, before it arrived at maturity (*b*).

I ſhall not, therefore, amuſe my readers with puerile accounts of the *invention* of muſic; as I believe it may be aſſerted with truth, that no one man was the *inventor* of any *art*, *ſcience*, or complicated piece of mechaniſm, without ſome *præcognita*, ſome leading principles, or aſſiſtance from others.

Among the ancient Greeks, ſays Pauſanias, rude and ſhapeleſs ſtones held the place of ſtatues, and received divine honours. A ſtone was adored in Bæotia for Hercules; at Thebes, for Bacchus: and Herodian pretends, that the image, or ſymbol, of the Venus of Paphos, was at firſt only a ſtone, in form of a landmark, or pyramid.

The firſt houſe was, doubtleſs a cavern, or a *hollow tree*; and the firſt picture, a ſhadow; even temples at firſt were ſo ſmall, that the Gods could hardly ſtand upright in them:

Jupiter anguſta vix totus ſtabat in æde (*c*).

OVID, Faſt. lib. i.

and yet it has been thought neceſſary, in hiſtories of architecture and of painting, to tell us who were the *inventors* of thoſe arts.

As in theſe, ſo in muſic, the firſt attempts muſt have been rude and artleſs: the firſt flute, a *whiſtling reed* (*d*), and the firſt lyre,

(*a*) This will be explained hereafter.

(*b*) *Omnium rerum principia parva ſunt, ſed ſuis progreſſionibus uſu augentur.* Cic. de Fin. bon. et mal. *Lib.* v.

(*c*) No ſumptuous temples are upon record, till the days of Solomon: new kingdoms then began to build ſepulchres to their founders, in a magnificent manner: ſuch were conſtructed by Hiram in Tyre, Seſac in all Egypt, and Benhadad in Damaſcus. *Newton's Chron.*

(*d*) *Et zephyris cava per calamorum ſibila primum*
Agreſteis docuere cavas inflare cicutas.
Lucret. *lib.* v.

perhaps,

perhaps, the *dried ſinews* of a dead tortoiſe. However, particular perſons have been mentioned as the inventors of ſuch clumſy inſtruments as were made by nature, and found by chance; and yet, notwithſtanding the little probability there is that muſic could have been brought to perfection by thoſe who firſt attempted it, we are told by the ancient poets, hiſtorians, and even philoſophers, that the miraculous powers of this art were exerciſed with the greateſt ſucceſs by its firſt cultivators.

Who theſe firſt cultivators were, and what region of the earth they inhabited, it is not eaſy to determine. According to Herodotus (*e*), it was long diſputed by the Egyptians and Phrygians, which of them could boaſt the higher antiquity; and we are told by the ſame writer, that it was put to a very weak and precarious iſſue, which turned out favourable to the Phrygians (*f*). But as all the moſt ancient hiſtorians ſpeak of the ſtupendous and ſplendid remains of grandeur and civilization to be found in Egypt, at a time when Phrygia could produce no ſuch vouchers; and as Sanconiatho, the moſt ancient hiſtorian of the Phœnicians, a people, who have a juſt claim to a very high antiquity, confeſſes (*g*) his coſmogony to have been taken from that of Taautus, who was the ſame with the Egyptian Thoth, or Hermes; I ſhall not enter upon a minute diſcuſſion of the point, but proceed immediately to the hiſtory of muſic in that country, where the moſt indiſputable proofs and teſtimonies remain of the extreme high antiquity of its religion, government, arts, and civil policy.

(*e*) Euterpe.

(*f*) In order to make the experiment, Pſammetichus, king of Egypt, ordered two children, juſt born, to be ſhut up in a cottage with dumb nurſes; and theſe children, as they grew up, were always heard, when hungry, to pronounce the word *bekkos*, which, upon enquiry, was found to be the Phrygian name for bread.

(*g*) *Apud Euſeb. de Præp. Ev.* l. i. c. 10.

THE

THE HISTORY OF EGYPTIAN MUSIC.

THAT Egypt was one of the firſt countries on the globe which cultivated arts and ſciences, is certain, from the teſtimony of the moſt ancient and reſpectable hiſtorians. Indeed, we have no authentic accounts of any nation upon the earth, where a regular government was eſtabliſhed, civilization advanced, the different orders and ranks of the people ſettled, property aſcertained, and the whole regulated by long cuſtom, and by laws founded upon wiſdom and experience, in ſuch high antiquity as in Egypt.

For all this, we have the teſtimony of the Jewiſh legiſlator and hiſtorian, Moſes, who allows the Egyptians to have been a powerful and poliſhed people, before the arrival of Jacob's ſingle family among them, conſiſting of only ſeventy perſons, in order to obtain corn, during the time of a great famine, which raged throughout Syria *(f)*. And even much earlier, Abraham was obliged to viſit that country upon a ſimilar occaſion (*g*), where he found the ſtate ſettled under a *king*, the ſecond of whom mention is made in the ſacred writings, and who had ideas o juſtice and rectitude, and treated him with hoſpitality and kindneſs.

(f) Gen. xlvi. 6. 27. *(g) Gen.* xii. 10.

That

That Architecture was known here in a grand and magnificent ſtyle, much earlier than in other parts of the world, is certain, from the wonderful remains of it ſtill ſubſiſting in the Pyramids, of which the antiquity was ſo remote in the days of Herodotus, the oldeſt hiſtorian of Greece, that he could neither diſcover the time of their conſtruction, nor procure an explanation of the Hieroglyphics they contained, though he travelled through that country expreſly in ſearch of hiſtorical information.

To the Egyptians has been aſſigned the invention of Geometry, an art neceſſary for meaſuring and aſcertaining the portions of land belonging to each individual, after the overflowing of the Nile, by which all boundaries were obliterated. Now as it is allowed by all antiquity that Pythagoras travelled into Egypt, and was obliged to the prieſts of that country for the chief part of his ſcience, particularly in muſic (*b*), it is natural to ſuppoſe that the doctrine of Harmonics, or the geometrical menſuration of ſounds, and the laws of their proportions to each other, were the invention of theſe early geometricians, who had brought the ſcience of calculation to great perfection, long before the arrival of the Samian ſage among them.

It is in vain, therefore, to endeavour to trace muſic from a higher ſource than the hiſtory of Egypt; a country, in which all human intelligence ſeems to have ſprung. Its ancient inhabitants boaſted a much higher antiquity than thoſe of any other country; or, indeed, than has ever been granted them by any modern ſyſtem of chronology; for from the time of Oſiris to Alexander the Great, they counted ten thouſand years. However, there are no annals of their hiſtory, or computations of time, which do not allow them an extreme high antiquity: thoſe who ſtrictly adhere to the Hebrew chronology, are obliged to it, for the reaſons aſſigned above; and the followers of other ſyſtems can find no tranſactions concerning any other countries prior to thoſe recorded of the Egyptians; for they were a great people long before the uſe of letters was known, till which period, they had no other

(*b*) See Diog. Laert.

memorials of times paſt than Hieroglyphics, which being, at firſt, vague and fanciful, muſt ſoon have grown out of uſe and unintelligible, when the more ſimple, certain, and expeditious method of conveying their tranſactions and thoughts to diſtant places and times, was agreed on, by writing.

With reſpect to Muſic, I know it is aſſerted by Diodorus Siculus (*i*), "that the cultivation of it was prohibited among them; for they looked upon it not only as uſeleſs, but noxious, being perſuaded that it rendered the minds of men effeminate." To this paſſage has been oppoſed one from Plato, by a writer who has well diſcuſſed the point (*k*); and as Plato travelled into Egypt with a view of getting acquainted with the arts and ſciences that flouriſhed there (*l*), and was particularly attached to muſic; it is natural to ſuppoſe that his enquiries would be judicious, and his account of it accurate. The following quotation from him will, therefore have the more weight.

"*Athen.* The plan which we have been laying down for the education of youth, was known long ago to the Egyptians, viz. that nothing but beautiful forms, and fine muſic, ſhould be permitted to enter into the aſſemblies of young people. Having ſettled what thoſe forms, and that muſic ſhould be, they exhibited them in their temples; nor was it allowable for painters, or other imitative artiſts, to innovate, or invent, any forms different from what were eſtabliſhed; nor is it now lawful, either in painting, ſtatuary, or any of the branches of muſic, to make any alteration. Upon examining, therefore, you will find, that the pictures and ſtatues made ten thouſand years ago, are, in no one particular, better or worſe than what they make now. *Clin.* What you ſay is wonderful. *Athen.* Yes, it is in the true ſpirit of legiſlation and policy. Other things practiſed among that people may, perhaps, be blameable; but what they ordained about muſic is right; and it deſerves conſideration, that they were able to make laws about things of this kind, firmly eſtabliſhing ſuch melody as was

(*i*) *Lib.* i.

(*k*) Mr. Stillingfleet, in *Principles and Power of Harmony*, p. 123.

(*l*) According to Strabo, he remained in that country thirteen years.

fitted

fitted to rectify the perverſeneſs of nature. This muſt have been the work of the Deity, or of ſome divine man; as, in fact, they ſay in Egypt, that the muſic which has been ſo long preſerved, was compoſed by Iſis, and the poetry likewiſe." *Plato*, p. 789.

This teſtimony of Plato contains a ſufficient anſwer to Diodorus; but one ſtill more full may be extracted from his own writings, as, in this particular, he is in contradiction with himſelf; for he not only tells us that muſic, and muſical inſtruments, were invented by the Egyptian deities, Oſiris, Iſis, Orus, and Hermes; but that Orpheus had from Egypt the fable of his deſcent into hell, and the power of muſic over the infernals; and enumerates all the great poets and muſicians of Greece who had viſited that country, in order to improve themſelves in the arts. Herodotus too, who travelled into Egypt more than three hundred years before Diodorus, and a hundred before Plato, is ſo far from mentioning any prohibition againſt the practice of muſic there, that he gives ſeveral inſtances of its uſe in their feſtivals, and religious ceremonies.

"The Egyptians, ſays he (*m*), were the firſt inventors of feſtivals, ceremonies, and tranſactions with the Gods, by the mediation of others. It is not thought ſufficient in Egypt, continues this father of hiſtory, to celebrate the feſtivals of the Gods once every year, but they have many times appointed to that end: particularly in the city of *Bubaſtis*, where they aſſemble to worſhip Diana, with great devotion. The manner obſerved in theſe feſtivals at Bubaſtis is this: men and women embark promiſcuouſly, in great numbers; and, during the voyage, ſome of the women beat upon a tabor, while part of the men play on the pipe; the reſt, of both ſexes, ſinging, and clapping their hands together at the ſame time. At every city they find in their paſſage, they haul in the veſſel, and ſome of the women continue their muſic."

(*m*) *Euterp.*

In the ſame book, he tells us, that in the proceſſions of Oſiris or Bacchus, the Egyptian women carry the images, *ſinging* the praiſes of the god, *preceded by a flute*. And afterwards, in ſpeaking of funeral ceremonies, he has the following remarkable paſſage. "Among other memorable cuſtoms, the Egyptians ſing the ſong of Linus, like that which is ſung by the Phœnicians, Cyprians, and other nations, who vary the name according to the different languages they ſpeak. But the perſon they honour in this ſong, is evidently the ſame that the Grecians celebrate: and as I confeſs my ſurprize at many things I found among the Egyptians, ſo I more particularly wonder whence they had this knowledge of Linus, becauſe they ſeem to have celebrated him from time immemorial. The Egyptians call him by the name of *Maneros*, and ſay he was the only ſon of the firſt of their kings, but dying an untimely death, in the flower of his age, he is lamented by the Egyptians in this mourning ſong, which is the only compoſition of the kind uſed in Egypt."

Strabo (*n*) ſays, that the children of the Egyptians were taught letters, the Songs appointed by law, and a certain ſpecies of Muſic eſtabliſhed by government, excluſive of all others.

Indeed the Greeks, who loſt no merit by neglecting to claim it, unanimouſly confeſs, that moſt of their ancient muſical inſtruments were of Egyptian invention; as the triangular Lyre, the Monaulos, or ſingle Flute; the Symbal, or Kettle-drum; and the Siſtrum, an inſtrument of ſacrifice, which was ſo multiplied by the prieſts in religious ceremonies, and in ſuch great favour with the Egyptians in general, that Egypt was often called, in deriſion, the *country of Siſtrums*; as Greece has been ſaid to be governed by the Lyre.

Herodotus (*o*), in tracing the genealogy of the Dorians, one of the moſt ancient people of Greece, makes them natives of Egypt: and as the three muſical modes of higheſt antiquity among the Greeks, are the Dorian, Phrygian and Lydian, it is likely that the Egyptian colony, which peopled the Dorian province, brought with them the muſic and inſtruments of their native country.

(*n*) B. 6. (*o*) Erato.

The

The profeſſion of muſic was hereditary among the Egyptians, as was every other profeſſion. This cuſtom was imitated by the Hebrews; and Herodotus (*p*) tells us, that the Lacedæmonians, who were Dorians, agreed with their progenitors, the Egyptians, in this, that their muſicians were all of one family. Their prieſts too, like thoſe of Egypt, were at once taught medicine, to play on ſtringed inſtruments, and initiated into religious myſteries.

The prohibition, therefore, mentioned by that excellent and judicious writer, Diodorus Siculus, inconſiſtent as it may ſeem with what he elſewhere ſays of the muſic and muſicians of Egypt, may be accounted for, by the ſtudy of muſic, in very ancient times, having been confined there to the prieſthood, who uſed it only on religious and ſolemn occaſions. And, as we are told by Plato, that not only the muſic, but the ſculpture of the Egyptians, was circumſcribed by law, and continued invariable for many ages, which accounts for the little progreſs they made in both, it ſeems as if, during the time that arts were thus rendered ſtationary, only *new* muſic was prohibited; and that the old was ſacred, and ſo connected with religion, that it was, perhaps, forbidden to be uſed on light and common occaſions.

But the Egyptians are mentioned by all writers, as if their government, cuſtoms, religion, laws, and arts, had remained the ſame through all the revolutions of time, and viciſſitude of things. Yet it ſhould be remembered that they became ſubjects of different invaders at different periods, who muſt have greatly changed, not only the form of their government, but their manners and amuſements: they were, by turns, after the reign of the Pharaohs, conquered by the Ethiopians, Perſians, Greeks, and Romans In the time of the Ptolemies, it ſeems as if no other than Greek literature, arts, and ſciences, were cultivated among them; and the muſical games and conteſts inſtituted by thoſe monarchs, were all of Greek origin, and chiefly ſupplied by Greek muſicians.

(*p*) Erato.

How-

However, a ſufficient number of paſſages have been cited from ancient authors, to evince the uſe of muſic, at all times, in Egypt; and there ſtill remain, both at Rome, and at Thebes, in Upper Egypt, ſuch proofs of its high antiquity, as appear to be wholly inconteſtable.

There are no memorials of human art and induſtry, at preſent ſubſiſting in Rome, of equal antiquity with the obeliſks that have been brought thither from Egypt; two of them, in particular, are ſuppoſed to have been erected at Heliopolis, by Seſoſtris, near four hundred years before the Trojan war (*q*). Theſe Auguſtus, after reducing Egypt to a Roman province, cauſed to be brought to Rome. One of them he placed in the great Circus, and the other in the *Campus Martius*; this laſt, the largeſt of all thoſe that have been tranſported from Egypt to Rome, was thrown down and broken, at the time of the ſacking and burning of that city by the conſtable duke of Bourbon, general to the emperor Charles V. 1527, and ſtill lies in the *Campus Martius*. This column is known at Rome by the name of the *Guglia rotta*, or broken pillar. Upon this, among other hieroglyphics, is repreſented a muſical inſtrument of two ſtrings, with a neck to it (*r*), much reſembling the *Calaſcione*, which is ſtill in common uſe throughout the kingdom of Naples. The drawing of this inſtrument, which was made under my own eye, is of the exact ſize of the figure or hieroglyphic on the Obeliſk, which is the moſt ancient piece of ſculpture at Rome (*s*).

This inſtrument ſeems to merit a particular deſcription here, not only from its great antiquity, but from its form; for by hav-

(*q*) *Not. ad Tacit. An. lib.* ii. *cap.* 60, p. 251. *Edit. Gronov. Valeſ. Not. Ammian. lib.* xvii. *cap.* 14, and the biſhop of Glouceſter on the Hieroglyphics.

(*r*) See pl. vii.

(*s*) Figures of muſical inſtruments have been found upon the Iſiac table, particularly the *Harp* and *Siſtrum*; but this obeliſk is a monument of far more certain antiquity than the table of Iſis, which has been ſuppoſed by the learned Jablonſki, to be a calendar of Egyptian feſtivals, fabricated at Rome for the uſe of the Egyptians eſtabliſhed there, during the time of the emperor Caracalla, in imitation of the figures and workmanſhip of Egypt. The Comte de Caylus, however, thinks that it certainly was engraved in Egypt, and brought into Italy about the end of the Republic, when the worſhip of Iſis was firſt introduced there. *Recueil d'Antiquités*, 1767, tom. vii. p. 37.

ing

Fig. VII.

An Egyptian Musical Instrument, the [illegible] of the Original, on the broken Obelisk, now lying in the Campus Martius at Rome. Described p. 256.

ing been furniſhed with a neck, though it had but two ſtrings, it was capable of producing from them a great number of notes; for inſtance, if theſe two ſtrings were tuned fourths to each other, they would furniſh that ſeries of ſounds which the ancients called a heptachord, conſiſting of two *conjunct tetrachords*, as B, c, d, e; E, f, g, a; and if the ſtrings of this inſtrument, like thoſe on the *Calaſcione*, were tuned fifths, they would produce an octave, or two *disjunct tetrachords*; an advantage which none of the Grecian inſtruments ſeem to have poſſeſſed for many ages after this column was erected. Indeed I have never yet been able to diſcover in any remains of Greek ſculpture, an inſtrument furniſhed with a neck; and father Montfaucon ſays, that in examining the repreſentations of near five hundred ancient lyres, harps, and citharas, he never met with one in which there was any contrivance for ſhortening ſtrings, during the time of performance, as by a neck and finger-board.

This inſtrument, therefore, is not only a proof that muſic was cultivated by the Egyptians in the moſt remote antiquity, but that they had diſcovered the means of extending their ſcale, and multiplying the ſounds of a few ſtrings, by the moſt ſimple and commodious expedients.

Proclus tells us (*t*), "That the Egyptians recorded all ſingular events, and *new inventions*, upon columns, or ſtone pillars." Now if this be true, as the *guglia*, or great obeliſk, is ſaid to have been firſt erected at Heliopolis, in the time of Seſoſtris, it will in ſome meaſure fix the period when this *dichord*, or two-ſtringed inſtrument, was invented.

An exact chronology, however, in tranſactions of ſuch remote ages, can hardly be expected. Sir Iſaac Newton, whom I ſhall frequently follow, has more opponents to his Egyptian Chronology, than to any of his other writings. The biſhop of Glouceſter has attacked him with all his powers of learning and argument: it is not my buſineſs to enliſt, on either ſide, in ſo learned

(*t*). *In Timæum, lib.* i.

and

and hopeleſs a diſpute, in which both parties have the authority of ancient writers to confirm their opinions (*u*).

Sir Iſaac Newton ſuppoſes the elder Bacchus, Oſiris, Seſac, and Seſoſtris, to be one and the ſame perſon (*x*): the biſhop of Glouceſter, on the contrary, denies their identity, eſpecially that of Oſiris and Seſoſtris, whom he makes totally different perſons, and to have flouriſhed at very different periods. To Oſiris he gives the character of legiſlator, inventor of arts, and civilizer of a rude and barbarous people; and to Seſoſtris that of a conqueror who carried thoſe arts and that civilization into remote countries (*y*): and Oſiris, whom ſir Iſaac Newton places but 956 years before Chriſt, the biſhop makes cotemporary with Moſes, and ſeven hundred years higher than Seſac or Seſoſtris, the cotemporaries of Solomon and Jeroboam.

The Egyptian mythology, as well as the Grecian, is ſo much connected with the firſt attempts at muſic, and ſo many of the Pagan divinities have been ſaid to be its firſt cultivators, that ſome ſlight mention of them is unavoidable.

The ſun, moon, and ſtars ſeem to have ſtruck all mankind with wonder, awe, and reverence; and to have impreſſed them with the firſt idea of religious veneration. To the adoration of theſe ſucceeded hero-worſhip, in the deification of dead kings and legiſlators. This was the courſe of idolatry every where, as well as in Egypt: indeed the inhabitants of this country ſeem, from their early civilization, conqueſts, and power, to have ſpread their religious principles over the whole habitable earth; as it is eaſy to trace all the Pagan mythology of other countries, in the firſt ages of the world of which we have any account, from Egypt; and Iſis and Oſiris may be proved to have been the prototypes of almoſt every other God and Goddeſs of antiquity. For the *Moon*, or Luna, under the name of *Iſis*, means all the moſt ancient female divi-

(*u*) When reſpectable authors differ very widely in fixing the periods of time in which any of the perſonages I have occaſion to mention, lived, I ſhall give the ſeveral dates of theſe writers for my readers to pleaſe themſelves, by chuſing among them that which they may think the moſt probable.

(*x*) *Chronol. of Ancient Kingdoms*, p. 193.

(*y*) *Div. Leg.* b. iv. ſect. v.

nities

nities of Paganiſm; as the *Sun*, under that of *Oſiris*, does the male. Diodorus Siculus confeſſes, that there was ever a great confuſion of ſentiments concerning Iſis and Oſiris. The former is called Ceres, Theſmophora, or Juno, Hecate, Proſerpine, and Luna; Oſiris has been likewiſe called Serapis, Dionyſius, Helios, Pluto, Ammon, Jupiter, and Pan.

However, the hiſtory of theſe does not ſo immediately concern the preſent enquiries, as that of Mercury or Hermes, one of the *ſecondary Gods* of Egypt, who received divine honours on account of his uſeful and extraordinary talents (*z*). This God muſt therefore be taken out of his niche, and examined.

There is no perſonage in all antiquity more renowned than the Egyptian Mercury, who was ſurnamed Triſmegiſtus, *or thrice illuſtrious*. He was the ſoul of Oſiris's counſel and government, and is called by ſir Iſaac Newton, his ſecretary; "Oſiris," ſays he, "uſing the advice of his ſecretary Thoth, diſtributes Egypt into thirty-ſix *nomes* (*a*); and in every *nome* erects a temple, and appoints the ſeveral Gods, feſtivals, and religions of the ſeveral *nomes*. The temples were the ſepulchres of his great men, where they were to be buried and worſhipped after death, each in his own temple, with ceremonies and feſtivals appointed by him; while he and his queen, by the names of Oſiris and Iſis, were to be worſhipped in all Egypt; theſe were the temples ſeen and deſcribed by Lucian, who was himſelf an Egyptian, eleven hundred years after, to be of one and the ſame age: and this was the original of the ſeveral *nomes* of Egypt, and of the ſeveral Gods and ſeveral religions of thoſe *nomes* (*b*)." And Diodorus Siculus tells us, that Mercury was honoured by Oſiris, and afterwards worſhipped by the Egyptians, as a perſon endowed with extraordinary talents for every thing that was conducive to the good of ſociety. He was the firſt who, out of the coarſe and rude dialects

(*z*) By *ſecondary divinities* is here meant ſuch princes, heroes, and legiſlators, as were deified after death, for the benefits they had conferred on mankind when living, in diſtinction to the *heavenly luminaries*, or ſun, moon, and ſtars, which were the firſt divinities of paganiſm.

(*a*) Diſtricts, or provinces.

(*b*) *Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms*, p. 22.

of his time, formed a regular language, and gave appellatives to the moſt uſeful things: he likewiſe invented the firſt characters or letters, and even regulated the harmony of words and phraſes: he inſtituted ſeveral rites and ceremonies relative to the worſhip of the Gods, and communicated to mankind the firſt principles of aſtronomy. He afterwards ſuggeſted to them, as amuſements, wreſtling, and dancing, and invented the lyre, to which he gave three ſtrings, in alluſion to the ſeaſons of the year: for theſe three ſtrings producing three different ſounds, the grave, the mean, and the acute; the grave anſwered to winter, the mean to ſpring, and the acute to ſummer (*c*).

Among the various opinions of the ſeveral ancient writers who have mentioned this circumſtance, and confined the invention to the Eyptian Mercury, that of Apollodorus is the moſt intelligible and probable. "The Nile, ſays this writer (*d*), after having overflowed the whole country of Egypt, when it returned within its natural bounds, left on the ſhore a great number of dead animals of various kinds, and, among the reſt, a tortoiſe, the fleſh of which being dried and waſted by the ſun, nothing was left within the ſhell, but nerves and cartilages, and theſe being braced and contracted by deſiccation, were rendered ſonorous; Mercury, in walking along the banks of the Nile, happening to ſtrike his foot againſt the ſhell of this tortoiſe, was ſo pleaſed with the ſound it produced, that it ſuggeſted to him the firſt idea of a lyre, which he afterwards conſtructed in the form of a tortoiſe, and ſtrung it with the dried ſinews of dead animals."

(*c*) Not only the Egyptians, but the ancient Greeks, divided their year into no more than three ſeaſons, ſpring, ſummer, and winter, which were called ὧραι, or *hours*; Heſiod ſpeaks of no more:

The Hours to Jove, did lovely Themis bear,
Eunomia, Dice, and Irene fair:
O'er human labours, they the pow'r poſſeſs,
With *ſeaſons* kind, the fruits of earth to bleſs.
Theogony.

However, Οπωρα, *Autumnus*, occurs in Homer, Od. λ. 191, in a Fragment of Orpheus, and in Xenophon; and M. de Boze has deſcribed, in the *Mem. de Litterature*, an ancient marble monument found among the ruins near Athens, upon which the *four* ſeaſons of the year are repreſented in ſculpture. Indeed, according to Tacitus, "the ancient Germans knew all the ſeaſons of the year, *except autumn*, of which they had no idea." *Hiems, et ver, et æſtas intellectum ac vocabula habent: autumni perinde nomen ac bona ignorantur.* De Morib. German, cap. xxvi.

(*d*) *Biblioth. lib.* ii.

It

It is generally imagined that there were two Thoths, or Mercuries, in Egypt, who lived at very remote periods, but both perſons of great abilities (*e*). From the ſmall number of ſtrings in this lyre, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that the invention of it was due to the *firſt* Egyptian Mercury: for that attributed to the Grecian had more ſtrings, as will be ſhewn hereafter. Moſt of the writers on muſic among the ancients have ſuppoſed, that the three ſounds of this *primitive lyre* were E, F, G; though Boethius, who makes the number of ſtrings four, ſays they were tuned thus: E, A, B, e; but this tuning, if not invented by Pythagoras, was at leaſt firſt brought into Greece by that philoſopher.

No leſs than forty-two different works are attributed to the Egyptian Hermes by ancient writers (*f*); of theſe the learned and exact Fabricius has collected all the titles (*g*). It was uſual for the Egyptians, who had the higheſt veneration for this perſonage, after his apotheoſis, to have his works, which they regarded as their Bible, carried about in proceſſions with great pomp and ceremony: and the firſt that appeared in theſe ſolemnities was the Chanter, who had two of them in his hands, while others bore ſymbols of the muſical art. It was the buſineſs of the *Chanters* to be particularly verſed in the two firſt books of Mercury, one of which contained the hymns to the Gods, and the other maxims of government: thirty-ſix of theſe books comprehended a complete ſyſtem of Egyptian philoſophy; the reſt were chiefly upon the ſubjects of medicine and anatomy (*h*).

(*e*) The Egyptians themſelves diſtinguiſh two Thoths, or Hermeſes; and yet the hiſtories of the *firſt* and *ſecond* are as much confounded together, as thoſe of Oſiris and Seſoſtris. *Div. Leg.* book iv. ſect. 5.

The Greek Chriſtians had ſo high an opinion of the antiquity of the firſt Egyptian Hermes, who lived at Sais, that they ſuppoſed him, and the antediluvian patriarch, Enoch, to have been the ſame perſon, and give to both the ſame inventions. We are told likewiſe, that Manetho extracted his hiſtory and dynaſties of the Egyptians from certain pillars in Egypt, on which inſcriptions had been made by Thoth, or the firſt Mercury, in the ſacred letters, *before the flood!* Vid. Dodwell *Diſſert. de Sanchon. Fabric. Bib. Gr. Stillingfleet. Orig. Sacr. et alios.*

(*f*) *Clem. Alex. Strom.* lib. vi.

(*g*) *Bib. Græc.* tom. i.

(*h*) Several of theſe works, however, if we may judge by their titles, ſeem to have been upon the ſubject of muſic and poetry, as. 1. Ὑμνοι Θεων. 19. Περι ὑμνων. 39. Περι ὀργανων, &c. and among his inventions are enume-

Theſe books upon theology and medicine are aſcribed by Marſham (*i*) to the ſecond Mercury, the ſon of Vulcan, who, according to Euſebius (*k*), lived a little after Moſes; and this author, upon the authority of Manetho, cited by Syncellus, regarded the ſecond Mercury as the Hermes, ſurnamed Triſmegiſtus. Enough has been ſaid, however, to prove, that the Egyptian Mercuries, both as to the time when they flouriſhed, and their attributes, were widely different from the Grecian Hermes, the ſon of Jupiter and Maia.

Though ſo ancient and honourable an origin has been aſſigned to the *Dichord* and *Trichord*, which can both be fairly traced from Egypt, yet the ſingle flute, or *Monaulos*, is ſaid by ſeveral writers not only to be a native of that country, and of much higher antiquity than the lyre, but, according to Athenæus, from Juba's *Theatrical Hiſtory*, to have been invented by Oſiris himſelf (*l*). The Egyptians called it *Photinx*, or crooked flute; its ſhape was that of a bull's horn, as may be ſeen in many gems, medals, and remains of ancient ſculpture. Not only the form of this inſtrument, but the manner of holding it, is deſcribed by Apuleius, in ſpeaking of the myſteries of Iſis: "Afterwards, ſays this author, came the flute players, conſecrated to the great Serapis, often repeating upon the *crooked flute* turned towards the right ear, the airs commonly uſed in the temple (*m*)." All the repreſentations which I have ſeen of this inſtrument, have ſo much the appear-

enumerated, *Muſica*, or the nature and properties of ſound, φωνων; and the uſe of the lyre.

(*i*) *Chro. Sæc.* 1.

(*k*) *In Chron.*

(*l*) Τον Μοναυλον Οσιριδος ειναι ευρημα, καθαπερ και τον καλεμενον φωτιγγα πλαγιαυλον. *Deipnoſoph.* lib. iv. However, Plutarch ſays, that Apollo was not only the inventor of the *Cithara*, but likewiſe of the flute: ὁ μονη δε κιθαρα Απολλωνος, αλλα και αυλητικης, και κιθαριστικης ευρετης ο θεος. Indeed it was a very common practice with antiquity, to attribute to the Gods all the diſcoveries and inventions to which there were no lawful claimants among mortals. And though we may now venture to doubt of all the *marvellous* facts, which have been ſo ſeriouſly related by the moſt reſpectable hiſtorians of Greece and Rome, yet we muſt allow that the giving the invention of muſic, and muſical inſtruments to the Gods, proves them to have been of the moſt remote antiquity, and held in the higheſt eſtimation by ſuch as beſtowed upon them ſo honourable an origin.

(*m*) *Ibant et dicati magno Serapidi tibicines, qui per obliquum calamum ad aurem pertractum dextram, familiarem templi deique modulum frequentabant.* Metamorph. lib. xi.

ance

ance of *real horns*, that they encourage a belief of its great antiquity; and that the firſt inſtruments in uſe of this kind, were not only ſuggeſted by the horns of dead animals, but that the horns themſelves were long uſed as muſical inſtruments, at leaſt thoſe ſounded by the Hebrew prieſts at the ſiege of Jericho, we are repeatedly told, were *trumpets made of ram's horns* (*n*).

Before the invention of the flute, muſic could have been little more than metrical, as no other inſtruments, except thoſe of percuſſion, were known; and when the art was firſt diſcovered of refining and ſuſtaining tones, the power of muſic over mankind was probably irreſiſtible, from the agreeable ſurprize, which ſoft and lengthened ſounds muſt have occaſioned. But proofs can be given of the Egyptians having had muſical inſtruments in uſe among them, capable of much greater variety and perfection than thoſe hitherto mentioned, at a time when all the reſt of the known world was in a ſtate of the utmoſt barbariſm.

Thebes or Dioſpolis, that is the city of Jupiter, in Upper Egypt, was built, according to Sir Iſaac Newton, by Oſiris, and dedicated to his father Ammon, which was the original Egyptian name for Jupiter, who was the firſt mortal that can be found in profane authors, to whom temples were erected, and divine honours paid (*o*). Of this city, perhaps the moſt ancient in the world, amazing remains are ſtill ſubſiſting. It was chiefly built on the right ſide of the Nile in Upper Egypt. Its hundred gates celebrated by Homer (*p*) are well known. The Greeks and Romans have perpetuated its magnificence, though neither ever ſaw more than its ruins (*q*).

Herodotus ſays, that Egypt in general ſurpaſſed all other countries in things admirable, and beyond expreſſion remarkable (*r*);

(*n*) Joſhua, chap. vi.

(*o*) *Chronology*, p. 18.

(*p*) Book ix.

Not all proud Thebes unrival'd walls contain
The world's great empreſs on the Egyptian plain,
That ſpreads her conqueſts o'er a thouſand ſtates,
And pours her heroes thro' a hundred gates. POPE.

Hence this city obtained the epithet of *Hecatompylos*.

(*q*) The name of this city is not to be found in Scripture, and it is not known what it was called by the Hebrews.

(*r*) Euterpe.

and

and Dr. Pococke, and captain Norden, who viſited that country but lately (*s*), agree in giving ſuch a ſplendid account of Egyptian antiquities, as confirms all that ancient writers have related of its former magnificence.

It is agreed by all writers that the pyramids are works of the moſt remote antiquity, though the time and object of their conſtruction ſtill remain a myſtery (*t*).

The city of Thebes in the time of Strabo was ten miles long (*u*), and the magnificent tomb of Iſmandes, or Oſymanduas, ſo particularly deſcribed by Diodorus Siculus (*x*), Dr. Pococke thinks, from its ſtupendous ruins ſtill remaining, which extend more than half a mile, muſt greatly have exceeded all that the Greek writers have ſaid of it (*y*). But the circumſtance of the greateſt importance to the preſent purpoſe is, that the ſame author in his account of the remains of this ſepulchre, tells us that the walls of its rooms are ſtill adorned with ſculpture, and with *inſtruments of muſic*. M. Pau, a writer by no means partial to the Egyptians, is of opinion that the paintings in the grottos near Thebes are of undoubted antiquity (*z*). Now as the prince whoſe tomb this is imagined to be, reigned, according to Diodorus Siculus, and other authors, who mention him, many ages before Seſoſtris, we cannot allow leſs than 3000 years to the antiquity of theſe repreſentations of ſuch muſical inſtruments as were then known and practiſed in Egypt (*a*). The mention of theſe in the books above

(*s*) Both theſe travellers were in Egypt at the ſame time; that is, during the years 1737 and 1738, though neither of them was acquainted with the other's perſon or deſign; however, there is no material difference in their accounts of the extraordinary things they ſaw in that country.

(*t*) M. Diderot has ingeniouſly imagined that long before the invention of letters, they were the Bibles of Egypt, and conſtructed as the receptacles and repoſitories of all human ſcience, expreſſed in hieroglyphics; which though time has effaced, yet the pyramids themſelves have reſiſted the deſtructive power of the elements, to which they have been for ſo many years expoſed. *Encyclop.* Art. EGYPTIENS.

(*u*) *Lib.* xvii. p. 816.

(*x*) *Lib.* i. *ſect.* 2.

(*y*) *Deſcription of the Eaſt.*

(*z*) Indubitablement Antiques. Voyez *Recherchez Philoſ. ſur les Egypt. et les Chinois.* Tom. I. p. 198, & 211.

(*a*) According to Dr. Blair, the kingdom of Egypt, of the Dioſpolitan ſucceſſion, had ſubſiſted 1663 years, when it was conquered by Cambyſes, king of Perſia, 525 years before the Chriſtian æra. And as the ſame excellent chronologer fixes the reign of Seſoſtris 1485 years B. C; and Diodorus Siculus tells us that Oſmanduas lived twenty-ſeven generations earlier than that conqueror, it throws the invention and uſe of muſical inſtruments in Egypt, full 2000 years B. C. and near 4000 from the preſent period.

cited,

cited, had awakened an ardent deſire in me to know of what kind they could be; but as neither Dr. Pococke had deſcribed them, nor captain Norden given them a place in his drawings from Egyptian Antiquities; and as the death of both theſe travellers had put it out of my power to conſult them, I had no reſource till the arrival of Mr. Bruce; the celebrity of whoſe extenſive knowledge of eaſtern countries, as well as of his excellent drawings, and philoſophical reflections, made me hope for a full gratification of my wiſhes. And I was not diſappointed; for, upon application to this intrepid and intelligent traveller, who had explored ſo many regions of the earth unknown to the inhabitants of Europe, he not only furniſhed me with exquiſite drawings of two inſtruments of the moſt curious kind, and of the greateſt importance to my work, but honoured me with a letter relative to them, as well as to the ſtate of muſic in Abyſſinia, with a permiſſion to publiſh it; a circumſtance the more flattering to myſelf, and which muſt afford my readers the greater ſatisfaction, as Mr. Bruce, among his innumerable acquirements of other kinds, has, by ſtudy, practice, and experience, rendered himſelf an excellent judge of the ſubject of muſic.

I ſhall therefore haſten to gratify the curioſity of my readers by laying before them the information with which I have been favoured relative to my particular ſubject, which will doubtleſs be the more acceptable to them, as it contains the firſt and only intelligence of any kind from Mr. Bruce, to which he has hitherto ſet his name, or that he allows to be authentic.

Kinnaird, Oct. 20, 1774.

DEAR SIR,

I have employed the firſt leiſure that bad weather has enabled me to ſteal from the curioſity and kindneſs of my friends, to make you two diſtinct drawings of the muſical inſtruments you deſired of me. I ſit down now to give you ſome particulars relative to them, and to other inſtruments of leſs conſequence, which I found in my voyage in Abyſſinia to the fountains of the Nile.

I need

I need not tell you that I ſhall think myſelf overpaid, if this, or any thing elſe in my power, can be of ſervice to you, or towards the hiſtory of a ſcience, which I have always cultivated, with more application than genius; and to which I may ſay, however, that I owe ſome of the happieſt moments of my life.

I have kept both the lyre and harp of ſuch a ſize as not to exceed the bounds of a quarto page; but I hope you will find that all the parts appear diſtinctly. I did not chooſe to embarraſs the harp with the figure which is playing upon it, becauſe this would neceſſarily conceal great part of the inſtrument; and your buſineſs is with the inſtrument, not with the figure.

There are ſix muſical inſtruments known in Abyſſinia; the *Flute*, the *Trumpet*, the *Kettle-drum*, the *Tambourine*, the *Siſtrum*, and the *Lyre*.

The four firſt are uſed in war, and are by much the moſt common; the fifth is dedicated to the ſervice of the church; and the ſixth is peculiarly an attendant on feſtivity and rejoicings.

There are two principal languages in Abyſſinia, the *Æthiopic*, which is the literal, or dead language; and the *Amharic*, or language of *Amhara*, ſpoken by the court.

The flute, in the Æthiopic, is called *Kwetz*, a word difficult to be written or ſounded in Engliſh: in the *Amharic*, it is called Agădă; it is about the ſhape and ſize of the German flute, but played upon long-ways, with a mouth-piece reſembling that of the clarinet; its tone is not loud, but accompanied with a kind of jar, like a broken hautbois; not owing to any accidental defect, but to conſtruction and deſign, as it would not be eſteemed without it (*b*).

The kettle-drum is called in both languages *Nagareet*, becauſe all proclamations are made by the ſound of this drum, (theſe are called Năgăr) if made by governors, they have the force of laws in their provinces; but if made by the king, they are for all Abyſſinia. The kettle-drum is a mark of ſovereign power: whenever the king promotes a ſubject to be governor, or his lieutenant-ge-

(*b*) It is probable that the jar mentioned here, ariſes from the vibration of a reed, which conſtitutes the difference between the tone of a hautbois and a flute.

neral

neral in a province, he gives him a kettle-drum, and ſtandard as his inveſtiture. The king has forty-five of theſe drums always beating before him when he marches. They are in ſhape and ſize like ours, only they are braced very diſadvantageouſly; for the ſkin is ſtrained over the outer rim, or lip of the drum, and brought a third down its outſide, which deadens it exceedingly, and deprives it of that clear, metallic ſound which ours has. Each man has but a ſingle drum, upon the left ſide of his mule, and beats it with a crooked ſtick, about three feet long. Upon the whole, its ſound is not diſagreeable, and I have heard it at an incredible diſtance.

The third inſtrument is the ſmall drum, called Kăbăro, in Æthiopic and Amharic; though in ſome parts of Amhara it is alſo called Hătămo. It is about half the diameter, and twice the length of our common drum; it is juſt the *tambourine* of Provence, only rounded to a point at the lower end. This is beaten always with the hand, and carried ſometimes on foot, ſometimes on horſeback, when any inferior officer, (not having a *Nagareet*) marches.

The Trumpet is called Mĕlĕkēta, or Mĕlĕket; and *Kenet* in Amharic, but *Keren* in Æthiopic, (or horn); which ſhews of what materials it was anciently formed. It is now made of a cane that has leſs than half an inch aperture, and about five feet four inches in length. To this long ſtalk is fixed at the end, a round piece of the neck of a gourd, which has juſt the form of the round end of our trumpet, and is on the outſide ornamented with ſmall white ſhells; it is all covered over with parchment, and is a very neat inſtrument. This trumpet ſounds only one note, E, in a loud, hoarſe, and terrible tone (*c*). It is played ſlow when on a march, or before an enemy appears in ſight; but afterwards it is repeated very quick, and with great violence, and has the effect upon the Abyſſinian ſoldiers of tranſporting them abſolutely to fury and madneſs, and of making them ſo regardleſs of life, as to

(*c*) The New-Zealand trumpet, though extremely ſonorous, is likewiſe monotonous, when it is blown by the natives, though it is capable of as great a variety of tones as an European trumpet.

throw themſelves in the middle of the enemy, which they do with great gallantry. I have often in time of peace tried what effect this charge would have upon them, and found that none who heard it could continue ſeated, but that all roſe up and continued the whole time in motion.

The fifth inſtrument is the *Siſtrum:* it is uſed in the quick meaſure, or in Allegros, in ſinging pſalms of thankſgiving. Each prieſt has a Siſtrum, which he ſhakes in a very threatening manner at his neighbour, dancing, leaping, and turning round, with ſuch an indecent violence, that he reſembles rather a prieſt of paganiſm, whence this inſtrument was derived, than a Chriſtian. I have forgot the name of the ſiſtrum in *Æthiopic*, but on looking into my notes I ſhall find it.

The ſixth and laſt inſtrument is the *Lyre*, which is never played ſolo, but always in accompanying the voice, with which it plays conſtantly in uniſon; nor did I ever hear *muſic in parts*, in any nation, ſavage or poliſhed, out of Europe: this is the laſt refinement muſic received, after it was in poſſeſſion of complete inſtruments, and it received it probably in Italy.

The lyre has ſometimes five, ſometimes ſix, but moſt frequently ſeven ſtrings, made of the thongs of raw ſheep or goat ſkins, cut extremely fine, and twiſted; they rot ſoon, are very ſubject to break in dry weather, and have ſcarce any ſound in wet. From the idea, however, of this inſtrument being to accompany and ſuſtain a voice, one would think that it was better mounted formerly.

The Abyſſinians have a tradition, that the Siſtrum, Lyre, and Tambourine were brought from Egypt into Æthiopia, by Thot, in the very firſt ages of the world. The Flute, Kettle-drum, and Trumpet, they ſay, were brought from Paleſtine, with *Menelek*, the ſon of their queen of Saba, by Solomon, who was their firſt Jewiſh king.

The lyre in Amharic is called bēg, (the ſheep); in Ethiopic, it is called mĕsĭnkō; the verb *ſinko* ſignifies to ſtrike ſtrings with the fingers: no *plectrum* is ever uſed in Abyſſinia, ſo that *meſinko* being literally interpreted, will ſignify *the ſtringed inſtrument play-*

ed

ed upon with the fingers. This would ſeem as if anciently there was no other ſtringed inſtrument in Abyſſinia, nor is there any other ſtill.

Indeed the Guitar is ſometimes ſeen in the hands of the Mahometans, but they have brought it with them from Arabia, where they go every year for trade or devotion. This inſtrument having a neck, is from that circumſtance, ſurely modern. Necks were probably invented after ſtrings of different lengths and ſizes had been ſo multiplied upon the harp and lyre, that more could not be added without confuſion. This improvement of producing ſeveral notes upon one ſtring, by ſhortening it with the momentaneous preſſure of the fingers was then introduced, and left little more to do, beſides the invention of the bow, towards bringing ſtringed inſtruments to their utmoſt perfection.

The ſides which conſtitute the frame of the lyre were anciently compoſed of the horns of an animal of the goat kind, called Agăzān, about the ſize of a ſmall cow, and common in the province of Tigrē. I have ſeen ſeveral of theſe inſtruments very elegantly made of ſuch horns, which nature ſeems to have ſhaped on purpoſe. Some of the horns of an African ſpecies of this animal may be ſeen in M. Buffon's Hiſtory of the King of France's Cabinet. They are bent, and leſs regular than the Abyſſinian; but after fire-arms became common in the province of Tigrē, and the woods were cut down, this animal being more ſcarce, the lyre has been made of a light red wood: however it is always cut into a ſpiral twiſted form, in imitation of the ancient materials of which the lyre was compoſed. The drawing I ſend you was from one of theſe inſtruments made of wood (*d*).

The kingdom of Tigrē, which is the largeſt and moſt populous province of Abyſſinia, and was, during many ages, the ſeat of the court, was the firſt which received letters, and civil and religious government; it extended once to the Red Sea: various reaſons and revolutions have obliged the inhabitants to reſign their ſea coaſt to different barbarous nations, Pagan and Mahome-

(*d*) See Pl. V. No. 6.

tan; while they were in poſſeſſion of it they ſay that the Red Sea furniſhed them with tortoiſe ſhells, of which they made the bellies of their lyres, as the Egyptians did formerly, according to Apollodorus, and Lucian; but having now loſt that reſource, they have adopted, in its place, a particular ſpecies of gourd, or pumpkin, very hard and thin in the bark, ſtill imitating with the knife the ſquares, compartments, and figure of the ſhell of the tortoiſe (*e*).

The Lyre is generally from three feet, to three feet ſix inches high; that is, from a line drawn through the point of the horns, to the lower part of the baſe of the ſounding board. It is exceedingly light, and eaſy of carriage, as an inſtrument ſhould naturally be, in ſo rugged and mountainous a country.

When we conſider the parts which compoſe this lyre, we cannot deny it the earlieſt antiquity. Man, in his firſt ſtate, was a hunter, and a fiſher, and the oldeſt inſtrument was that which partakes moſt of that ſtate. The lyre compoſed of two principal pieces, owes the one to the horns of an animal, the other to the ſhell of a fiſh.

It is probable that the lyre continued with the Ethiopians in this rude ſtate, as long as they confined themſelves to their rainy, ſteep, and rugged mountains; and aferwards, when many of them deſcended along the Nile in Egypt, its portability would recommend it in the extreme heats and wearineſs of their way. Upon their arrival in Egypt, they took up their habitation in caves, in the ſides of mountains, which are inhabited to this day. Even in theſe circumſtances, an inſtrument larger than the lyre muſt have been inconvenient, and liable to accidents, in thoſe caverns; but when theſe people encreaſed in numbers and courage, they ventured down into the plain, and built Thebes. Being now at their eaſe, and in a fine climate, all nature ſmiling around them,

(*e*) Pauſanias, *In Arcad. ad Calcem*, ſays, that "there was an excellent breed of tortoiſes, for the purpoſe of making the *bellies of Lyres*, upon Mount Parthenius; but that the inhabitants ſuppoſing theſe animals ſacred to Pan, would neither uſe them, nor ſuffer ſtrangers to take them away." This is a proof that the practice of applying the ſhell of the tortoiſe to the lyre, was once common in Greece, as well as Abyſſinia and Egypt.

muſic,

muſic, and other arts, were cultivated and refined, and the imperfect lyre was extended into an inſtrument of double its compaſs and volume. The ſize of the harp could be now no longer an objection, the Nile carried the inhabitants every where eaſily, and without effort: and we may naturally ſuppoſe in the fine evenings of that country, that the Nile was the favourite ſcene upon which this inſtrument was practiſed; at leaſt the ſphinx and lotus upon its head, ſeem to hint that it was ſomeway connected with the overflowings of that river.

Behind the ruins of the Egyptian Thebes, and a very little to the N. W. of it, are a great number of mountains, hollowed into monſtrous caverns; the ſepulchres, according to tradition, of the firſt kings of Thebes. The moſt conſiderable of theſe mountains thus hollowed, contains a large ſarcophagus of granite, of which the lid only is broken. Pococke, I think, (for though I have ſometimes looked into him, I never could read him) was in this grotto, and ſlept here, I ſuppoſe, for he takes no notice of one of the few monuments from which we may gueſs at the former ſtate of arts in Europe.

In the entrance of the paſſage which leads, ſloping gently down, into the chamber where is the ſarcophagus, there are two pannels, one on each ſide; on that of the right is the figure of the *ſcarabæus Thebaicus*, ſuppoſed to have been the hieroglyphic of immortality; on the left, is the crocodile, fixed upon the apis with his teeth, and plunging him into the waves: theſe are both moulded in baſſo relievo, in the ſtucco itſelf. This is a ſufficient indication of the grotto, to any one who may wiſh to examine it again. At the end of the paſſage on the left-hand, is the picture of a man playing upon the harp, painted in freſco, and quite entire.

He is clad in a habit made like a ſhirt, ſuch as the women ſtill wear in Abyſſinia, and the men in Nubia. This ſeems to be white linen or muſlin, with narrow ſtripes of red. It reaches down to his ancles; his feet are without ſandals, and bare; his neck and arms are alſo bare; his looſe, wide ſleeves are gathered above his elbows; his head is cloſe ſhaved; he ſeems a corpulent man,

man, of about fifty years of age, in colour rather of the darkeſt for an Egyptian.

To gueſs by the detail of the figure, the painter ſhould have had about the ſame degree of merit with a good ſign-painter in Europe; yet he has repreſented the action of the muſician in a manner never to be miſtaken. His left hand ſeems employed in the upper part of the inſtrument among the notes in *alto*, as if in an *Arpeggio*; while ſtooping forwards, he ſeems with his right hand to be beginning with the loweſt ſtring, and promiſing to aſcend with the moſt rapid execution; this action, ſo obviouſly rendered by an indifferent artiſt, ſhews that it was a common one in his time, or, in other words, that great hands were then frequent, and conſequently that muſic was well underſtood, and diligently followed.

If we allow the performer's ſtature to be about five feet ten inches, then we may compute the harp, in its extreme length, to be ſomething leſs than ſix feet and a half. It ſeems to ſupport itſelf in equilibrio on its foot, or baſe, and needs only the player's guidance to keep it ſteady. It has thirteen ſtrings; the length of theſe, and the force and liberty with which they are treated, ſhew that they are made in a very different manner from thoſe of the lyre.

This inſtrument is of a much more elegant form than the triangular Grecian harp. It wants the fore-piece of the frame, oppoſite to the longeſt ſtring, which certainly muſt have improved its tone, but muſt likewiſe have rendered the inſtrument itſelf weaker, and more liable to accidents, if carriage had not been ſo convenient in Egypt. The back part is the ſounding-board, compoſed of four thin pieces of wood, joined together in form of a cone, that is, growing wider towards the bottom; ſo that, as the length of the ſtring encreaſes, the ſquare of the correſpondent ſpace, in the ſounding board, in which the tone is to undulate, always encreaſes in proportion.

Beſides that, the whole principles upon which the harp is conſtructed are rational and ingenious, the ornamental parts are likewiſe executed in the very beſt manner; the bottom and ſides of the

The Theban Harp,

From a Drawing made by James Bruce Esq.r near the Ruins of the Ancient City of Diospolis in Upper Egypt

Grignion Sculp.t

the frame ſeem to be vaneered, or inlaid, probably with ivory, tortoiſe ſhell, and mother of pearl, the ordinary produce of the neighbouring ſeas and deſerts. It would be even now impoſſible to finiſh an inſtrument with more taſte and elegance.

Beſides the elegance of its outward form, we muſt obſerve, likewiſe, how near it approached to a perfect inſtrument; for it wanted only two ſtrings of having two complete octaves in compaſs. Whether theſe were intentionally omitted or not, we cannot now determine, as we have no idea of the muſic or taſte of that time; but if the harp be painted in the proportions in which it was made, it might be demonſtrated that it could ſcarce bear more than the thirteen ſtrings with which it was furniſhed. Indeed the croſs bar would break with the tenſion of the four longeſt, if they were made of the ſize and conſiſtence, and tuned to the pitch that ours are at preſent.

I look upon this inſtrument, then, as the Theban harp, before and at the time of Seſoſtris, who adorned Thebes, and probably cauſed it to be painted there, as well as the other figures in the ſepulchre of his father, as a monument of the ſuperiority which Egypt had in muſic at that time, over all the barbarous nations that he had ſeen or conquered.

Aſtronomy, and, we may imagine, the other arts, made a rapid progreſs at this period in Upper Egypt, and continued to do ſo for fifty years after, between which time, and the Perſian conqueſt, ſome cataſtrophe muſt have happened that reduced them to the loweſt ebb, which hiſtorians have miſtaken for their firſt original.

We know about the time of Seſoſtris, if, as Sir Iſaac Newton ſuppoſes, this prince and Seſac were the ſame, that in Paleſtine the harp had only ten ſtrings; but as David, while he played upon it, both danced and ſung before the ark, it is plain that the inſtrument upon which he played, could have been but of ſmall volume, we may ſuppoſe little exceeding in weight our guitar; though the origin of this harp was probably Egyptian, and from the days of Moſes it had been degenerating in ſize, that it might be more portable in the many peregrinations of the Iſraelites.

The

The harp, that approaches the neareſt to this in antiquity, is repreſented upon a baſſo-relievo at Ptolemais, in the Cyrenaicum, a city built by Ptolemy Philadelphus, and it is there twice repreſented.

It has fifteen ſtrings, or two complete octaves; but the adding theſe two notes has occaſioned likewiſe the addition of a fore-piece to ſuſtain the croſs-bar above, ſo that its form is triangular; the extremity of the baſe is rounded into a ram's-head, which ſeems to allude to its Theban original; and I ſhould imagine that this inſtrument is likewiſe Egyptian, as no harp with ſuch a number of ſtrings has ever been ſeen, that I know of, in Grecian ſculpture.

As the application of pedals has enabled us to diſengage the modern harp from its multiplicity of ſtrings, and brought it nearer to Theban ſimplicity, I hope our artiſts, and Merlin in particular, will likewiſe endeavour to introduce into its form a little of the Theban elegance. It is the favourite of the fair ſex, and nothing ſhould be ſpared to make it beautiful; for it ſhould be a principal object of mankind to attach them by every means to muſic, as it is the only amuſement that may be enjoyed to exceſs, and the heart ſtill remain virtuous and uncorrupted.

I ſhall ſay nothing of the capabilities of this harp, nor what may be proved from it relative to the ſtate of muſic, at a time when men were able to make ſuch an inſtrument; I ſhall with impatience expect this detail from you, better qualified than any one I know now in Europe for this diſquiſition; it is a curious one, and merits your utmoſt reflection and attention.

It overturns all the accounts of the earlieſt ſtate of ancient muſic and inſtruments in Egypt, and is altogether in its form, ornaments, and compaſs, an inconteſtible proof, ſtronger than a thouſand Greek quotations, that geometry, drawing, mechanics, and muſic, were at the greateſt perfection when this harp was made; and that what we think in Egypt was the invention of arts, was only the beginning of the æra of their reſtoration.

I am, &c.

JAMES BRUCE.

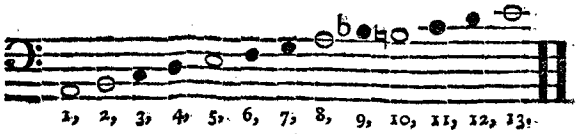
With reſpect to the Lyre reſembling a tortoiſe, which is now in common uſe in the particular province of Abyſſinia, called Tigrè, I have only two obſervations to make, after the full and ſatisfactory account that has been given of it by Mr. Bruce: the firſt is, that its form exactly reſembles the Teſtudo, which is repreſented in the moſt ancient Greek ſculpture, and deſcribed by the moſt ancient authors: the ſecond is, that it does not appear from hiſtory that the Greeks ever penetrated into this country, or had any communication with its inhabitants: for even Alexander the Great never undertook an expedition againſt the Ethiopians, though when he conſulted the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, one of the firſt enquiries he made, was after the ſources of the Nile. Ptolemy Euergetes, indeed, one of his ſucceſſors in Egypt, having a paſſionate deſire, in common with almoſt all the greateſt men of antiquity, to diſcover the fountains of the Nile, with this view made an irruption into Ethiopia; but as he ſoon retreated thence, it is hardly to be imagined, that during a ſhort hoſtile viſit, he introduced muſic, or any of the arts of peace among the inhabitants: conſequently, this inſtrument ſeems to have been originally invented in this country, and to have continued in uſe there ever ſince.

I have now to ſpeak of the *Theban Harp*, the moſt curious and beautiful of all the ancient inſtruments that have come to my knowledge. The number of ſtrings, the ſize and form of this inſtrument, and the elegance of its ornaments, awaken reflections, which, to indulge, would lead me too far from my chief enquiries, and indeed out of my depth. The mind is wholly loſt in the immenſe antiquity of the painting in which it is repreſented; indeed the time when it was executed is ſo remote, as to encourage a belief, that arts, after having been brought to great perfection, were again loſt, and again invented, long after this period; and there can be no doubt but that human knowledge and refinements have ſhared the ſame fate as the kingdoms in which they have been cultivated. They have had their gradual riſe and declenſion; and in ſome of the countries firſt civilized, arts, by the arrival of new invaders, and eſtabliſhment of new modes,

new laws, and new governments, may be ſaid to have experienced ſeveral deaths and regenerations; or, according to the Pythagoric doctrine, their ſouls may be ſaid to have tranſmigrated through ſeveral bodies, ſince they have been inhabitants of this world.

With reſpect to the number of ſtrings upon this harp, if conjectures may be allowed concerning the manner of tuning them, two might be offered to the reader's choice: the firſt idea that preſented itſelf at the ſight of thirteen ſtrings was, that they would furniſh all the ſemitones to be found in modern inſtruments, within the compaſs of an octave, as from C to c, D to d, or E to e. The ſecond idea is more Grecian, and conformable to antiquity, which is, that if the longeſt ſtring repreſented *Proſlambanomenos*, or D, the remaining twelve ſtrings would more than ſupply all the tones, ſemi-tones, and quarter-tones, of the Diatonic, Chromatic, and Enharmonic genera of the ancients, within the compaſs of an octave: but, for my part, I ſhould rather incline to the firſt arrangement, as it is more natural, and more conformable to the ſtructure of our organs than the ſecond: for, with reſpect to the Genera of the Greeks, though no certain hiſtoric teſtimony can be produced concerning the invention of the Diatonic and Chromatic, yet ancient writers are unanimous in aſcribing to Olympus, the Myſian, the firſt uſe of the Enharmonic (*d*); and though in the beginning, the melody of this genus was ſo ſimple and natural as to reſemble the wild notes and rude eſſays of a people not quite emerged from barbariſm, yet, in after-times, it became overcharged with finical fopperies, and fanciful beauties, ariſing from ſuch minute diviſions of the ſcale, as had no other merit than the difficulty of forming them.

Another conjecture concerning the tuning of the thirteen ſtrings of the Theban harp, is, that they furniſhed the four tetrachords, *Hypaton*, *Meſon*, *Synemmenon*, and *Diezeugmenon*, with *Proſlambanomenos* at the bottom. Thus:



(*d*) See *Diſſertation*.

It ſeems a matter of great wonder, with ſuch a model before their eyes as the Theban Harp, that the form and uſe of ſuch an inſtrument ſhould not have been perpetuated by poſterity, but that many ages after, another, of an inferior kind, with fewer ſtrings, ſhould take place of it; yet, if we conſider how little acquainted we are at preſent with the uſe, and even conſtruction of the inſtruments which afforded the greateſt delight to the Greeks and Romans, or even with others in common uſe in a neighbouring part of Europe but a few centuries ago (*e*), our wonder will ceaſe; eſpecially if we reflect upon the ignorance and barbariſm into which it is poſſible for an ingenious people to be plunged, by the tyranny and devaſtation of a powerful and cruel invader.

It is but of ſmall importance to us now, perhaps, to know what kind of muſical inſtruments were in uſe among the Egyptians, in times ſo remote from our own; indeed it is a humiliating circumſtance to reflect how little permanence there is in human knowledge and acquirements; and, before we attempt to improve our intellects, or refine our reaſon, how long and laborious a work it is to deviſe expedients for ſupplying the wants, and defending the weakneſs of our nature. Some ages, and ſome countries, have been more ſucceſsful in theſe endeavours than others: however, there ſeems to be a boundary ſet to the ſum total of our perfectibility, and, like the ſtone of Siſyphus, when we are arrived with infinite toil at a certain height, we are precipitated back to the level whence we ſet off, and the work is to do again!

The arts and ſciences of Egypt ſeem to have been long loſt before proſe was written in Greece, as no hiſtorian of that country ever ſaw Egypt in the time of its proſperity. Pythagoras was there a little before, and at the time of the Perſian conqueſt, having been taken priſoner by Cambyſes in Egypt, whence he was ſent to Babylon: but of his writings nothing now remains, except a few apophthegms and fragments, which tradition has given to him. From the time that Pſammenitus, the laſt native king of

(*e*) See, in the muſical *Tour through Germany and the Netherlands*, an account of many modern muſical inſtruments ſtill ſubſiſting at Antwerp, of which the uſe is wholly unknown, *vol.* i. p. 41.

Egypt, was defeated by Cambyſes, 525 years B. C. the inhabitants of that country were always under a foreign yoke, and conſequently from that period may be dated their ruin, and the utter extirpation of ſcience and liberty among them: for honours and emoluments being wholly laviſhed upon foreigners, all expanſion of genius muſt have been reſtrained among the natives, now become abject and debaſed by neglect, or oppreſſion. Indeed, after their voluntary ſubmiſſion to Alexander the Great, the dazzling glory of whoſe reign and character made them prefer his tyranny to that of the Perſians, they had a race of ſplendid princes in the Ptolemies, that cultivated and encouraged arts and ſciences, particularly Muſic; but theſe arts and ſciences were wholly Grecian, and their profeſſors Greeks; for the native inhabitants had long loſt every thing, but the ſuperſtitious rites and ceremonies of their religion. They had no books, but hieroglyphics, which were now no longer intelligible, even to the Egyptians themſelves; and we do not find, after the time of Alexander, that any were ever written, but in the Greek language.

It may be therefore ſaid that the Egyptians ceaſed to be a people, at leaſt a great and free people, before the time of the firſt Ptolemy, who founded the kingdom, which ſubſiſted near 300 years under him and his ſucceſſors. The three firſt of theſe monarchs, Ptolemy Soter, Ptolemy Philadelphus, and Ptolemy Euergetes, were magnificent princes, who encouraged arts and ſciences, and by their bounty attracted to their court at Alexandria, men of genius and learning from all parts of the world. By theſe their characters have been handed down to us with perhaps too much tenderneſs to their vices and infirmities. Auguſtus, Leo X. and Louis XIV. by rendering themſelves favourites of the Muſes in later times, found means to ſilence ſatire, and to have the fair ſide only of their characters turned towards poſterity: however, nothing is more certain than that theſe princes were not wholly exempt from human frailties, over which the gauze of flattery has been ſpread by thoſe who baſked in their ſmiles; but though ſuch have been ſilent as to the defects of the Ptolemies in Egypt, their ſubjects in general were not blinded by that magnificence which was ſupported at their

their expence, as moſt of the cognomens given to theſe princes were ironical, and intended not to point out the virtues which they poſſeſſed, but thoſe of which they ſtood moſt in need: as *Philadelphus*, the lover of his brother; *Euergetes*, beneficent; *Philopator*, the lover of his father; *Philomator*, the lover of his mother; titles that were given to ſovereigns who had been ſo unnatural and cruel as to put to death their fathers, mothers, wives, brothers, ſiſters, and children!

During the reigns of theſe ſumptuous and voluptuous princes it can hardly be doubted but that muſic was greatly cultivated and encouraged at Alexandria. Athenæus, in his (*f*) minute deſcription of the celebrated Bacchic Feſtival, given by Philadelphus, tells us, that more than ſix hundred muſicians were employed in the chorus, and that among theſe there were three hundred performers on the cithara.

Under the ſeventh Ptolemy, ſurnamed *Phyſcon*, from his corpulency, and *Cacergetes*, from his cruelty, the ſame author informs us (*g*), that every ſpecies of art and ſcience was cheriſhed and taught in Egypt. For this prince having put to death a great number of the citizens of Alexandria, and baniſhed others who had been attached to his brother, from whom he had uſurped the crown, filled his dominions with Grammarians, Philoſophers, Geometricians, Muſicians, School-maſters, Painters, Phyſicians, and other perſons capable of perfecting the arts; and theſe having no other ſubſiſtence than the fruits of their labour and diligence, contributed greatly to the propagation of knowledge throughout Egypt (*h*).

The father of Cleopatra, and the laſt of the Ptolemies, derived the title of *Auletes*, or the *Flute-player*, from his exceſſive attachment to that inſtrument. Strabo ſays of him (*i*), that beſides his

(*f*) *Lib.* v. *Ed. Caſaub.* p. 201.

(*g*) Ib. *lib.* iv. p. 184.

(*h*) It was perhaps during this period that the practice of muſic became ſufficiently general among the common people of Egypt, to render credible the following aſſertion of a Dipnoſophiſt in Athenæus: "It does not appear by the writings of any hiſtorian, ſays he, that there ever was a people more ſkilled in muſic than thoſe of Alexandria; for the moſt wretched peaſant or labourer among them, is not only able to play upon the lyre, but is likewiſe a perfect maſter of the flute." *Lib.* iv. p. 176.

(*i*) *Lib.* xvii.

debaucheries,

debaucheries, he applied himſelf in a particular manner to playing on the flute. He had ſuch an opinion of his own abilities, as to inſtitute muſical conteſts at his palaces, and had there the courage to diſpute the prize, publicly, with the firſt muſicians of his time; and as the dreſs of players on the flute among the ancients was peculiar to that profeſſion (*k*), this prince ſubmitted to wear the robe, the buſkins, the crown, and even the bandage and veil of a *Tibicen*, as may be ſeen on a beautiful Amethyſt in the king of France's poſſeſſion, of ineſtimable value, which is ſuppoſed to have been engraved by command of this prince, and worn by him to gratify his vanity on account of his muſical excellence. Indeed the ſurname of *Auletes* is ſeriouſly given to him by Cicero, and by Strabo. The firſt in his defence of Rabirius Poſthumus (*l*); and the ſecond, who was likewiſe his cotemporary, never mentions him but by the title of *Auletus* (*m*). He had likewiſe an opprobrious appellation given to him, by his own ſubjects, in the Egyptian language, of the ſame import, being called *Phothingos*, or *Phothingios*, from *Phothinx*, *Monaulos*, or ſingle flute. His violent paſſion for muſic, and for the company of muſicians, gained him the name of ΝΕΟΣ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ, *the new Bacchus*.

A melancholy truth forces itſelf upon the mind in reading the hiſtory of this prince, and that of the Emperor Nero, whom he very much reſembled, which is, that, if the heart is depraved, muſic has not the power to correct it. And though theſe muſical princes obtained prizes in the public games, they acquired no honour to themſelves, nor did they reflect any upon the profeſſion of Muſic. A muſician is ſo diſtant in character and dignity from a ſovereign prince, that the one muſt ſtoop too low, or the other mount too high, before they can approximate; and the public ſuffers with equal impatience, a ſovereign who degrades himſelf, or an artiſt who aſpires at a rank above his ſtation in the community.

An inordinate love of fame, or a rapacious deſire of monopolizing all the glory as well as goods of this world to themſelves,

(*k*) There was one alſo for the lyriſts.

(*l*) *Nam ut ventum eſt Alexandriam ad* Auletem, &c.

(*m*) Αυλητης ὁ καθ' ἡμας, οσπερ ἦν της Κλεοπατρας πατηρ. *Lib.* xvii.

muſt

muſt have incited theſe princes to enter the liſts in competition with perſons ſo much their inferiors: a paſſion that ſhould always be diſtinguiſhed from the love of muſic, which they might have gratified, either from their own performance, or from that of others, in private, much more commodiouſly than on a public ſtage.

Notwithſtanding all the proofs that have been already given, and which might be ſtill produced of the cultivation of muſic by the Egyptians in very remote antiquity, as well as of the manner in which it was afterwards patronized by their ſovereigns of Greek extraction, many ancient writers who viſited Egypt after it was made a Roman province, ſpeak of the inhabitants as the moſt melancholy and abject race of men upon the globe. According to Am. Marcellinus (*n*), they were not formed for mirth and pleaſure; they worſhipped their Gods with ſorrow and tears, while the Greeks and Romans made religion an object of joy and feſtivity: and we are not only told by Diodorus Siculus, but by Plutarch, that the cultivation of muſic, an art which the Greeks thought ſo neceſſary to humanize and ſoften mankind, and render them gentle and obedient to the laws, was prohibited by their government. Dio Chryſoſtom informs us that poetry was interdicted among them, as well as muſic; and Strabo ſays that the ſound of inſtruments was not heard in their temples, but that their ſacrifices were made in ſilence.

All this is reconcileable and conſonant to the nature of things: for when theſe writers viſited Egypt, its inhabitants were in a ſtate of ſlavery, and had been ſo for 500 years before; and though not, like the Jews, in a ſtrange land, yet, like them, "they had hung their harps on the willows."

M. Pau (*o*), however, boldly aſſerts, that "the Egyptians, from a defect in the conſtruction of their organs, and a want of genius, have never had any muſic but what was as deteſtable as that of the inhabitants of Aſia and Africa is at preſent. If, continues this author, we conſider the formation of a ſiſtrum, whe-

(*n*) *Lib.* xxii. *cap.* 16.
(*o*) *Recherches Philoſ. ſur les Egypt. et les Chinois. Tome* i. p. 243. *et ſuivant.*

ther

ther of gold or iron, we muſt conclude that nothing but noiſe could proceed from it, which being united with the ſound of a coarſe flute, and the bleating of the ox Apis, would conſtitute ſuch diſſonance and jargon, as no ear accuſtomed to real muſic could ſupport. As to the other muſical inſtruments of Egypt, ſuch as the Flageolet, Horn, Syrinx, Caſtagnet, Triangle, and Tambourine, it is eaſy, ſays he, to imagine what kind of melody could be produced from them. Indeed it was ſo contemptible, that the prieſts would not allow it admiſſion within the walls of their temples, where they ſung their ſacred hymns without being accompanied by any kind of inſtrument. But with reſpect to the general uſe of ſuch muſic as they had, it ſeems to have ſerved, adds M. Pau, as a neceſſary ſtimulus to action among the inhabitants of this country in ancient times, who were as unable as moſt of the Aſiatics and Africans are at preſent, to perform any kind of labour, without being excited by ſcreaming and noiſe; for ſuch is the natural ſloth and indolence of theſe people, that they want to be rouſed and animated every inſtant by the ſhrilneſs of flutes, and din of drums; inſtruments that have been found in every region of the two hemiſpheres where the climate is hot. Soft tones and graceful melody have no effect upon their obtuſe organs; and this is the reaſon why muſic never has been, nor ever can be ſucceſsfully cultivated among them."

This reaſoning, however, does not appear to me ſo deciſive as it does to the author. And there ſeems to be a want of candour in the ſuppoſition of M. Pau, with reſpect to the Siſtrum, which was never regarded by the Egyptians as a *muſical* inſtrument, but merely as a ſignal of religious ceremonies; for it may with equal juſtice be aſſerted that the modern Italians are deficient in the conſtruction of their organs of voice, and in their genius for muſic, becauſe a little tinkling bell is uſed in all their churches as a ſignal for the performance of certain ceremonies in their religion. Nor does the uſe that was made of muſic by the Egyptians as a ſtimulus to action reflect any particular diſgrace upon them; for Athenæus *(p)* gives a liſt of ſongs that were ſung, and tunes

(p) Lib. xiv. p. 618.

that

that were played by the Greeks of different profeſſions; by which it appears that hardly any kind of work was performed by them without muſic. The Romans on many occaſions made a like uſe of it: and the ancient Greeks and Romans were certainly a bold, manly, and robuſt people: the modern Scots are the ſame; however the bagpipe and ſong regulate all their operations. It ſeems to admit of but little doubt that the Egyptians had, in the moſt flouriſhing times of their empire, a muſic and inſtruments of their own, far ſuperior to thoſe of other countries leſs civilized and refined; that after their ſubjection by the Perſians, this muſic and theſe inſtruments were loſt: but under the Ptolemies, muſic, together with the other arts of Greece, were brought into Egypt, and encouraged at the court of Alexandria more than at any other place in the known world, till the captivity of Cleopatra, an event which terminated both the empire and hiſtory of the Egyptians.

THE HISTORY OF HEBREW MUSIC.

IT is not ſo much from the hope of being able to throw any new lights upon the muſic of this ancient people, that I dedicate a chapter to the ſubject, as out of reſpect for the firſt and moſt venerable of all books, as well as for the religion of my country, and for that of the moſt enlightened part of mankind, which has been founded upon it.

For, notwithſtanding the unremitting labours of the firſt fathers of the church, and the learning and diligence of innumerable tranſlators and commentators, but few materials of great importance can be acquired for this part of my work, except what the Bible itſelf contains; as the firſt periods of the hiſtory of the ancient Hebrews, from its high antiquity, can receive no illuſtration from cotemporary hiſtorians, or from human teſtimony.

The chief part of what I have to do, therefore, is to collect the paſſages relative to thoſe early ages of the world, the tranſactions of which are recorded in the ſacred writings with ſuch true and genuine ſimplicity, and to arrange them in chronological order; a taſk which, however trivial and eaſy it may ſeem, will not be without its uſe in a General Hiſtory of Muſic; as it will at leaſt ſhew, that this art has always had admiſſion into the religious ceremonies, public feſtivals, and ſocial amuſements of mankind.

The

The conſtruction and uſe of muſical inſtruments have a very early place among the inventions attributed to the firſt inhabitants of the globe, by Moſes: for, Geneſis, chap. iv. verſe 21, Jubal, the ſixth deſcendant from Cain, is called "*the father of all ſuch as handle the harp and organ.*"

But though this circumſtance is mentioned ſo ſoon in the Pentateuch, yet it could have happened but a ſhort time before the deluge, A. M. 1656; conſequently the world muſt have been peopled many centuries before the invention took place (*a*).

No mention, however, is made in the Scriptures of the practice of muſic, till more than ſix hundred years after the deluge. But in Geneſis xxxi. and 26th and 27th verſes, about 1739 years before Chriſt, according to the Hebrew chronology, both vocal and inſtrumental muſic are ſpoken of as things in common uſe.

"And Laban ſaid to Jacob, what haſt thou done, that thou haſt ſtolen away unawares to me, and carried away my daughters, as captives taken with the ſword?

"Wherefore didſt thou flee away ſecretly, and ſteal away from me? and didſt not tell me, that I might have ſent thee away with mirth and with *ſongs*, with *tabret*, and with *harp?*

Laban was a Syrian, and brother to Rebecca, Iſaac's wife; ſo that the tabret and the harp ſhould be ranked among Aſſyrian inſtruments.

After this time the ſacred text furniſhes no muſical incident, till the year 1491 before Chriſt, when we have the firſt hymn, or pſalm, to the Supreme Being, upon record. It contains the pious

(*a*) With reſpect to the inſtrument called an *Organ*, in the Engliſh verſion of this paſſage, it muſt not be imagined that ſuch a noble and complicated machine is there implied, as the preſent inſtrument of that name. In the Hebrew it is called *huggab*, which, ſay the commentators, was a kind of *ſyrinx*, or *fiſtula*. The Septuagint, inſtead of *harp* and *organ*, has ψαλτηριον και κιθαρον, *pſaltry* and *citharа*; the Syriac, *citharam* et *fides*; Chaldean paraphraſe, *ipſe fuit magiſter omnium canentium in nablio, ſcientium cantium citharæ et organi. Nablion* is the Hebrew word for harp. The Arabic has *tympanum et citharam*; and the French has *le* VIOLON *et les orgues.*

Hence it appears, that the tranſlators, ancient and modern, of all parts of the world, not knowing what were the real forms and properties of the Hebrew inſtruments, have given to them the names of ſuch as were of the moſt common uſe in their own countries.

effuſions of Moſes, after the paſſage of the Red Sea, at the head of the whole people of Iſrael, juſt eſcaped from bondage.

"Then ſang Moſes and the children of Iſrael this *ſong* unto the Lord, and ſpake, ſaying, I will ſing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriouſly," &c. Exod. xv.

Moſes is ſeconded on this occaſion by Miriam, the propheteſs, and ſiſter of Aaron, who "took a timbrel in her hand, ver. 20; and all the women went out after her with timbrels and with dances."

"And Miriam anſwered them, *Sing* ye to the Lord," &c.

Here is an early inſtance of *women* being permitted to bear a part in the performance of religious rites, as well as of vocal muſic being accompanied by *inſtrumental*, and by *dancing*.

The dithyrambics, or hymns to Bacchus, of the Greeks, have been ſuppoſed to originate from *Egypt* (*b*). Theſe were conſtantly accompanied by *inſtruments*, and by *dance*, even after they were incorporated into tragedy. Now as Miriam was an Egyptian, and juſt eſcaped from the country where ſhe had been educated, it is natural to ſuppoſe that the *dance* uſed now, and eſtabliſhed afterwards by the Hebrews, in the celebration of religious rites, was but the continuation of an Egyptian cuſtom.

And we find muſic and *dancing*, ſoon after this ceremony, applied to another, that was indiſputably of the ſame origin: for the people having obliged Aaron, in the abſence of his brother, to make them a golden calf, in the likeneſs of the *Egyptian idol*, Apis, were found *ſinging* and *dancing* before it, by Moſes, at his return to the camp (*c*).

The *trumpet* of the jubilee is likewiſe ordered to be ſounded ſo ſoon after the flight from Egypt (*d*), that it muſt have been an Egyptian inſtrument.

(*b*) See Differt. Sect. IX. p. 152.

The abbé Vatry, in an excellent eſſay upon the Origin and Progreſs of Tragedy, *Mem. de Litt. tome* XV. ſays, that all the etymologies of the term *dithyrambic*, are ſo forced, that he is firmly of opinion the word is not Greek, and that both the name and thing were brought from Egypt with the worſhip of Bacchus; for the Greeks are by no means agreed concerning the perſon who firſt made them acquainted with Bacchus; ſome affirming it to have been Cecrops, ſome Melampus, and ſome Orpheus; but all unite in deriving the worſhip of this God from the Egyptians.

(*c*) Exod. xxxii. ver. 18 and 19.

(*d*) Levit. xxv. 9.

St.

St. Stephen tells us (*e*), that Moſes, having been educated by Pharaoh's daughter "as her own ſon, was learned in all the wiſdom of the Egyptians." And Clemens Alexandrinus (*f*) particularizes his acquirements, by affirming that "he was inſtructed in his maturer age by the Egyptians in all liberal ſciences, as arithmetic, geometry, rhythm, harmony, but, above all, medicine, and muſic."

However, in the infancy of a ſtate, a nation has but little leiſure for cultivating muſic any otherwiſe than as it is connected with religious rites and the military art. Accordingly we find no other muſical inſtrument mentioned during the adminiſtration of the great Hebrew legiſlator than trumpets, except the timbrel, uſed by Miriam. Numb. chap. x. 2. he is ordered by divine command to make two trumpets of ſilver of a whole piece, "for aſſembling together the people, and for journeying the camps." And in the eight following verſes all the ſignals to be ſounded by one and by two trumpets are regulated. But theſe inſtruments ſeem to differ from that of the jubilee, mentioned before, in nothing but the materials of which they were made: as the Hebrew text, and the ſeveral verſions, agree in calling them all by one common name.

The feaſt of trumpets inſtituted by Moſes, Numb. xxix. 1. in the month of September, is imagined to have been the celebration of harveſt home. "And in the *ſeventh month*, on the firſt day of the month, ye ſhall have a holy convocation; ye ſhall do no ſervile work; *it is a day of blowing the trumpets unto you.*" The rigid obſervance of the Sabbath upon every ſeventh day, rendered ſeven a ſacred number among the Hebrews. Hence, not only the *ſeventh day*, but the *ſeventh week*, the *ſeventh month*, the *ſeventh year*, and ſeven times ſeventh year, were kept holy: "And on the fiftieth year thou ſhalt cauſe the trumpet of the jubilee to ſound throughout the land." Levit. xxv. 9.

The trumpets of *rams horns* uſed at the ſiege of Jericho, ſeem to have been leſs muſical inſtruments, than military ſignals for

(*e*) Acts vii. ver. 21, 22. (*f*) *Stromat. lib.* i.

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the aſſailants to march and ſhout by, in order, *by their noiſe*, to terrify and diſmay the enemy.

Upon this occaſion all the powers of the number *ſeven* were put in practice. "*Seven prieſts* ſhall bear before them *ſeven trumpets*, and the *ſeventh day* ye ſhall compaſs the city *ſeven times*, and the prieſts ſhall blow with the trumpets." Joſh. vi. 4.

No further mention is made of muſic, till the ſong of Deborah and Barak, Judges v. which ſeems to have been ſung in dialogue, and wholly without inſtruments. It was about fifty years after this period, and eleven hundred and forty-three years before Chriſt, that the unfortunate daughter of Jephtha, upon hearing of her father's victory over the Ammonites, went out to meet him *with timbrels and with dances:* Judges ii. 34. From this time, till Saul was choſen king, 1095, B. C. the ſacred text is wholly ſilent about every ſpecies of muſic, except that of the trumpet in military expeditions.

But here an incident occurs, which ſeems to merit particular attention. It appears from many paſſages in Scripture, that *muſic* was as nearly allied to *propheſy* as to *poetry*.

When Samuel, after ſecretly anointing Saul king, inſtructs the new monarch in the meaſures he is to purſue for eſtabliſhing himſelf on the throne, he ſays, "And it ſhall come to paſs, when thou art come to the city (Beth-el), that thou ſhalt meet a company of prophets coming down from the high place, with a pſaltery and tabret, and a pipe, and a harp before them, and they ſhall propheſy. And the Spirit of the Lord will come upon thee, and thou ſhalt propheſy with them (*g*)."

Who is ignorant, ſays Quintilian, that muſic in ancient times was ſo much cultivated, and held in ſuch veneration, that muſicians were called by the names of *prophets* and ſages (*h*)?

Vates, in Latin, is a common term for *prophet*, *poet*, and *muſician*. Clemens Alexandrinus (*i*), deſcribing the different kinds

(*g*) 1 Sam. ch. x. 5.

(*h*) *Nam quis ignorat muſicen, ut de hac primùm loquar, tantum jam antiquis temporibus non ſtudii modo, verum etiam venerationis habuiſſe, ut iidem muſici, et vates, et ſapientes indicarentur?* Inſt. *lib.* i. *cap.* 16.

(*i*) *Strom.* v. p. 634.

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of Egyptian prieſts, and their functions, ſays, that the principal of them were called *Prophets*. The oracles of the ancients were delivered in ſong; and the Pythian prieſts, who compoſed into hexameter verſe the looſe and disjointed expreſſions of the agonizing Pythia, were ſtyled *prophets*, προφηται (*i*). Theſe, according to Plutarch (*k*), "were ſeated round the ſanctuary, in order to receive the words of the Pythia, and incloſe them immediately into a certain number of verſes, as liquors are encloſed in bottles."

Olen, one of the firſt prieſts of Apollo, was at once poet and prophet; and Phemonoe, the firſt prieſteſs at Delphos, is related to have delivered her oracles in verſe by inſpiration only, without ſtudy or aſſiſtance.

The *improvviſatori* of Italy are ſtill accompanied by an inſtrument, like the prophets of old; and Italian poets, who write down verſes, ſing at the time of compoſing them (*l*).

The examples in Scripture of this union of muſic and prophecy are numerous (*m*). "Moreover, David, and the captains of the hoſt, ſeparated to the ſervice of the ſons of Aſaph, and of Heman, and of Jeduthun, who ſhould *propheſy with harps*, with *pſalteries*, and with *cymbals*.—Of the ſons of Aſaph, four, who propheſied according to the order of the king:—Of Jeduthun, ſix, *who propheſied with a harp*, to give thanks, and to praiſe the Lord. And of the ſons of Heman, the king's ſeer, in the words of God, fourteen, *to lift up the horn* (*n*)."

But the moſt ſtriking example of the cuſtom practiſed by the prophets, of tranquillizing their minds, and exciting in themſelves divine inſpiration, by means of muſic, is in the ſecond book of Kings (*o*).

The three ſovereigns of Iſrael, Judah, and Edom, marching with their armies through a wilderneſs, were all upon the point

(*i*) Pauſanias, *in Phoc.*

(*k*) In his *Treatiſe on the Ceſſation of Oracles.*

(*l*) This circumſtance having been doubted, the Abate Metaſtaſio himſelf was aſked, whether the poets of his country *ſung* at the time of writing verſes? and his anſwer was, *ſicuro!*

(*m*) See particularly 1 Kings, chap. xix. with the commentary of Don Calmet.

(*n*) 1 Chron. chap. xxv.

(*o*) Chap. iii. 15.

of

of being deſtroyed by thirſt, as there was no water to be found in their paſſage, either for man or beaſt.

" And the king of Iſrael ſaid, Alas! that the Lord hath called theſe three kings together, to deliver them into the hand of Moab. But Jehoſhaphat ſaid, is there not here a prophet of the Lord, that we may enquire of the Lord by him? And one of the king of Iſrael's ſervants anſwered and ſaid, Here is Eliſha, the ſon of Shaphat. So the king of Iſrael and Jehoſhaphat, and the king of Edom, went down to him.—And Eliſha ſaid, *bring me a minſtrel.* And it came to paſs when the minſtrel played, that the hand of the Lord came upon him, and he ſaid, " Thus ſaith the Lord, make this valley full of ditches," &c.

Prophet, in ſome parts of the Scripture, ſeems to imply little more than a mere poet, or pſalmodiſt, who ſung extempore verſes to the ſound of an inſtrument, as the *improvviſatori* of Italy and Spain do at preſent. Sometimes, indeed, ſuch inſpiration was not likely to be of great ſervice to the perſon upon whom it was conferred, nor on his hearers; for we are told, 1 Sam. chap. xvii. and x. " that the *evil* ſpirit from God came upon Saul, and he propheſied in the midſt of the houſe."

It is ſuppoſed by many of the fathers and commentators, that the ancient Hebrews had a *college*, or *ſchool, of prophets*, which muſt likewiſe have been a ſchool of muſic; as the paſſages already cited from the ſacred writings fully prove, that the prophets either accompanied themſelves, or were accompanied by others with muſical inſtruments, in the exerciſe of their functions.

David, by having cultivated muſic ſo early, ſeems to have been intended by his family for the *profeſſion* of a *prophet*. St. Ambroſe ſays, that he had always the gift of propheſy, and was choſen by God himſelf, in preference to all other prophets, to compoſe pſalms (*p*).

And, according to Euſebius, David carried his harp, or, as this prelate calls it, his lyre, with him, wherever he went; to conſole him in his affliction, and to ſing to it the praiſes of God.

(*p*) *Præf. in Pſal.* i.

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And in his preface to the Pſalms, he aſſerts, that this prince, as head of the prophets, was generally in the tabernacle, with his lyre, amidſt the other prophets and ſingers, and that each of them propheſied and ſung his canticle, as inſpiration came on (*q*).

The Chaldean paraphraſe underſtands by *propheſying*, "adoring God, and ſinging praiſes unto him."

The great Sanhedrim, ſays the biſhop of Glouceſter (*r*), ſeems to have been eſtabliſhed after the failure of propheſies. And concerning the members of this body, the Rabbins tell us, there was a tradition, that they were bound to be ſkilled in all ſciences.

But in order to preſerve the chronological chain of muſical events, furniſhed by the ſacred text, it will be neceſſary to reſume the narrative at the time when David, on account of his great ſkill in muſic, was firſt called in to adminiſter relief, by the power of his harp, to Saul, afflicted with an evil ſpirit.

If it be poſſible for muſic to operate medicinally with ſucceſs, it may be imagined a palliative, at leaſt, if not a cure, for a troubled ſpirit. The human mind, under the preſſure of affliction, or warped and agitated by the contention of warring paſſions, ſeems a fit ſubject for ſoft and ſoothing ſtrains to work upon, as powerful anodynes.

Without having recourſe to a miracle in the caſe of Saul, who had offended the Divinity by his diſobedience, the whole of David's power over the diſorder of that unfortunate prince, might be attributed to his ſkilful and affecting manner of performing upon the harp.

"And Saul's ſervants ſaid unto him, Behold now, an evil ſpirit from God troubleth thee. Let our lord command now thy ſervants which are before thee, to ſeek out a man who is a cunning player on a harp (*s*). And it ſhall come to paſs when the evil ſpirit (*t*) from God is upon thee, that he ſhall play with his hand,

(*q*) It ſeems from a paſſage in 1 Chron. xxv. 2. as if Aſaph uſed to propheſy, that is, ſing praiſes, to the accompaniment of David's harp.

(*r*) *Div. Leg. vol.* iii. p. 352.

(*s*) It ſhould ſeem from this paſſage, that muſic was regarded by the Hebrews as a common cure for madneſs.

(*t*) That is, the fit of inſanity.

and thou ſhalt be well. And Saul ſaid unto his ſervants, Provide me now a man that can play well, and bring him to me. Then anſwered one of the ſervants, and ſaid, Behold, I have ſeen a ſon of Jeſſe the Beth-lehemite, that is cunning in playing, and a mighty valiant man, and a man of war; and prudent in matters, and a comely perſon, and the Lord is with him."

"Wherefore Saul ſent meſſengers unto Jeſſe, and ſaid, Send me David thy ſon, which is with the ſheep. And Jeſſe took an aſs, laden with bread, and a bottle of wine, and a kid, and ſent them by David his ſon unto Saul. And David came to Saul, and ſtood before him. And he loved him greatly, and he became his armour-bearer. And Saul ſent to Jeſſe, ſaying, Let David, I pray thee, ſtand before me; for he hath found favour in my ſight. And it came to paſs, when the evil ſpirit from God was upon Saul, that David took an harp, and played with his hand: ſo Saul was refreſhed, and was well, and the evil ſpirit departed from him (*r*)."

It was very natural for the power of this medicine to ceaſe, when the patient had no more faith in him who adminiſtered it, but, on the contrary, regarded him with a jealous eye, as one aſpiring at his crown; and who, if he did not conſpire againſt his life, muſt look upon it as an impediment to his exaltation, and impatiently wiſh for its termination: for Saul not to have had theſe ideas forced upon his mind, he muſt have been more, or leſs, than mortal. The human paſſions, thoſe *gales of life*, muſt either have been annihilated, or ſublimed by angelic refinement. But the hiſtory of this prince furniſhes too many inſtances of human weakneſs and frailty, to allow us to ſuppoſe him either inſenſible, or ſuperior to his ſituation. We muſt therefore ſuppoſe his diſeaſe now to have become too powerful for ſo gentle a remedy as muſic. Nor ought we to imagine that a diſeaſe, or "an evil ſpirit from the Lord, with which he was troubled," was intended to be radically cured by human means, though it had at firſt given way to them.

(*r*) 1 Sam. chap. xvi. This event happened, according to the Bible chronology, 1063 years before Chriſt. The harp that David uſed upon the occaſion, is called in the Hebrew *Kinor*.

Soon

Soon after David had manifeſted by this inſtance his muſical ſkill, we find him a volunteer in the army of Saul, and giving extraordinary proofs of his military proweſs, by his victory over Goliah, the champion of the Philiſtines, who had ſtruck ſuch a terror into his countrymen, that they all declined to accept his challenge, regarding him as invincible. David returning from the field of battle after his victory over the giant, was met by the women of all the cities of Iſrael, "ſinging and dancing, with tabrets, with joy, and with inſtruments of muſic." 1 Sam. xviii. 6 (*s*). "And the women *anſwered* one another as they played, and ſaid," &c. This is an indubitable proof of a chant in dialogue, or, *à dui cori*, being in early uſe: and it was this which probably gave riſe to the manner of chanting the Pſalms in the cathedral ſervice. Pſalm lxviii. ver. 25, the *damſels* play with timbrels in the proceſſion before the ark. Women, even, ſays Don Calmet, whom the apoſtle forbids to ſpeak in church, had the privilege to ſing there in company with the men. But many proofs might be alledged of a permiſſion being given for females to aſſiſt in the performance of ſacred rites. In 1 Chron. chap. xxv. where the muſical eſtabliſhments for religious purpoſes are all enumerated, we are told, that "God gave to Heman fourteen ſons and *three daughters*. And *all theſe* were under the hands of their father *for ſong*, in the houſe of the Lord, with cymbals, pſalteries, and harps." But Miriam, Deborah, Judith, and Anne, the mother of Samuel, are all regarded by the Jews, not only as *ſingers*, but as *poeteſſes* and *propheteſſes*.

In the reign of king David, muſic was held in the higheſt eſtimation by the Hebrews. The genius of that prince for muſic, and his attachment to the ſtudy and practice of it, as well as the great number of muſicians appointed by him for the performance of religious rites and ceremonies, could not fail to extend its influence, and augment its perfections: for it was during this pe-

(*s*) *In tympanis lætitiæ et ſiſtris*, ſays the Septuagint. But the ancient rabbins, and modern Jews, are not agreed among themſelves with reſpect to the inſtruments mentioned in the Old Teſtament; ſo that it is as vain to attempt at reconciling, as at converting them.

riod that muſic was firſt honoured, by being admitted in the miniſtry of ſacrifice, and worſhip of the ark; as well as by being cultivated by a king.

"And David, and all the houſe of Iſrael, played before the Lord, on all manner of inſtruments, made of firwood (*t*), even on harps and on pſalteries, and on timbrels, and on cornets, and on cymbals." 2 Sam. chap. vi. ver. 5 (*u*).

This is related 1 Chron. chap. xiii. ver. 8, in nearly the ſame words:

"And David and all Iſrael played before God with all their might, and with ſinging and with harps, and with pſalteries, and with timbrels, and with cymbals and with trumpets (*x*)."

In all the tranſlations theſe inſtruments are differently named. In the Syriac we are told, that David and all Iſrael ſung before the Lord, accompanied by the cithara, pſaltery, cymbal, and ſiſtrum (*y*).

The joy which David ſhewed, upon this occaſion, in leaping, dancing, ſinging, and playing, almoſt naked before the ark, ſeemed, in the eyes of his queen Michal, to exceed the bounds of moderation, ſo much, that when ſhe ſaw him from the window, "ſhe deſpiſed him in her heart," 2 Sam. vi. 16. and, after-

(*t*) This ſpecies of wood, ſo ſoft in its nature, and ſonorous in its effects, ſeems to have been preferred by the ancients, as well as the moderns, to every other kind, for the conſtruction of muſical inſtruments, particularly the bellies of them, upon which their tone chiefly depends. Thoſe of the harp, lute, guitar, harpſichord, and violin, in preſent uſe, are conſtantly made of fir wood.

(*u*) Heb. *Nablis, et cinyris, et cymbalis, et tympanis.* Septuag. ἐν ὀργανοις και ἐν ᾠδαις, ἐν ναβλαις, ἐν τυμπαναις, ἐν κυμβαλαις, και ἐν αυλοις. Vulg. *Citharis et* lyris, *et tympanis, et ſiſtris, et cymbalis.* Syr. *David autem omnes Iſraelitæ ludebant coram Domino lignis cedrinis et abiegnis, nablis, citharis, tympanis, ſiſtis, ac cymbalis.* The Targum, or Chaldee paraphraſe, mentions an inſtrument not to be found in the original, or in any of the tranſlations: *in chinaris, in nablis, in tympanis, et in* quadruplicibus, *et cymbalis.* Arab. *Fidibus, nablis,* tympanis quadratis, *et cymbalis.* Here it ſhould ſeem to be a *ſquare drum.*

(*x*) Don Calmet obſerves, that by the titles of many of the Pſalms, it appears as if David, though a great king, did not diſdain to perform himſelf the part of *maeſtro di capella,* or director of the ſacred band of muſicians; and, penetrated as he was with the grandeur of the Supreme Being, he never thought he degraded himſelf by ſinging before the Lord, any more than by conducting the muſical performers on great and ſolemn occaſions.

(*y*) In the Arabic it is with flutes, cymbals, bells, and harps.

wards,

wards, upbraided him, in terms not very honourable to muſicians in general.

"And Michal, the daughter of Saul, came to meet David, and ſaid, How glorious was the king of Iſrael to-day, who uncovered himſelf in the eyes of the hand-maids of his ſervants, as one of the *vain fellows* ſhameleſsly uncovereth himſelf!"

Now it is much to be feared, that by the *vain fellows*, the queen meant Levitical ſingers, muſicians by trade, who, perhaps, like the ancient prieſts of the Syrian goddeſs, the Galli, uſed to ſing and play in the proceſſions naked.

In the fifteenth, ſixteenth, and twenty-third chapters of the firſt book of Chronicles, there is a particular account and enumeration of all the muſicians appointed by David in the ſervice of the ark, before a temple was erected. 1 Chron. xxiii. 5. David appoints four thouſand of the Levites to praiſe the Lord with inſtruments; and chap. xxv. ver. 1. the number of ſuch as were *inſtructed*, and were *cunning* in ſong, is ſaid to have been two hundred fourſcore and eight.

And, 1 Chron. ix. 33. we are told of "the *ſingers*, chief of the fathers of the Levites, who remaining in the chambers, were free: for they were employed in that work day and night."

Before this time, it does not appear from the ſacred writings, that any other inſtruments than trumpets, or ſinging, than in a general chorus of the whole people, was uſed in the daily celebration of religious rites; though others are mentioned in *proceſſions*, and on occaſions of joy and feſtivity.

It has ever been the cuſtom of legiſlators and founders of religion, in compliance with the prejudices of mankind, to retain part of the former laws and religious inſtitutions. The Egyptians, as has been already related, in the preceding chapter, divided the inhabitants of their country into *Caſtes*, or tribes, confining each profeſſion to one family. And as muſic was many ages confined by them to the prieſthood, and to religious purpoſes, the Hebrews, who had their arts and ſciences from the Egyptians, and who adopted many of their religious rites, as the primitive Chriſtians did

did afterwards thoſe of the pagans, in order to conciliate parties, and facilitate the eſtabliſhment of a new worſhip, made both prieſts and muſicians *hereditary* in the tribe of Levi. "And the ſons of Aaron the *prieſts* ſhall *blow with the trumpets*, and they ſhall be to you for an ordinance *for ever*, throughout your generations (*a*)." Accordingly, during the life of Moſes, none but the prieſts blew the trumpets, whether in peace or war: as, afterwards, in Joſhua's adminiſtration, both at the ſiege of Jericho, and upon all other occaſions, we find the office of blowing the trumpets was ſtill confined to the prieſthood: and, when David firſt regulated the muſical eſtabliſhments, for the ſervice of religion, it appears, that not only the ſelect band of ſinging men and ſinging women, but all the four thouſand performers upon inſtruments, were choſen from the families of prieſts and Levites.

Of the Muſical Inſtruments mentioned in the Pſalms.

To collect and expound all the paſſages relative to muſic in the Pſalms of David, would be a uſeleſs labour. So many learned commentators have already done this work; and theſe divine canticles may be imagined to be ſo deeply impreſſed in the hearts of all ſuch as profeſs the Chriſtian religion, both by education, and by conſtantly hearing them in the ſervice of their ſeveral churches, that it would be the higheſt preſumption in me to ſuppoſe myſelf capable of offering any thing new on the ſubject. However, the muſical inſtruments ſo frequently mentioned in them, and the addreſs prefixed to a great number of the Bible Pſalms, ſhall have a few remarks beſtowed upon them here; as the ſubject, in a particular manner, ſeems to belong to the reign of the royal Pſalmiſt, from whoſe piety, and poetic genius, ſo many of them are ſuppoſed to have flowed.

The fathers and commentators, however, are of opinion, that David neither was, nor could have been, the author of the *whole*

(*a*) Numb. x. 8.

book

book of Pſalms; as many of them were evidently written upon occaſions that happened after his death. The learned and diligent Don Calmet, after the moſt deliberate inveſtigation of the ſubjects of the ſeveral Pſalms, has arranged them under the following heads:

I. Pſalms of which the chronology cannot be fixed: theſe are eight in number: the 1ſt, 4th, 19th, 81ſt, 91ſt, 110th, 139, and 145. It is not known whether David, or Aſaph, was author of the firſt Pſalm. The 81ſt, attributed to Aſaph, was ſung in the temple upon the *Feaſt of Trumpets*, at the beginning of the year, and at the *Feaſt of Tabernacles*. The 110th is given to David; the authors of the reſt are wholly unknown (*b*).

II. Pſalms compoſed by David, during the perſecution of Saul, in number ſeventeen: theſe are the 11th, 31, 34, 56, 16, 54, 52, 109, 17, 22, 35, 57, 58, 142, 140, 141, 7.

III. Such as he compoſed at the beginning of his reign, and after the death of Saul, ſixteen—which are the 2d, 9, 24, 68, 101, 29, 20, 21, 28, 39, 40, 41, 6, 51, 32, 33.

IV. Others written by David, during the rebellion of Abſalom, amounting to eight—theſe are the 3d, 4th, 55, 62, 70, 71, 143, 145.

V. From the death of Abſalom to the captivity, ten; of which David was the author of only three: the 18th, 30th, and 72d. This laſt was written upon the eſtabliſhment of his ſon Solomon on the throne, and was probably the laſt of which he was the author.

VI. The Pſalms compoſed during the captivity, which amount to forty, were chiefly by the deſcendants of Aſaph and Korah.

VII. Thoſe of joy and thankſgiving, for the permiſſion ob-

(*b*) The Engliſh tranſlators have followed the Hebrew diſtribution of the Pſalms, by dividing the 9th Pſalm into two; ſo that from that to the 114th our numbers differ from thoſe of the Roman Catholics, who have followed the Greek of the Septuagint, which has made but one Pſalm of the 9th and 10th. The Hebrew text likewiſe, and the Engliſh verſion, differ in the ſame manner from the Septuagint and Vulgate, by dividing what they call the 113th Pſalm into two, which are the 114th and 115th in our Pſalter; ſo that our 116th Pſalm is only their 114th. Here, however, they approximate again, and only differ by one number till the 146th, after which all parties agree.

tained

tained from Cyrus to return to Jeruſalem, and to rebuild the temple, as well as thoſe compoſed for its dedication, fifty-one.

So that, according to this account, David was author of no more than forty-five of the hundred and fifty Pſalms that are uſually attributed to him.

As to the inſtruments mentioned by the ſeveral Pſalmiſts, they are chiefly ſuch as have already occurred in the Bible, concerning the names of which, ſpecimens have repeatedly been given in the notes of this chapter, to ſhew the diſagreement of tranſlators. However, as almoſt all the Hebrew inſtruments are enumerated in the laſt Pſalm, I ſhall here inſert ſix different tranſlations of the third, fourth, and fifth verſes, to ſhew, once for all, that there is no dependence upon any one of them, or hope that theſe points can ever be cleared up.

Pſal. cl. ver. 3, 4, 5. "Praiſe him in the ſound of the *trumpet*, praiſe him upon the *lute* and *harp*.

"Praiſe him in the cymbals and dances, praiſe him upon the ſtrings and pipe.

"Praiſe him upon the well-tuned cymbals, praiſe him upon the loud cymbals."

Latin verſion of the *Hebrew*. *Laudate eum in clangore* buccinæ: *laudate eum in* nebel *et* cithara: *laudate eum in* tympano *et* choro: *laudate eum in* chordis *et* organo: *laudate eum in* cymbalis *auditis: laudate eum in* cymbalis *ovationis*.

Targum paraph. Chad. *Laudate eum clangore buccinæ—pſalteriis et citharis—tympanis et choris—tibiis et organis—cymbalis*.

Syr. *Laudate eum voce* cornu—*citharis ac lyris—tympanis et* ſiſtris—*chordis jucundis—cymbalis ſonoris—voce et clamore*.

Vulg. *Laudate eum in ſono* tubæ—*in* pſalterio *et cithara—tympano et choro—in chordis et organo—in cymbalis beneſonantibus —in cymbalis jubilationis*.

Arab. *Sonitu buccinæ—pſalterio et citharâ—tympano et ſiſtro —chordis et organo*—fidibus *dulciſonis—inſtrumentis pſalmodiæ*.

The Septuagint agrees with the Engliſh verſion, except in the word *lute*, which is rendered ναβλα, *nablon*.

If

If the leaſt ray of hope remain, that a true idea of Jewiſh inſtruments can ever be acquired, it muſt be from the arch of Titus at Rome, where it is ſuppoſed that the ſpoils brought by that emperor from Jeruſalem, have been exactly repreſented in ſculpture. Among theſe are ſeveral muſical inſtruments, particularly the *ſilver trumpets*, called by the Hebrews *chatzotzeroth*; and *horns*, ſuppoſed to reſemble the ſhawms, mentioned ſo often in the Scripture, called in Hebrew, *keranim*, or *ſacerdotal trumpets*.

But the arch upon which theſe inſtruments are ſculptured, though, according to Venuti, of excellent workmanſhip, was not erected till after the death of Titus; and, to ſay the truth, the inſtruments are of no uncommon form. The trumpets are long, ſtrait tubes, as modern trumpets would be, if not folded up, for the convenience of the player; and the horns are ſuch as frequently occur in ancient ſculpture. Examples of both may be ſeen in Blanchini, Bartholinus, Montfaucon, Padre Martini, and all the writers upon ancient muſic; as well as in plate IV. No. 6 and 8, and plate V. and VI. of this work, engraved after original drawings, from Titus's arch, from Trajan's pillar, and bas-reliefs of ſtill more ancient ſculpture.

Of the Titles prefixed to the Bible Pſalms.

Not only many of the fathers of the church, and commentators of the Pſalms, but the Jews themſelves, are ſo perplexed to find a meaning to theſe titles, that they are obliged to confeſs their utter ignorance and inability to expound them. However, ſome of the moſt learned and reſpectable interpreters of the ſacred writings were of opinion, that as ſeveral of theſe titles were found in the ancient Hebrew manuſcripts, they muſt have been of divine authority, and coeval with the Pſalms themſelves. They believed likewiſe, that each was a key to the true ſenſe and intention of the poem, and therefore ſhould be inviolably retained, and ſtudied with all poſſible care and veneration. St. Theodoret, who was learned in the Hebrew tongue, has proved, that theſe titles were

not interpolations of the Septuagint interpreters, but that they found them in the original, which is come down to us from Ezra, to whoſe care the collecting the ſacred writings is ſaid to have been due.

It is as difficult, however, now, to determine which of theſe titles are genuine, as to explain their true meaning; for many have been added ſince the Septuagint tranſlation was made, and ſome ſince the time of the fathers. The 90th Pſalm, for inſtance, has none in the Hebrew; nor was there one in the Septuagint during the time of Euſebius and Theodoret; and yet there is one now in the Septuagint, and in the Vulgate.

Don Calmet, and before him Flaminius, frankly declare, that they are utterly unable to expound, or interpret, the titles of ſome of the Pſalms. All the information that can be acquired from the rabbins on the ſubject is, that they ſuſpect moſt of the terms which are involved in ſo much darkneſs, were the names of inſtruments, or of the melodies, which the Levites ſung to theſe hymns in the temple. And this has determined many tranſlators to preſerve theſe words in the original Hebrew language, without attempting to give equivalents to them in any other. And it was the opinion even of ſeveral of the fathers, as well as of the moſt learned rabbins, that there was no hope of diſcovering the meaning of ſome of theſe words, as the ancient Hebrew muſic was then abſolutely loſt; ſo that neither the inſtruments they uſed, nor the force of the other words in the titles, which may relate to their melody or meaſure, can be divined.

Genebrard is of the ſame opinion. He ſays, the Hebrew words in the titles of the Pſalms, are generally terms of the ancient Hebrew muſic, at preſent unknown to us: and that they ſerved as *keys* for the *tones* in which the ſeveral canticles were ſung.

However, maiſter William Tindale, one of the firſt tranſlators of the Bible into Engliſh, had more courage, if not more learning and ſagacity than other expounders; for he boldly tells us that *Neginoth*, uſed in the title to the 4th, 54th, 55th, 61ſt, 67th, and 76th Pſalms, *ſignifieth the tune, or note of the inſtrumentes, wher after*

after the Pſalmes before whyche it is prefyred were ſonge. For the Pſalmes were ſonge at certen inſtrumentes, but ſo that the ſwete tune and inſtrument prepared the mynde more perfectly to receyue the worde of the holy Dictie.

This ſhould ſeem ſomething like the preſent cuſtom of *giving out* a pſalm-tune upon the organ, in our pariſh churches.

The ſame expounder informs us, that the Hebrew word *Nehiloth*, uſed in the title to Pſalm 5, *ſignifyeth, by interpretation*, beretrages; *or, as ſome wyll, a certen inſtrumente of muſicke.*

Pſalm vi. Sheminith—*This worde ſignifyeth an eight, or an inſtrumente of muſicke that hathe eight ſtringes.*

Pſalm viii. To the chief muſician upon Gitith. *After ſome this worde ſignifyeth, an inſtrumente of muſicke.*

Pſalm xvi. Michtam of David. *Meaneth nobilitie, or honour of chivalrie, or an inſtrumente of muſicke.*

Pſalm xxii. Aijeleth Shahar. *A certen inſtrumente of muſicke, or as ſome wyll, a certayn kind of melodie; divers authours do diverſly expound it*, &c. (*c*).

Lamnatzeach.

Moſt of the modern commentators join the rabbins in thinking, that *Lamnatzeach* implies, *to the muſic maſter*, or chief of the band; to the principal of the Levites who ſung in the temple. The Hebrew word *Mnatzeach* is uſed for the overſeer, or ſuperintendant of any body of workmen; to preſide over, or conduct a band of ſinging men and ſinging women, or performers upon inſtruments.

In the Jewiſh temple, a great number of Levites were employed wholly in ſinging, and playing upon inſtruments. All the Levitical families either filled theſe offices, or others about the temple. Each family had a preſident, or chief, who had a great number of officers under his direction. A liſt of theſe has been already given: the principal were, Aſaph, Heman, Ethan, and Jedu-

(*c*) This Bible was printed in black letter, 1549.

thun. Aſaph, and his brethren, not only ſung theſe divine canticles, but compoſed others themſelves. For we are informed that they were prophets and inſpired, as well as excellent muſicians. Every band, therefore, in the ſervice of the temple, was diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, by the inſtruments upon which they played; and a performer of diſtinguiſhed abilities was placed at the head of each. This leader was called *Mnatzeach*. Cheneniah is highly extolled in Chronicles for the power and ſweetneſs of his voice; he was the *preſident*, or maſter of melody, and led off the canticles.

In the Bible Pſalms, the title of the fourth Pſalm runs thus: "To the chief muſician on *Neginoth*." Tindale's title of this ſame Pſalm is, "To the *Chaunter* in *Neginoth*:" which in his notes he expounds as follows: "The which is here tranſlated, *to the chaunter*, is in Hebrue *Lamnatzeach*, which word after Eſra and David Kimki (expoſitoures in Hebrue) ſignifyeth to the chief of the ſyngars, whom we commonly cal in Engliſhe, the father of the quyre or chaunter. This interpretation alſo do boeth the moſte number, and the beſt lerned of the Latiniſtes, beſt alowe."

Dr. Wallis defines *Lamnatzeach*, *magiſtro ſymphoniæ*, *aut præfecto muſicæ* (*d*). And he thinks that ſome of the other titles were intended to point out the kind of muſic, or inſtruments, which the particular Pſalms require; but as both the Hebrew muſic and inſtruments are now loſt, he confeſſes that it is difficult to expound theſe words.

Selah.

This term occurs no leſs than ſeventy times in the Hebrew text of the Pſalms, and formerly it muſt have been uſed there ſtill more frequently, as we find it in ſeveral places of the Septuagint, where the Hebrew has it not. It is, like other literary ſtumbling-blocks, grown bigger by time. The commentators have moſt of them given it up as an opake expreſſion, upon which they are

(*d*) *De Pſalmorum Titulis*, p. 298.

utterly

utterly unable to throw a ſingle ray of light; and Don Calmet, among the reſt, after a great diſplay of erudition, in giving the ſeveral claſhing opinions of rabbins, fathers, tranſlators, and commentators, concerning the true import of this impenetrable word, and carrying us through the land of conjecture upon his great polemical horſe, ſets us down juſt where he took us up: for, thinking it impoſſible to get at the true meaning of the word, he inclines to ſuppoſe it of ſo little conſequence, that it may well be omitted, without injuring the ſenſe of the text (*d*). If it had, however, any meaning, it ſeems to have been that which the Septuagint has given to it, by rendering it διαψαλμα, a *pauſe in ſinging*, which muſt frequently have been wanted before the Pſalms were divided into verſes. The word *Selah* indeed occurs three times in the third chapter of the prophet Habakkuk; but the connexion between poetry, muſic, and propheſy, has been already ſhewn; and there can be no doubt that Habakkuk uttered his revelations *in ſong*; for he begins this chapter, by calling it a prayer upon *Sigionoth*, which the Bible expounds in the margin, "according to the variable ſongs or tunes, called in Hebrew *Shigionoth*;" and ends, by addreſſing it "to the chief ſinger on my ſtringed inſtruments," or *Neginoth*.

The reign of Solomon, ſo long, ſo pacific, and ſo glorious to the Hebrews, may be regarded as the Auguſtan age of that people; whoſe proſperity, during this period, not only enabled them to cultivate arts and ſciences among themſelves, but ſtimulated foreigners to viſit and aſſiſt them. And as we find that the Romans, during the time of Auguſtus, and his ſucceſſors, were indebted to the Greeks for a great part of their knowledge in the polite arts, ſo the Hebrews, under Solomon's government, had aſſiſtance from Egypt and from Tyre. Riches and renown never fail to attract

(*d*) M. Fourmont, *Mem. de Litt. tom.* iv. has not only diſcovered that the Pſalms, and other pieces of Hebrew poetry, are in *rhyme*, but that *Sela* had the ſame force in *Hebrew Muſic*, as *bis*, or a double bar pointed, has in modern Chriſtian muſic. This perſpicacious critic, with equal ſagacity, has found out, that in order to make matters even in the verſification, in which he unwillingly allows the lines to be of different lengths, the Hebrews ſung their poetry in *Fugue!*

talents

talents into a country from neighbouring kingdoms. As to muſic and poetry, which were put upon ſo reſpectable a footing in the former reign, they ſeem to have had their ſhare of attention in this; particularly in the ſervice of the temple, at the dedication of which, if we may credit Joſephus, "Solomon made two hundred thouſand trumpets, according to the ordinance of Moſes: (Moſes was ordered to make *two trumpets* of ſilver only. Numb. x. 2.) and forty thouſand inſtruments of muſic (as if trumpets were not inſtruments of muſic) to record and praiſe God with, as the pſaltery and harp of *Electrum* (*e*)," a mixed metal, of which, according to Pliny, four parts were gold, and the fifth part was ſilver. Joſephus has often been accuſed of inaccuracy in other things; and with reſpect to muſic, his accounts neither bear the marks of judgment nor fidelity; but we have information from much better authority, "That Solomon appointed, according to the order of David his father, the courſes of the prieſts to their ſervice, and the Levites to their charges, to praiſe and miniſter before the prieſts, as the duty of every day required (*f*)."

It is the opinion of many expounders and commentators of the ſacred writings, that Solomon was author of ſome of the Pſalms that are attributed to David. Of this we are certain, that he was no leſs fond of poetry than his father. In the firſt of Kings, iv. and xxv. we are told that "he ſpake three thouſand proverbs: and his ſongs were a thouſand and five." But whether, like the royal Pſalmiſt, he was a practical muſician, does not appear in the records of his reign. However, in Eccleſiaſtes, ii. 8. we find muſic mentioned by this voluptuous prince among the vain luxuries and vexations of ſpirit, with which he found himſelf ſatiated: "I gat me men-ſingers and women-ſingers, and the delights of the ſons of men, as muſical inſtruments, and that of all ſorts:" which is all that can be gathered on the ſubject of muſic during this ſplendid reign (*g*).

(*e*) *Lib.* 33. *cap.* 4.
(*f*) 2 Chron. viii. 14.
(*g*) Solomon was made king during the life-time of his father, 1015 B. C. and reigned forty years.

A cen-

A century paſſed from the dedication of the temple, without the mention of any thing remarkable in Scripture concerning the muſic of the Hebrews, except the paſſage already cited, where Eliſha calls for a minſtrel to awaken inſpiration, previous to his propheſying.

In the year 896, B. C. the *ſingers* are ſaid to have contributed greatly towards obtaining a ſingular advantage in favour of Jehoſhaphat, over the Ammonites and Moabites; the muſicians following the camp in the ſame order as they ſerved in the temple, marched as a vanguard in the field with their inſtruments: "And the Levites of the children of the Kohathites, and the children of the Korhites, ſtood up to praiſe the Lord God of Iſrael with a loud voice on high.—And when Jehoſhaphat had conſulted with the people, he appointed ſingers unto the Lord, and that ſhould praiſe the beauty of holineſs as they went out before the army, and to ſay, Praiſe the Lord, for his mercy endureth for ever. And when they began to ſing and to praiſe, the Lord ſet ambuſhments againſt the children of Ammon, Moab, and Mount Seir, which were come againſt Judah, and they were ſmitten (*h*)."

The Hebrews frequently attributed their ſucceſs in battle to the animation given the troops by the trumpets, which were always blown by prieſts and Levites, whom the people highly reverenced, and regarded as inſpired perſons.

"And behold, God himſelf is with us, for our captain, and his prieſts with ſounding trumpets, to cry alarm againſt you.—And when Judah looked back, behold, the battle was before and behind, and they cried unto the Lord, and the prieſts ſounded with the trumpets. Then the men of Judah gave a ſhout; and it came to paſs as the men of Judah ſhouted, that God ſmote their enemies (*i*)."

It was, in like manner, the part of the ancient Gallic, German, and Britiſh druids, who were not only prieſts, but muſicians, to animate their countrymen to the fight.

(*h*) 2 Chron. xx. 19. (*i*) 2 Chron. xiii. 12.

Thus

Thus far we have only had to ſpeak of the cultivation and improvement of muſic among the Hebrews; we have little more to add, except what will indicate its neglect and decline.

But few memorials remain concerning it, from the victory obtained by Abijah, till the captivity and deſtruction of Jeruſalem and the temple, by the Babylonians, in the reign of Jehoiakim. Before this period, muſic, and other ſacred rites, had been frequently much corrupted, during the wars, and by intercourſe with foreign nations; and at every attempt to reſtore them to their former purity and ſplendor, we find the number of thoſe employed in the ſervice of the temple diminiſhed, and their efforts more feeble and ineffectual. At the reſtoration of the royal family, after the crown had been uſurped by Athaliah, we are told that "the princes and the trumpets ſtood by the king: and all the people of the land rejoiced, and ſounded with trumpets, alſo the ſingers with inſtruments of muſic; and ſuch as taught to ſing praiſe." And Jehoida, during the minority of Joaſh, "appointed the offices with rejoicing, as it was ordained by David."—B. C. 878.—And in this reign we find that "the ſingers, the ſons of Aſaph," were reſtored to their places.

Theſe continued, however, but a ſhort time in the miniſtry, before they were driven out, and the king and people became proſelytes to another form of worſhip. But after various revolutions both in religion and government, a powerful attempt was made, during the reign of Hezekiah, about 726 years B. C. to reſtore the temple to all its ancient ſplendor.

"And he ſet the Levites in the houſe of the Lord with cymbals, with pſalteries, and with harps, according to the commandment of David.—And the Levites ſtood with the inſtruments of David, and the prieſts with the trumpets.—But the prieſts were too few" to perform all the ceremonies formerly ſolemnized in the temple. However, "there was now great joy in Jeruſalem; for ſince the time of Solomon, there was not the like in Jeruſalem (*k*)."

(*k*) 2 Chron. xxix. 25.

But

But this happy period was of ſhort continuance; new ſchiſms and new misfortunes ſoon put an end to it. And in the year 606, B. C. the Hebrew nation was ſubdued; the temple plundered and deſtroyed; and, ſoon after, both king and people were, by Nebuchadnezzar, ſent captives to Babylon.

During the ſeventy years captivity, it is natural to ſuppoſe that the Hebrews were denied the celebration of their religious rites; nor could they have much time, or inclination, for domeſtic amuſements or feſtivity; ſo that muſic, the child of leiſure and happineſs, and parent of innocent pleaſure, muſt have been neglected, and ſhut out of their houſes, as an unwelcome gueſt. The idea of every thing that awakened recollection of former felicity, muſt have been painful in a ſtate of ſlavery. "By the waters of "Babylon we ſat down and wept: when we remembered thee, O "Sion. As for our harps we hanged them up, upon the trees that "are therein. For they that led us away captives, required of us "then a ſong, and melody in our heavineſs: Sing us one of the "ſongs of Sion. How ſhall we ſing the Lord's ſong in a ſtrange "land? If I forget thee, O Jeruſalem, let my right hand forget "her cunning (*l*)."

Theſe are the natural ſentiments and feelings of a people but lately fallen from a ſtate of proſperity and happineſs, into that of bondage and miſery.

It is reaſonable to imagine, however, that a nation ſo prone to luxury and magnificence as that of their maſters, the Chaldeans, would, like other eaſtern nations, encourage every thing that contributed to the gratification of the ſenſes. And we find, during this early period, from the accounts which the prophets Ezekiel and Daniel have tranſmitted to us, that the moſt vivid colours were diſplayed to the ſight, in their veſtments and paintings, and the moſt grateful and flattering ſounds conveyed to the ear, by means of voices and inſtruments.

There are two inſtances in Ezekiel of *painting* having made ſome progreſs among the Chaldeans, before Greece was rendered

(*l*) Pſalm cxxxvii.

illuſtrious by the works of any great maſter in that art. Chap. iv. 1. we have the following paſſage: "Thou alſo, ſon of man, take "thee a tile, and lay it before thee, and *pourtray* upon it the city "Jeruſalem." And chap. xxiii. 14. the ſame prophet, in accuſing his nation of inconſtancy in religion, ſays: "For when ſhe ſaw *men pourtrayed upon a wall*, the images of the Chaldeans pourtrayed with vermillion, girded with girdles upon their loins, exceeding in dyed attire upon their heads; all of them princes to look to, after the manner of the Babylonians of Chaldea, the land of their nativity: ſhe doated upon them."— B. C. 595.

A well known paſſage in Daniel puts it likewiſe out of all doubt that *muſic* was cultivated, and brought to a conſiderable degree of perfection among them, if we may judge by the number and variety of the inſtruments mentioned in it, of which the names of two occur now, for the firſt time, in the ſacred writings.

"Nebuchadnezzar the king made an image of gold, whoſe height was threeſcore cubits, and the breadth thereof ſix cubits— Then an herald cried aloud, To you it is commanded, O people, nations, and languages, that at what time ye hear the ſound of the cornet, flute, harp, *ſacbut*, pſaltery, *dulcimer* (*m*), and all kinds of muſic, ye fall down and worſhip the golden image which Nebuchadnezzar the king hath ſet up." Dan. ch. iii.

But to return to the unfortunate Hebrews:—At the end of the captivity, 536 B. C. an effort was made, by permiſſion of Cyrus, to rebuild the temple, reſtore it to its former grandeur, and to reeſtabliſh its worſhip upon the ancient footing. But when the number of "the ſingers, the children of Aſaph," was taken, it amounted to no more than a hundred and twenty-eight, and with their aſſiſtants, out of fifty thouſand people, they could only muſter "two hundred ſinging men and ſinging women;" among whom the inſtrumental performers muſt have been included, as

(*m*) So various have been the conjectures of commentators concerning the *ſacbut* and *pſaltery*, as they are called in the Engliſh verſion, that ſcarce any inſtruments have ever been heard of that have not furniſhed names for them. Theſe learned expounders ſeem to advance opinions merely to confute them; and after carrying the reader into a ſea of trouble, leave him without ſail or rudder, to get out as well as he can.

no

no mention is made of them among the other Levites and ſervants of the temple.

Indeed, though the Jews from this period, till the deſtruction of the Temple by Titus Veſpaſian, and their total diſperſion, continued to be a diſtinct nation, they were not only tributary, by turns, to the Perſians, the Egyptians, the Syrians, and the Romans, but inceſſantly torn by inteſtine ſects and factions, whoſe inveterate rancour never ſubſided in the midſt of the moſt imminent dangers from a common and foreign foe; a calamity peculiar to this wretched people! who thus contributed more to their own deſtruction, than all the efforts of their moſt determined and powerful enemies.

Though there is no condition ſo abject, or bodily labour ſo oppreſſive to the ſpirits, if the mind is undiſturbed, but muſic will burſt through, and ſoothe; yet it is not among the turbulent and unhappy that we muſt ſeek the arts of peace, and conſequences of that contentment, which ariſes from public and private felicity.

During the civil wars of Rome, no ſcience was improved but that of deſtruction: and at home, in more modern times, during the ſtruggles of York and Lancaſter, and of the royaliſts and republicans, or the religious maſſacres of France, what elſe was in meditation, except rapine, rage, revenge, and ſlaughter! But, the temple of Janus once ſhut, what ſtrides did not mankind make towards that degree of perfection of which they are capable, in the reigns of Auguſtus, of Leo the tenth, of Louis the fourteenth, and of our own Charles the ſecond! Nay, keep but the enemy at a diſtance, with union at home, and even war will not ſtop the progreſs of the human mind; ſince the brighteſt conſtellation of men of genius, that ever enlightened our own country, confeſſedly appeared in the reign of queen Anne, when we ſupported with dignity a long and glorious war on the continent.

A few words will ſuffice to remind the reader of the deplorable ſituation of the Jews, when they had loſt their liberty and independence.

After remaining ſeventy years at Babylon, in a ſtate of ſlavery, at the expiration of that time, though Cyrus, the Perſian monarch, treated them with mildneſs, ſuffered them to return to their native country, and even contributed himſelf towards the rebuilding of their city and temple, yet they continued a tributary province to that empire, till the year 320 B. C. when the city was taken and plundered by Ptolemy, one of Alexander's captains, who carried captive into Egypt a hundred thouſand of its inhabitants. From that time, till 170, they continued to be oppreſſed and plundered by the kings of Egypt and Syria by turns, when Antiochus Epiphanes, the ſovereign of Syria, took the city by ſtorm, ſtripped the temple, ſlaughtered upwards of forty thouſand people, and ſold as many more for ſlaves.

Soon after this period the brave family of the Maccabees began to exert uncommon proweſs and abilities in attempts to recover their country's long loſt independency; but the powers with which they had to contend were ſo ſuperior in ſtrength and reſources, that nothing but a conſtant ſucceſſion of miraculous efforts, and unexpected events, could keep the conflict alive, and protract their miſery, merely by poſtponing deſtruction, more than a hundred years. At length, this heroic family, ſtill more diſtreſſed and perſecuted by their own countrymen, than by the common enemy, ſunk under the preſſure of accumulated woes; when the Jews, ſeeing the extenſive power of the Romans over almoſt every part of the globe then known, called in Pompey to their aſſiſtance, againſt Antiochus; who, after draining their public treaſures and private purſes, by the bribes and contributions, which he extorted from them, became their open foe; and in the year 63 B. C. beſieged and took Jeruſalem, which, with all Judea, remained ever after dependent on the tyranny and oppreſſion of the Roman government.

For more than twenty years after this event, the Jews were under the juriſdiction of the Roman governors of Syria and Egypt; but, in the year 40 B. C. Herod, by taking a journey to Rome, and by flattering and bribing Mark Anthony, during the triumvirate, had the addreſs to acquire from the Roman ſenate the nominal

minal dignity of king of the Jews. His long reign was one continued tiſſue of crimes that are ſhocking to humanity; the leaſt of which was ſtripping his people of all their moſt valuable poſſeſſions, to ſatiate the inordinate rapacity of his tyrant maſters at Rome. But Herod, finding money inſufficient for this purpoſe, had recourſe to a ſpecies of adulation unknown before in his own country: for, in the year 26 B. C. in order to ingratiate himſelf with Auguſtus, he inſtituted *public games*, in honour of that emperor, after the Pagan manner; a meaſure ſo repugnant to the Moſaic laws, and cuſtoms of the Jews, that, inſtead of affording them pleaſure, they were regarded with the utmoſt horror and deteſtation.

We have an account in Joſephus both of theſe games and others, inſtituted by this prince, ſeven years before the nativity, but in ſo ſlight and imperfect a manner, that all we can learn is, that beſides wreſtlers, gladiators, wild beaſts, &c. the moſt ſkilful muſicians were invited from all parts of the world to perform at them. However, as theſe exhibitions were manifeſtly in imitation of the public games of Greece, it is natural to ſuppoſe that the muſicians were chiefly from that country, and from Alexandria, in Egypt, where arts and ſciences were then much cultivated and cheriſhed by the Ptolemies. The Jewiſh muſicians, who were all among the prieſthood, certainly neither could nor would aſſiſt at theſe conteſts: ſo that whatever glory may have been derived to the victors, the Jews were entitled to no ſhare of it, either as a nation or as individuals. Indeed little could be acquired by conqueſts, to which no native of Judea could aſpire, without offending againſt the religion, laws, uſages, and public opinion of his country.

The ſequel of the Jewiſh hiſtory from this period, to the total diſperſion of the nation, ſeventy-three years after the birth of our Saviour, is too generally known to render the extenſion of this ſummary neceſſary. And with reſpect to muſic, the particular ſubject of my enquiries, the little mention made of it in the New Teſtament is but juſt ſufficient to authorize its uſe in the church, where its eſtabliſhment and progreſs will be traced hereafter. I

ſhould

ſhould therefore terminate the account of ancient Hebrew muſic in this place, but that it ſeems neceſſary to add a few remarks upon ſome paſſages in the book of Job, of which the chronology is ſo doubtful, that I was unable to determine where, in the courſe of my narrative, to give them a place.

This venerable book has been ſuppoſed by many of the fathers to be the production of Moſes: by ſome it is called the moſt ancient book in the world; the firſt Arabian regular hiſtory; the oldeſt poetical compoſition in a dramatic form: and as to the time when Job flouriſhed, great pains have been taken to ſhew the probability of its being but little later than that of Abraham. The language too in which it was originally written, has given birth to many different opinions: whether Syriac, Chaldaic, Hebrew, or Egyptian. But the biſhop of Glouceſter is of opinion that it was the work of Ezra (*m*). Now as the Bible chronology places Job 1520 years before Chriſt, and Ezra but 457, this opinion occaſions a difference of near eleven hundred years: however, the prophet Ezekiel, chap. 14, mentions Job twice, after Noah and Daniel (*n*): and chronologers fix the time when Ezekiel flouriſhed, near one hundred and fifty years before Ezra.

However doubtful it may be who was the author of the book of Job, or when it was written, it is very certain that muſic is frequently mentioned in it, as an art in general uſe.

"They ſend forth their little ones like a flock, and their children dance; they take the timbrel and harp, and rejoice at the ſound of the organ," 21. 11. "My harp alſo is tuned to mourning, and my organ to the voice of them that weep." 30, 31 (*o*).

(*m*) See Div. Leg. v. 2.

(*n*) "Though theſe three men, Noah, Daniel, and Job were in it [the land,] they ſhould deliver but their own ſouls by their righteouſneſs, ſaith the Lord God."

(*o*) One circumſtance is neceſſary to be remembered with reſpect to the word *organ*, uſed here, and frequently in the Pſalms, which is, that the term was taken from the Greek tranſlation; but the ancient Greeks had no particular muſical inſtrument called an *organ*, for ὄργανον, with them, was a general name for an *inſtrument*, a *work*, or an *implement* of any kind: hence ὀργανικος, *inſtrumental*; ὀργαν ποιος, an *inſtrument maker*; and ὀργανοποιϊα, the *fabrication* of *an inſtrument*. And in all the Greek muſical theoriſts, *organic* is a general term applied to *inſtrumental muſic*.

This

This ſeems to allude to funereal muſic: and of the uſe that was made of muſic at the funerals of the Jews, we have a proof in Matthew, ix. 23. "While he ſpake theſe things unto them, there came a certain ruler, and worſhipped him, ſaying, My daughter is even now dead; but come and lay thy hand on her, and ſhe ſhall live.—And when Jeſus came into the ruler's houſe, and ſaw the *minſtrels* (*p*), and the people making a noiſe, he ſaid unto them, Give place, for the maid is not dead, but ſleepeth."

Beſides the uſe of flutes in funeral ceremonies, a female was hired to weep, whence the title of chief mourner. The rabbin Maimonides tells us, c. 14, ſect. 23, that "The huſband, upon the death of a wife, was obliged to provide mourners to weep at her funeral, according to the cuſtom of the country.—That the pooreſt perſons among the Iſraelites, never engaged leſs than two flutes and one mourner; and, if rich, the expence and pomp of the ceremony were proportioned to the dignity of the huſband." This account is confirmed by the Talmud, which orders that "The pooreſt among the Iſraelites ſhould never at the funeral of a wife engage leſs than two flutes and one mourner (*q*)."

Joſephus tells tells us that the pomp and expence of funerals among the Jews were carried to a ruinous exceſs, l. iii. c. 9. The number of flute players who led the proceſſions amounting ſometimes to ſeveral hundred: and gueſts were invited, not only among their relations, but friends and neighbours, for thirty days ſucceſſively, in order to attend theſe ſolemnities.

As early even as the death of Jacob, funeral rites were ſplendid, and of long duration. His ſon Joſeph, "With all his brethren, with all the ſervants of Pharaoh, and all the elders of the land of Egypt, attended this funeral, which laſted, with a great and very ſore lamentation, for ſeven days." Gen. L. And we find, that the Egyptians mourned for this patriarch threeſcore and ten days.

The *Nænia*, or dirge, which David compoſed on the death of

(*p*) Heb. Vulg. Syr. Arab. *Tibicines.* Perſic. *flentes.* Æthiopic. *Lamentatrices.*

(*q*) *In Chethubboth.* cap. 4. ſect. 6. *apud Spencer.*

Saul

Saul and Jonathan, is imagined by the commentators to have been ſung at the funeral of thoſe princes.

Thus, at the deceaſe of Joſiah, "All Judah and Jeruſalem mourned for Joſiah. And Jerêmiah lamented for Joſiah, and all the ſinging men and ſinging women ſpake of Joſiah in their lamentations unto this day, and made them an ordinance in Iſrael (*r*)."

All that has hitherto been collected relative to the muſic of the Hebrews, only ſhews that it was in general uſe among them, from the time of their quitting Egypt, till they ceaſed to be a nation; but what kind of muſic it was with which they were ſo much delighted, no means are now left to determine. That they had their firſt muſic and inſtruments, whatever they were, from the Egyptians, appears to admit of no doubt; but theſe ſeemed to have remained in a very rude ſtate till the reigns of David and Solomon, when, perhaps, they were more improved in quantity than quality; for the great number of Levites, of ſinging men and ſinging women, as well as of trumpets, ſhawms, cornets, ſacbuts, cymbals, and timbrels, could only augment the noiſy cry of joy, or the clamour of petition.

For if the Hebrew language had originally no vowels, it muſt have been very unfavourable to muſic (*s*): and after the introduction of vowel points, the many ſtrong aſpirates uſed inſtead of the clear and open vowels of other languages, muſt have corrupted ſound, which, by the difficulty of producing it from ſuch harſh words, would, of neceſſity, be very coarſe and noiſy. The muſic of the ancient Hebrews muſt, therefore, have been rough,

(*r*) 2 Chron. xxxv. 24.

(*s*) This ſuppoſition muſt appear very ſtrange without the ſupport of authority; for it ſeems impoſſible for any language to ſubſiſt without vowels. "The Hebrew alphabet, ſays the author of the *Encyclopedie*, Art. HEBRAIQUE, is compoſed of twenty-two letters, *all regarded as conſonants*, without excepting even the *aleph*, *he*, *vau*, and *jod*, which we call vowels, but which among the Hebrews have no fixed ſound or power, without punctuation: for that alone contains the true vowels of this language." Now as *points* are generally allowed to be of modern invention, if, in times anterior to their uſe, it was doubtful to which of the conſonants the power of a vowel was given, or, indeed, whether any ſuch power exiſted, the language muſt have been very harſh and unmuſical; which is all that is intended to be ſaid on the ſubject.

not

not only from their language, but muſical inſtruments, chiefly of percuſſion; from the number of performers, amounting by the order of David to four thouſand, and, according to Joſephus, at the dedication of Solomon's temple, to two hundred thouſand; and from the manner of ſinging at preſent in the ſynagogues, of which the chorus is compoſed of clamour and jargon. Theſe circumſtances muſt, therefore, have eſcaped thoſe who have highly extolled the ancient Hebrew muſic, or they muſt have been utterly ignorant of the art of ſinging.

However, we have no authentic account of any nation, except the Egyptians, where muſic had been cultivated ſo early as the days of David and Solomon, the brighteſt period of the Jewiſh hiſtory, the Greeks at that time having hardly invented their rudeſt inſtruments: for Homer and Heſiod, the refiners, if not the inventors, of Greek poetry; and Orpheus, Muſæus, and Linus, to whom they attribute the invention of their muſic and inſtruments, all flouriſhed, according to Sir Iſaac Newton, after theſe Hebrew monarchs.

Baſnage ſays "the Jews had nothing to diſtinguiſh them from other nations: they wholly applied themſelves to till the ground, and feed their flocks; but neglected the ſtudy of arts and ſciences. Whereas the Egyptians, under whoſe bondage they groaned, had wit, learning, and ingenuity, and pretended to an origin of much higher antiquity (*r*)." But this writer ſhould have excepted muſic. Sculpture and painting were, indeed, utterly precluded by the Moſaic law, which was ſo rigid againſt that idolatry, to which all other nations were then addicted. But it was, perhaps, by this idolatry, and by the frequent repreſentations of thoſe divinities, with which the temples and houſes of the Greeks were filled, that they acquired their excellence in thoſe arts.

Neither the ancient Jews, nor the modern, have ever had characters peculiar to muſic; ſo that the melodies uſed in their religious ceremonies, have, at all times, been traditional, and at the mercy of the ſingers. The Canonico Cavalca of Florence, is, however, of

(*r*) *Hiſt. des Juifs*, l. i. c. 1.

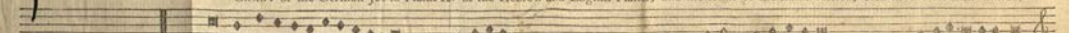
opinion, that the points of the Hebrew language were at firſt muſical characters: and this conjecture has been confirmed by a learned Jew, whom I have conſulted on that ſubject, who ſays that the points ſtill ſerve two purpoſes: in reading the prophets they merely mark accentuation, but, in ſinging them, they regulate the melody, not only as to long and ſhort, but high and low notes.

With reſpect to the modern Jewiſh muſic, I have been informed by a Hebrew high prieſt, that all inſtrumental, and even vocal performances, have been baniſhed the ſynagogue ever ſince the deſtruction of Jeruſalem: that the little ſinging now uſed there is an innovation, and a modern licence; for the Jews, from a paſſage in one of the prophets, think it unlawful, or at leaſt unfit, to ſing or rejoice before the coming of the Meſſiah, till when they are bound to mourn and repent in ſilence: but the only Jews now on the globe, who have a regular muſical eſtabliſhment in their ſynagogue, are the Germans, who ſing in parts; and theſe preſerve ſome old melodies, or ſpecies of chants, which are thought to be very ancient. At Prague they have an organ. The ſame prieſt ſays that, being at Peterſburg ſome years ſince, the grand caliph of Perſia was there likewiſe on an embaſſy, and had the ſervice of his religion regularly performed in a kind of moſque fitted up in the Czar's palace for his uſe. That when he firſt heard this ſervice performed, he found the ſinging ſo like that in the German ſynagogues, that he thought it had been done in deriſion of the Jews, and on that account ſoon left it. But, upon enquiry, finding it to be nothing more than the manner of ſinging common in Perſia, he concluded that the Perſians had borrowed this kind of chant from the ancient Oriental Jews. At preſent, he ſays, they ſing it firſt ſingle, and then add parts to it, in a kind of chorus, like the German Jews.

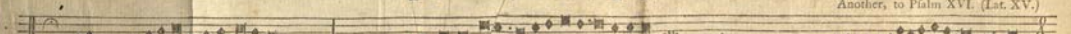
Padre Martini has inſerted from the *Eſtro-Poetico-Armonico* of Marcello, 1724, and from an inedited MS. by the cavaglier Ercole Bottrigari, called *Il Trimerone de' Fondamenti Armonici*, 1599, a great number of ſuch Hebrew chants as were ſung in the ſynagogues of different parts of Europe, at the time when theſe works were compoſed. But as no two Jewiſh congregations ſing theſe

chants

CHANT of the German Jews to Pſalm X. of the Hebrew and Engliſh Pſalter, and the tenth of the Latin verſion, uſed in the Romiſh church.

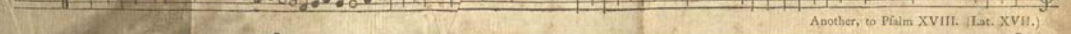


Another, to Pſalm XVI. (Lat. XV.)

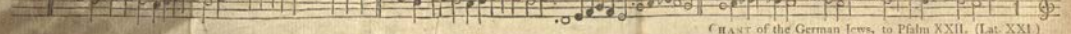


CHANT of the Spaniſh Jews, to Pſalm XVII. (Lat. XVI.)

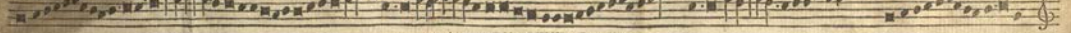
Another, to Pſalm XVIII. (Lat. XVII.)



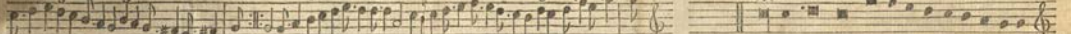
CHANT of the German Jews, to Pſalm XXII. (Lat. XXI.)



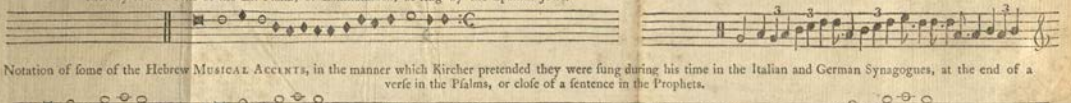
Another, to Pſalm XXIII. (Lat. XXII.)



Melody to the Title of the LI. Pſalm, or Lamnatzeach, as ſung by the Spaniſh Jews.



Notation of ſome of the Hebrew MUSICAL ACCENTS, in the manner which Kircher pretended they were ſung during his time in the Italian and German Synagogues, at the end of a verſe in the Pſalms, or cloſe of a ſentence in the Prophets.



chants alike, if tradition has been faithful in handing them down from the ancient Hebrews to any one ſynagogue, who ſhall determine to which ſuch permanence can be attributed?

I ſhall, however, ſelect a few of them to gratify the curioſity of my readers, without a hope of their being either edified or delighted by ſuch muſic. The notes are to be read from right to left, after the manner of the Hebrew language; and in thoſe chants which are printed in Gregorian notes, it is to be obſerved, that the ſquare characters are long, and thoſe in the lozenge form, ſhort.

THE HISTORY OF GREEK MUSIC.

CHAP. I.

Of Muſic in Greece during the Reſidence of Pagan Divinities, of the firſt Order, upon Earth.

THERE are no human tranſactions upon record, however ancient, in which a love for muſic does not appear. For, as the firſt muſicians were alſo poets, philoſophers, and hiſtorians, no fragments of ancient poetry, philoſophy, or hiſtory, can be found, without ſome veſtiges of the paſſion which mankind had for muſic, at the time when they were written.

It is well known, that the origin of every people, empire, and kingdom, in prophane hiſtory, is involved in darkneſs, which no human light can penetrate: ſo that the fables to which national vanity has given birth, and the poetical fictions with which they have been embelliſhed, are all the materials which high antiquity has left us to work upon.

However, as the fables of ancient hiſtorians, and the wild imaginations of mythologiſts, have employed the ſagacity of the wiſeſt and moſt reſpectable writers of modern times, to digeſt into ſyſtem, and to conſtrue into ſomething rational and probable, I ſhall

ſhall not wholly, neglect them, but, with the aſſiſtance of ſuch guides, ſhall travel through the dark labyrinth of remote antiquity, with all poſſible expedition.

It has already been obſerved (*a*), that the Theogony of the Egyptians is, in ſome meaſure, connected with my ſubject: and that of the Greeks, from their paſſion for arts and ſciences in general, will appear to be ſtill more ſo; for there are very few of their divinities who have not been regarded as inventors or protectors of muſic (*b*). But as Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Cicero, and many other of the moſt venerable writers of antiquity, have ſpoken of theſe divinities as mere human beings, who, having while they reſided on earth, either taught mankind the neceſſary arts of life, or done them ſome other important ſervice, were deified after death, and regarded as protectors of thoſe arts which they had invented when living, as well as of their profeſſors, I ſhall likewiſe venture to humanize them (*c*): and if they are only ſuppoſed to have been powerful and benign terreſtrial princes, we may ſtrip their hiſtory of the marvellous, and imagine mankind under their reigns, emerging from ignorance and barbariſm by natural and ſlow degrees, in much the ſame manner, and without the interpoſition of miraculous aſſiſtance, as every other people have ſince done, who have arrived at wealth and power, and have afterwards had leiſure to attend to luxury and refinement.

Diodorus Siculus tells us, that according to the mythology of the Cretans, moſt of the Gods of the Greeks were born upon their iſland, eſpecially thoſe that have acquired divine honours *by the*

(*a*) See p. 198.

(*b*) The beſtowing theſe inventions upon their divinities by the Pagans, is abundantly ſufficient, ſays the biſhop of Glouceſter, to prove their high antiquity; for the ancients gave nothing to the Gods, of whoſe original they had any records: but where the memory of the invention was loſt, as of ſeed corn, wine, writing, muſic, &c. then the Gods ſeized the property, by that kind of right, which gives ſtrays to the lord of the manor. *Div. Leg.* vol. iii.

(*c*) Pope has admirably deſcribed the origin of theſe firſt deifications.

'Twas virtue only, or in arts or arms,
Diffuſing bleſſings, or averting harms,
The ſame which in a ſire the ſons obey'd,
A prince the father of a people made.—
On him, their ſecond providence, they hung,
Their law his eye, their oracle his tongue.
He from the wond'ring furrow call'd the food,
Taught to command the fire, controul the flood,
Draw forth the monſters of th' abyſs profound,
Or fetch th' aerial eagle to the ground.
Eſſay on Man, Ep. iii.

bene-

benefits they have conferred on mankind: however, as to the exiſtence of theſe perſonages, the whole is doubtful now. New ſyſtems of mythology are but a ſeries of new conjectures, as difficult to aſcertain and believe as the old legends. And as theſe legends have been long received by the wiſeſt men, and greateſt writers of antiquity, and are at leaſt as probable as the hypotheſes of modern mythologiſts, I ſhall adhere to them, not only as being more amuſing and ingenious than fancied analogies and etymologies, drawn from Phœnician and Hebrew roots by Bochart, the Abbé de la Pluche, and others; but, becauſe the minds of moſt readers will have accommodated themſelves by long habit to claſſic opinions, imbibed during their tender years of education and credulity (*d*).

(*d*) The biſhop of Glouceſter has a paſſage ſo replete with wit, humour, and ſatire, that I ſhall make no apology for inſerting it at full length. In ſpeaking of *l'Hiſtoire du Ciel*, by de la Pluche, he aſks, "on what, then, is this author's paradox ſupported? On the common foundation of moſt modern philologic ſyſtems, *Etymologies*; which, like fungous excreſcences, ſpring up from old Hebrew roots, mythologically cultivated. To be let into this new method of improving barren ſenſe, we are to underſtand, that in the ancient Oriental tongues, the few *primitive* words muſt needs bear many different ſignifications, and the numerous *derivatives* be infinitely equivocal. Hence any thing may be made of Greek proper names, by turning them to Oriental ſounds, ſo as to ſuit every ſyſtem, paſt, preſent, and to come. To render this familiar to the reader, by example, M. Pluche's ſyſtem is, that the Gentile Gods came from agriculture: all he wants, then, is to pick out, (conſonant to the Greek proper names) Hebrew words which ſignify a *plough*, *tillage*, or *ears of corn*; and ſo his buſineſs is done. Another comes, let it be Fourmont, and he brings news that the Greek Gods were Moſes or Abraham, and the ſame ductile ſounds produce from the ſame primitive words, a *chief*, a *leader*, or a *true believer*; and then, to uſe his words, *Nier qu'il s'agiſſe ici du ſeul Abraham, c'eſt être aveugle d'eſprit, & d'un aveuglement irremediable.* A third and fourth appear upon the ſcene, ſuppoſe them Le Clerc and Banier; who, prompted by the learned Bochart, ſay that the Greek Gods were only *Phœnician voyagers*; aud then, from the ſame ready ſources, flow *navigation*, *ſhips*, and *negociators*; and when any one is at a loſs in this game of crambo, which can never happen but by being duller than ordinary, the kindred dialects of the Chaldee and Arabic lie always ready to make up deficiences. To give an inſtance of all this in the caſe of poor diſtreſſed Oſiris, whom hoſtile critics have driven from his family and friends, and reduced to a mere vagabond upon earth, M. Pluche derives his name from *Ochoſicrets*, *domaine de la Terre*; M. Fourmont from *Hoſcheiri*, *habitant de Seir*, the dwelling of Eſau, who is his Oſiris. And Voſſius from *Schicher* or *Sior*, one of the Scripture names for the Nile. I have heard of an old humouriſt, and great dealer in etymologies, who boaſted *That he not only knew whence words came, but whither they were going.* And indeed, on any ſyſtem-maker's telling me his ſcheme, I will undertake to ſhew *whither all his old words are going*; for in ſtrict propriety of ſpeech, they cannot be ſaid to be *coming from*, but *going to*, ſome old Hebrew root. There are certain follies, of which this ſeems to be in the number, whoſe ridicule ſtrikes ſo ſtrongly, that it is felt even by thoſe who are moſt ſubject to commit them. Who that has read M. Huet's *Demonſtratio Evangelica*, would have expected to have ſeen him ſatiriſe with ſo much ſpirit the very nonſenſe with which his

Sir Iſaac Newton tells us from Herodotus (*e*) that "the Phœnicians who came with Cadmus brought many doctrines into Greece; for among thoſe Phœnicians were a ſort of men called *Curetes*, who were ſkilled in the arts and ſciences of Phœnicia, above other men, and *(f)* ſettled ſome in Phrygia, where they were called *Corybantes*; ſome in Crete, where they were called *Idæi dactyli*; ſome in Rhodes, where they were called *Telchines*; ſome in Samothrace where they were called *Cabiri*, &c.—And by the aſſiſtance of theſe artificers, Cadmus found out gold in the mountain Pangæus in Thrace, and copper at Thebes; whence copper ore is ſtill called *Cadmia*. Where they ſettled they wrought firſt in copper, till iron was invented, and then in iron; and when they had made themſelves armour, they danced in it at the ſacrifices with tumult and clamour, and bells, and pipes, and drums, and ſwords, with which they ſtruck upon one another's armour, in muſical times, appearing ſeized with a divine fury; and this is reckoned the original of muſic in Greece (*g*)."

"Clemens Alexandrinus calls the Idæi Dactyli, barbarous, that is ſtrangers; and ſays that they were reputed the firſt wiſe men, to whom both the letters which they call Epheſian, and the invention of muſical *Rhythms* are referred (*h*). It ſeems, that when the Phœnician letters, aſcribed to Cadmus, were brought into

his own learned book abounds? *Le veritable uſage de la connoiſſance des langues étant perdu, l'abus y a ſuccédé. On s'en eſt ſervi pour etymologiſer: on veut trouver dans l'Hebreu et ſes dialectes la ſource de tous les mots, et de toutes les langues, pour barbare et étranges qu'elles puiſſent être. Se preſente t-il un nom de quelque roi d'Ecoſſe, ou de Norvege; on ſe met aux champs avec ſes conjectures; on en va chercher l'origine dans la Paleſtine. A-t-on de la peine à l'y rencontrer? On paſſe en Babylone. Ne s'y trouve-t-il point; l'Arabie n'eſt pas loin: et en beſoin même, on pouſſeroit juſqu' en Ethiopie, plûtot que de ſe trouver court d'etymologies; et l'on bat tant de païs, qu'il eſt impoſſible enfin qu'on ne trouve un mot qui ait quelque convenance de lettres et de ſons avec celui dont on cherche l'origine. Par cet art on trouve dans l'Hebreu ou ſes dialectes, l'origine des noms du roi Artur, et de tous les chevaliers de la table ronde; de Charlemagne, et des douze pairs de France; et même en un beſoin, de tous les Yncas de Perou. Par cet art, un Allemand, que j'ai connu, prouvoit que Priam avoit été le même qu' Abraham: et Æneas le même que Jonas.*" Lettre au Bochart. Div. Leg. book iv. ſect. 4.

(*e*) *Lib.* v. *c.* 58.

(*f*) Strabo, *lib.* x. p. 464, 465, 466.

(*g*) So Solinus, *Polyhiſt.* c. xi. *Studium Muſicum inde cæptum cum Idæi dactyli modulos crepitu & tinnitu æris deprehenſos in verſificum ordinem tranſtuliſſent:* & Iſiodorus, originum, l. xi. c. 6. *Studium Muſicum ab idæis dactylis Cæptum.*

(*h*) Muſical *Rhymes*, as printed in the Chronol. of the Greeks, by ſir Iſaac Newton, p. 147, muſt be a typographical error, though it is not among the errata.

Greece,

Greece, they were at the ſame time brought into Phrygia and Crete, by the Curetes, who ſettled in thoſe countries, and called them Epheſian, from the city Epheſus, where they were firſt taught (*i*)."

CADMUS is a name much celebrated by antiquity. According to Fabricius there were three perſons ſo called, who flouriſhed at very different periods. The eldeſt, and the moſt renowned, is Cadmus, the ſon of Agenor, king of Phœnicia; who being ſent by his father into Greece, in ſearch of his ſiſter Europa, whom Jupiter had ſtolen away, brought with him ſixteen letters, and the art of making braſs (*k*). Archbiſhop Uſher, the authors of the *Univerſal Hiſtory*, and Dr. Blair, agree in placing this event in the time of Joſhua, that is, 1450 years before Chriſt; though Sir Iſaac Newton and Dr. Prieſtly allow Cadmus to have flouriſhed but 1045 years before the Chriſtian Æra. Sir Iſaac imagines that the emigration of the Phœnicians and Syrians was occaſioned by the conqueſts of David, "Theſe people, ſays he (*l*), fleeing from Sidon and from David, come under the conduct of Cadmus, and other captains, into Aſia Minor, Crete, Greece, and Lybia, and introduce letters, muſic, poetry, metals, and their fabrication, and other arts, ſciences, and cuſtoms of the Phœnicians. This happened about one hundred and forty years before the Trojan War. It was about the ſixteenth year of David's reign that Cadmus fled from Sidon. At his firſt coming into Greece, he ſailed to Rhodes, and thence to Samothrace, an iſland near Thrace, on the north ſide of Lemnos, and there married Harmonia, the ſiſter of Iaſius and Dardanus, which gave occaſion to the Samothracian myſteries (*m*)."

I ſhall not enter upon a long diſcuſſion concerning HARMONIA, of whom, though many ancient authors make her a princeſs, of divine origin (*n*), there is a paſſage in Athenæus from Euhemerus, the Vanini of his time, which tells us, that ſhe was by profeſſion,

(*i*) *Strom.* l. i.
(*k*) Tacit. l. ii. c. 14, and Plin. vii. 56.
(*l*) Chronol. p. 13.
(*m*) Ib. p. 131.
(*n*) According to Diod. Sic. l. 5, ſhe was daughter of Jupiter and Electra, and grand-daughter of Atlas.

a player

a player on the flute, and in the ſervice of the prince of Sidon, previous to her departure with Cadmus. This circumſtance, however, might encourage a belief, that, as Cadmus brought letters into Greece, his wife brought *Harmony* thither, as the word ἁρμονια, *Harmonia*, has been ſaid to have no other derivation than from her name (*q*); which makes it very difficult to aſcertain the ſenſe annexed to it by the Greeks in their muſic; for it has no roots by which it can be decompounded, in order to deduce it from its etymology.

This derivation is given by ſome to Plato, in whoſe works, however, I have not been able to find it; but there is a paſſage in the Phœdon of that author, in which he evidently gives his ſanction to the common etymology of the word, that is given by lexicographers, and generally adopted by the learned; who deduce it from ἁρμοζω, which is derived from the old verb, ἀρω, *apto*, to *fit*, to *join* (*r*). And yet, as the flute upon which Harmonia played was a ſingle inſtrument, capable of *melody only*, and as ſhe was ſaid to be the firſt who performed upon that inſtrument in Greece, the inhabitants of that country perhaps called by her name the art which ſhe had introduced among them, as the metal which her huſband invented received his name. Agenor, the father of Cadmus, was an Egyptian; and Cadmus is ſaid by many ancient writers to have received his education in Egypt. Harmonia may likewiſe have come from that country; however, her wild flute has never been ſaid to have furniſhed the Greeks with their muſical ſcale; but there is nothing more extraordinary in a barbarous people having muſic *without a gamut*, than language *without an alphabet*.

Diodorus Siculus (*s*), has given a very circumſtantial account of the wedding of Cadmus and Harmonia in Samothrace, at which all the Pagan divinities were preſent; and tells us, that this was the firſt hymenæal feſtival which the Gods deigned to honour with their preſence. "Ceres, who was tenderly attached to

(*q*) *Dict. de Muſ. Art.* HARMONIE.

(*r*) Plato's words are the following: ἡ ΑΡΜΟΝΙΑ ἀορατον τι——ἐν τῃ ΗΡΜΟΣΜΕΝΗ λυρα. *Phæd. cap.* 26.

(*s*) *Lib.* v.

Jaſion, the brother of the bride, preſented corn to the new married couple; Mercury, brought his lyre; Minerva, her famous buckler, her veil, and her flute; Electra, the mother of the bride, celebrated there the myſteries of Cybele, the mother of the Gods, and had the orgies danced to the ſounds of drums and cymbals. Apollo afterwards played on the lyre, the Muſes accompanied him with their flutes, and all the other divinities ratified their nuptials with acclamations of joy." This ſeems to be the outline of a dramatic repreſentation, which was perhaps exhibited by the prieſts at ſome feſtival, or myſtical celebration, in order to commemorate the wedding of Cadmus and Harmonia.

No ancient authors diſpute letters and arts having been brought out of Phœnicia by Cadmus, and the Idæi Dactyli; but Diodorus Siculus is not of opinion that Cadmus invented the letters which he brought into Greece, or that the Grecians had no letters before his arrival. He rather ſuppoſes that Cadmus introduced a new alphabet amongſt them, which they prefixed to the ancient Pelaſgian characters, that had been in uſe long before. However that may have been, many great inventions are attributed to the people of Phœnicia, a province of Syria, beſt known in the Hebrew authors of Scripture by the name of Canaan. Bochart, with incredible labour, has endeavoured to prove, that they have ſent colonies, and left veſtiges of their language, in almoſt all the iſlands of the Mediterranean. They firſt opened the commerce of the Britiſh iſles. Some moderns, indeed, give this honour to the Greeks; but, beſides the uncertainty of the Greeks ever having been there, Strabo ſays, in expreſs terms, that the Phœnicians began this trade, and carried it on alone, without rivals, which deſtroys all conjecture to the contrary.

Lucan (*s*) has celebrated their invention of letters in verſes that have been often tranſlated and paraphraſed.

Phœnices primi, famæ ſi creditur, auſi
Manſuram rudibus vocem ſignare figuris.

(*s*) *Lib.* iii.

Phœni-

Phœnicians firſt, if ancient fame be true,
The ſacred myſtery of letters knew;
They firſt by ſound in various lines deſign'd,
Expreſs'd the meaning of the thinking mind;
The power of words by figures rude convey'd,
And uſeful ſcience everlaſting made. ROWE.

C'eſt de lui (*t*) *que nous vient cet art ingénieux,*
De peindre la parole et de parler aux yeux,
Et par les traits divers de figures tracées,
Donner de la couleur, et du corps aux penſées. BREBEUF.

The noble art from Cadmus took its riſe,
Of painting words, and ſpeaking to the eyes:
He firſt in wond'rous magic fetters bound
The airy voice, and ſtopt the flying ſound;
The various figures by his pencil wrought,
Gave colour and a body to the thought.
Hon. Miſs MOLESWORTH.

Cadmus appears to have been cotemporary with the Cretan Jupiter, from the fable, which makes him carry away his ſiſter Europa from Sidon, in the ſhape of a bull, by which the expounders of ancient mythology underſtand the enſign of the ſhip in which they ſailed together. The Phœnicians, upon their firſt coming into Greece, gave the name of *Jao-pater*, Jupiter, to every king, as every Egyptian monarch was called Pharaoh, and Roman emperor Cæſar; and thus both Minos and his father were Jupiters. But though Cadmus and his companions were called Idæi Dactyli, and Curetes, they ſeem not to have been the firſt who came into Greece; for both Strabo and Diodorus Siculus tell us, that "the Curetes, who introduced muſic, poetry, dancing, and arts, and attended on the ſacrifices, were no leſs active about religious inſtitutions; and for their ſkill, knowledge, and myſtical practices, were accounted wiſe men and conjurers by the vul-

(*t*) Cadmus.

gar; that theſe, when Jupiter was born, in Crete, were appointed by his mother Rhea, to the nurſing and tuition of him in a cave of mount Ida, where they danced about him in armour, with great noiſe, that his father Saturn might not hear him cry (*u*). And when he was grown up, theſe aſſiſted him in his conqueſts, were appointed his prieſts, and inſtituted myſteries, in memory of the ſhare which they had in his education."

This wild ſtory, collected from all the beſt proſe writers of Greece, is told by Sir Iſaac Newton in his *Chronology*. It ſerved his purpoſe, in ſupport of his chronological hypotheſis; and it is quoted here, in order to ſhew the ſimple ſtate which muſic was in at its firſt introduction into Greece. No inſtruments are mentioned to have been uſed by the Idæi Dactyli, who attended Jupiter in Crete, but drums and cymbals, inſtruments of percuſſion, which affording but one tone, require little art in the player, or knowledge in the hearer (*x*).

Theſe repreſent the armed prieſts, who ſtrove
To drown the tender cries of infant Jove;
By dancing quick they made a greater ſound,
And beat their armour as they danc'd around. CREECH.

But Virgil applies this rude and artleſs muſic to a leſs noble purpoſe than quieting the infant Jupiter in his cradle (*y*).

Now liſten, while the wond'rous powers I ſing,
And genius giv'n to bees, by Heav'n's almighty king,
Whom, in the Cretan cave, they kindly fed,
By cymbal's ſound, and claſhing armour led. WARTON.

(*u*) There is ſomething ſo peculiarly diſguſting in the quarrels between Jupiter and his father, that I have purpoſely refrained from mentioning them.

(*x*) *Dictæos referunt Curetas: qui Jovis illum*
Vagitum in Creta quondam occultaſſe feruntur;
Cum pueri circum puerum pernice chorea
Armati in numerum pulſarent æribus æra.
Lucret. l. ii. v. 633.

(*y*) *Nunc age, naturas apibus quas Jupiter ipſe*
Addidit, expediam: pro qua mercede, canoros
Curetum ſonitus crepitantiaque æra ſecutæ,
Dictæo cæli regem pavere ſub antro.
Georg. l. iv. v. 149.

Ariſtotle

Ariſtotle has thought it worth recording, that Archytas of Tarentum, the famous mathematician, invented a rattle for children; and Perrault ſays, if we conſider the muſic of the ancients according to the idea which the early writers give us of it, we ſhall find it to have been a kind of noiſe ſuitable to the *infancy* of the world, as the firſt inſtruments were certainly little better than rattles, or corals, fit only for children.

And, indeed, the Phœnicians may be ſaid to have brought into Greece *Time*, rather than *Tune*: but *Rhythm* is of ſuch conſequence both to poetry and to muſic, that this was no inconſiderable preſent.

As the firſt muſic mentioned in the Grecian hiſtory, is that of the *Idæi Dactyli*, after the birth of Jupiter, which conſiſted of a rhythmical claſh of ſwords, as modern morice-dancers delight in the claſh of ſtaves; it is not unnatural to ſuppoſe, when this prince was grown up, had conquered his enemies, and was peaceably eſtabliſhed on his throne, that arts and ſciences were cultivated and rendered flouriſhing, particularly muſic, through the ſkill and influence of Apollo, and his other ſons; and this perhaps was found to be the moſt effectual means of taming and poliſhing a rude and ſavage people.

MINERVA.

Among the *Dii majorum gentium*, ſome of the female divinities laid claim to a ſhare in muſical diſcoveries. Of this number was Minerva, or Pallas, the daughter of Jupiter, who is ſometimes called *Muſica*, or the muſician, a name ſhe acquired from her ſtatue made by Demetrius, in which, when the ſerpents of the Gorgon were ſtruck, they reſounded like a lute (*z*). She is alſo honoured with the invention of chariots, together with having firſt uſed trumpets, and invented the flute (*a*). The vouchers for her muſical talents are Pauſanias, Plutarch, and Fulgentius, among the proſe writers; and Pindar, Nonnus, Ovid, Hyginus,

(*z*) Banier, *tom.* ii. p. 308. (*a*) Ib. 309.

Pro-

Propertius, and Claudian, among the poets. The flute that ſhe invented, is ſaid by Ovid to have been made of box (*b*), and by Hyginus of bone (*c*).

Foramina rara, with few holes, it is natural to ſuppoſe. Indeed the Syrinx, ſee plate IV. No. 6, ſaid to have been invented by Pan, was found inconvenient. It conſiſted of a number of pipes of different lengths, tied together, or faſtened by wax, which were played on, according to Lucretius (*d*), by blowing in them one after the other, moving the inſtrument ſideways, for the admiſſion of wind into the ſeveral tubes; and it was by the ſagacity and penetration of Minerva, that it was found practicable to produce the ſame variety of tones with a ſingle pipe, by means of ventiges or holes, which had the effect of lengthening or ſhortening the tube, by a quick alteration of the column of air which was forced through it.

Two other circumſtances are related of Minerva with reſpect to the flute; ſhe is ſaid by Hyginus to have found herſelf laughed at by her mother and ſiſter, Juno and Venus, whenever ſhe played the flute in their preſence: this ſuggeſted to her the thought of examining herſelf in a fountain, which ſerving as a mirror, convinced her that ſhe had been juſtly derided for the diſtortion of her countenance, occaſioned by ſwelling her cheeks in the act of blowing the flute. This is one reaſon given for her throwing aſide that inſtrument, and adopting the lyre (*e*). However, a better cauſe, and one more worthy of her wiſdom, is aſſigned for her throwing aſide the flute, upon ſeeing Apollo perform on the lyre; for by having his mouth at liberty, ſhe found that it enabled him to ſing at the ſame time as he played, which afforded an opportunity of joining inſtruction to pleaſure.

There is nothing improbable or puerile in theſe accounts. Indeed many of the ancient fables and allegories are ſo ingenious, and con-

(*b*) *Prima terebrato per rara foramina buxo,*
Ut daret, effeci, tibia longa ſonos.
Faſt. l. vi.

By me * at firſt the hollow'd box was found,
When pierc'd, to give variety of ſound.

* *Minerva ſpeaks.*

(*c*) *Minerva tibias dicitur prima ex* oſſe *cervino feciſſe.*

(*d*) *Et ſupra calamos unco percurrere labro.*

With curving lip run ſwiftly o'er the reeds.

(*e*) Plutarch. *De Ira cohib.*

ceal ſo delicate a moral, that it would diſcover a taſte truly Gothic and barbarous, to condemn, or reject them. Of ſuch as theſe muſt our hiſtory conſiſt, during the dark ages of antiquity, which furniſh few authentic materials: for as yet we have no other records to conſult, than thoſe of poets and mythologiſts.

Having traced the uſe of inſtruments of percuſſion as high as the birth of Jupiter, and ſhewn that the ancient Greeks attributed the origin of wind inſtruments to Minerva, it now remains to ſpeak of the third ſpecies of inſtruments, the tones of which are produced by ſtrings; and among theſe, the firſt in order and celebrity is the lyre, of which the invention is given, both by the Egyptians and Greeks, to Mercury. Of the Egyptian Mercury ample mention has been already made, in ſpeaking of the muſic of that country: it now remains to give ſome account of the Hermes of Greece.

MERCURY.

Moſt of the actions and inventions of the Egyptian Mercury, have likewiſe been aſcribed to the Grecian, who was ſaid to be the ſon of Jupiter and Maia, the daughter of Atlas. No one of all the heathen divinities had ſo many functions allotted to him as this God: he had conſtant employment both day and night, having been the common miniſter and meſſenger of the whole Pantheon, particularly of his father, Jupiter, whom he ſerved with indefatigable labour, and ſometimes, indeed, in a capacity of no very honourable kind. Lucian is very pleaſant upon the number and variety of his vocations; yet, according to the confeſſion of emperor Julian, Mercury was no hero, but rather one who inſpired mankind with wit, learning, and the ornamental arts of life, than with courage (c). The pious emperor, however, omits ſome of his attributes; for this God was not only the patron of trade, but alſo of theft and fraud.

(c) Ἑρμῆς δὲ τὰ συνετώτερα μᾶλλον, ἢ τολμηρότερα. *Ap. S. Cyril. Cont. Jul.*

Amphion

Amphion is ſaid, by Pauſanias (*d*), to have been the firſt that erected an altar to this God, who, in return, inveſted him with ſuch extraordinary powers of muſic (and maſonry), as to enable him to fortify the city of Thebes in Bœotia, by the mere ſound of his lyre.

Horace gives us the beſt part of his character (*e*).

Thou god of wit, from Atlas ſprung
Who by perſuaſive power of tongue,
And graceful exerciſe, refin'd
The ſavage race of human kind,
Hail! winged meſſenger of Jove,
And all th' immortal pow'rs above.
Sweet parent of the bending lyre,
Thy praiſe ſhall all its ſounds inſpire.
Artful and cunning to conceal
Whate'er in ſportive theft you ſteal,
When from the God who gilds the pole,
E'en yet a boy, his herds you ſtole;
With angry voice the threat'ning pow'r
Bad thee thy fraudful prey reſtore,
But of his quiver too beguil'd,
Pleas'd with the theft, Apollo ſmil'd.
You were the wealthy Priam's guide,
When ſafe from Agammemnon's pride,
Through hoſtile camps, which round him ſpread
Their watchful fires, his way he ſped.
Unſpotted ſpirits you conſign
To bliſsful ſeats and joys divine,
And, powerful with thy golden wand,
The light unbodied crowd command;
Thus grateful does thy office prove
To Gods below, and Gods above. FRANCIS.

This Ode contains the ſubſtance of a very long hymn to Mercury, attributed to Homer. Almoſt all the ancient poets relate the

(*d*) *Lib.* ix. *cap.* 5. (*e*) Od. x. *lib.* 1. *Mercuri, facunde nepos Atlantis*, &c.

manner

manner in which the Grecian Mercury diſcovered the lyre; and tell us that it was an inſtrument with *ſeven ſtrings*; a circumſtance which makes it eſſentially different from that ſaid to have been invented by the Egyptian Mercury, which had but *three*. However there have been many claimants beſides Mercury to the *ſeven* ſtringed lyre, of which there will be occaſion to ſpeak hereafter; all that ſeems neceſſary to be added here is, that the great number of different muſicians, to whom the ſame inventions have been given in Greece, is but a proof that inſtruments reſembling each other in form and properties, may have had many inventors. A ſyrinx, or *Fiſtula Panis*, made of reeds tied together, exactly reſembling that of the ancients, has been lately found to be in common uſe in the iſland of New Amſterdam, in the South Seas, as flutes and drums have been in Otaheite and New Zealand; which indiſputably prove them to be inſtruments natural to every people emerging from barbariſm. They were firſt uſed by the Egyptians and Greeks, during the infancy of the muſical art among them; and they ſeem to have been invented and practiſed at all times by nations remote from each other, and between whom it is hardly poſſible that there ever could have been the leaſt intercourſe or communication.

The Greeks, however, when they deified a prince or hero of their own country, uſually had recourſe to the Egyptian theogony for a name, and with it adopted all the actions, attributes, and rites of the original, which they generouſly beſtowed upon their new divinity. And not only the Greek and Roman poets, but hiſtorians, ſpeak of their Mercury as the inventor of muſic and the lyre. Apollodorus, as related before, p. 209, is almoſt the only one who lays the ſcene of this tranſaction in Egypt.

Don Calmet, in his Diſſertation on the Muſical Inſtruments of the Hebrews, has given us an account of this diſcovery from Homer's hymn to Mercury, in which he tranſlates Πληκτρον, *plectrum*, by the French word *archet*, a bow, without citing a ſingle authority for it from ancient authors. What kind of implement the *plectrum* was, will be diſcuſſed hereafter; but it is moſt certain that the *bow* now in uſe was utterly unknown to the ancients.

Vincenzio Galilei *(f)* has collected the various opinions of the ſeveral Greek writers who have mentioned the invention of the *chelys* or *teſtudo*; and the late Mr. Spence has done the ſame in a very circumſtantial, but ludicrous manner *(g)*.

The moſt ancient repreſentations of this inſtrument agree very well with the account of its invention: the lyre, in particular on the old celeſtial globes, was repreſented as made of the entire ſhell of a tortoiſe, and that of Amphion in the celebrated groupe of the Dirce, or *Toro*, in the Farneſe palace at Rome, which is of exquiſite Greek ſculpture, and very high antiquity, is figured in the ſame manner. I had a front and ſide view of this lyre drawn under my own eye, and have ſince had them engraved for this work, Plate V. No. 1 and 2, in order to furniſh the reader with an idea of the form given to the inſtrument by ancient ſculptors, upon the ſtrength of this legend.

APOLLO.

There is ſomething pleaſing in the idea of realizing, or even of finding the ſlighteſt foundation in hiſtory for the fables with which we have been amuſed in our youth. I believe there are few of my countrymen who have not, during childhood, read the Life of Robinſon Cruſoe, and the Adventures of Lemuel Gulliver, as authentic hiſtories, and who have not relinquiſhed that thought, in riper years, with ſome degree of reluctance. It has, doubtleſs,

(f) Dial. della Muſica Ant. e Mod.

(g) "Horace talks of Mercury as a wonderful muſician, and repreſents him with a lyre. There is a ridiculous old legend relating to this invention, which informs us that Mercury, after ſtealing ſome bulls from Apollo, retired to a ſecret grotto, which he uſed to frequent at the foot of a mountain, in Arcadia. Juſt as he was going in, he found a tortoiſe feeding at the entrance of his cave: he killed the poor creature, and, perhaps, eat the fleſh of it; as he was diverting himſelf with the ſhell, he was mightily pleaſed with the noiſe it gave from its concave figure. He had poſſibly been cunning enough to find out that a thong pulled ſtrait, and faſtened at each end, when ſtruck by the finger, made a ſort of muſical ſound. However that was, he went immediately to work, and cut ſeveral thongs out of the hides he had lately ſtolen, and faſtened them as tight as he could to the ſhell of this tortoiſe; and, in playing with them, made a new kind of muſic with them to divert himſelf in his retreat. This, conſidered only as an account of the firſt invention of the lyre, is not altogether ſo unnatural." *Polymet. Dial.* viii.

been

been the ſame with the ingenious fables of antiquity, ſo elegantly told, and embelliſhed with all the flowers of poetry, and warm colouring of imagination.

Of all the divinities of Paganiſm, there was no one by whom the polite arts were ſaid to have been, in ſo particular a manner, cheriſhed and protected, as by Apollo; who had a variety of names given to him that were either derived from his principal attributes, or the chief places where he was worſhipped. He was called the *Healer*, from his enlivening warmth and chearing influence; and *Pæon*, from the peſtilential heats; to ſignify the former, the ancients placed the Graces in his right hand; and for the latter, a bow and arrows in his left: *Nomius*, or the ſhepherd, from his fertilizing the earth, and thence ſuſtaining the animal creation; *Delius*, from his rendering all things manifeſt; *Pythius*, from his victory over Python; *Lycias*, *Phœbus*, and *Phanes*, from his purity and ſplendor. As Apollo is almoſt always confounded by the Greeks with the Sun, it is no wonder that he ſhould be dignified with ſo many attributes. It was natural for the moſt glorious viſible object in the univerſe, whoſe influence is felt by all creation, and ſeen by every animated part of it, to be adored as the fountain of light, heat, and life.

The emperor Julian, in his defence of Paganiſm, ſays, "It is not without cauſe that mankind have been impreſſed with a religious veneration for the ſun and ſtars. As they muſt, at all times, have obſerved that no change ever happened in celeſtial things; that they were ſubjected neither to augmentation nor diminution; and that their motion and laws were always equal, and proportioned to their ſituation in the heavens. From this admirable order, therefore, men have reaſonably concluded that the Sun itſelf was either a God, or the reſidence of ſome divinity (*h*)."

The power of healing diſeaſes being chiefly given by the ancients to medicinal plants, and vegetable productions, it was natural to exalt into a divinity the viſible cauſe of their growth. Hence he was ſtyled the *God of phyſic*; and that external heat

(*h*) *Ap. S. Cyril. cont. Julian.*

which chears and invigorates all nature, being transferred from the human body to the mind, gave riſe to the idea of all mental effervescence coming from this God; hence, likewiſe, poets, prophets, and muſicians, are ſaid to be *Numine afflati*, inſpired by Apollo.

To the other perfections of this divinity, the poets have added beauty, grace, and the art of captivating the ear and the heart, no leſs by the ſweetneſs of his eloquence, than by the melodious ſounds of his lyre. However, with all theſe accompliſhments, he had not the talent of captivating the fair, with whoſe charms he was enamoured; but we have nothing to do with his amours, nor with the other adventures related of this God during his reſidence on earth, which are indeed too numerous, and too well known to be inſerted here: however, ſuch as concern his muſical conteſts, in which he was always victorious, ſeem too much connected with our ſubject, to be wholly unnoticed.

To begin, therefore, with the diſpute which he had with Pan, that was left to the arbitration of Midas.

Pan, who thought he excelled in playing the flute, offered to prove that it was an inſtrument ſuperior to the lyre of Apollo. The challenge was accepted, and Midas, who was appointed the umpire in this conteſt, deciding in favour of Pan, was rewarded by Apollo, according to the poets, with the ears of an aſs, for his ſtupidity. This fiction, which ſeems founded upon hiſtory, muſt be explained.

Midas, according to Pauſanias (*k*), was the ſon of Gordius and Cybele, and reigned in the Greater Phrygia, as we learn from Strabo (*l*). He was poſſeſſed of ſuch great riches, and ſuch an inordinate deſire of increaſing them by the moſt contemptible parſimony, that, according to the poets, he converted whatever he touched into gold. However, his talent for accumulation did not extend to the acquirement of taſte and knowledge in the fine arts; and, perhaps, his dulneſs and inattention to theſe, provoked ſome muſical poet to invent the fable of his deciſion in favour of Pan

(*k*) *In Atticis.* (*l*) L. xiv. p. 680.

againſt

againſt Apollo. The ſcholiaſt upon Ariſtophanes, to explain the fiction of his long ears, ſays that it was deſigned to intimate that he kept ſpies in all parts of his dominions.

MARSYAS, another player on the flute, was ſtill more unfortunate than either Pan, or his admirer, Midas. I ſhall collect the hiſtory of this perſonage, ſo celebrated by antiquity, chiefly from Diodorus Siculus, and from M. Burette's notes to the *Treatiſe of Muſic*, by Plutarch (*m*).

Marſyas was of Celænæ, a town in Phrygia, and ſon of Hyagnis, who flouriſhed, according to the Oxford Marbles, 1506 years before Jeſus Chriſt.

The Oxford Marbles (*n*) inform us, that HYAGNIS, a native of Celænæ, the capital of Phrygia, and cotemporary with Erichthonius, who inſtituted the Panathenæan games at Athens, 1506 B. C. was the inventor of the Flute, and Phrygian mode; as well as of the *Nomes*, or airs, that were ſung to the mother of the Gods, to Bacchus, to Pan, and to ſome other divinities and heroes of that country. Plutarch (*o*) and Nonnus (*p*) both tell us that he was the father of Marſyas; Athenæus (*q*), from Ariſtoxenus, ſays that he invented the Phrygian mode; and Apuleius (*r*) aſcribes to him not only the invention of the *ſingle* flute, but of the double (*s*).

The connection of Marſyas with Cybele, afterwards ſo celebrated as the mother of the Gods, makes it neceſſary to give ſome account of her, before we proceed in the hiſtory of that unfortunate muſician.

The Phrygians, ſays Diodorus Siculus (*t*), affirm, that they had formerly a king named Meon, who was likewiſe ſovereign of

(*m*) *Mem. de l' Acad. des Inſcrip. tom.* x.
(*n*) *Epoch.* 10. p. 160.
(*o*) *De Muſica.*
(*p*) *Dionyſ. lib.* x.
(*q*) *Lib.* xiv. *c.* 5. p. 624. *Ed. Ludg.*
(*r*) *Florid. lib.* i. *ſect.* 3.
(*s*) The double flute, however, is more generally given to his ſon Marſyas. Julius Pollux, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 10. ſpeaks of two kinds of ſingle flute, the invention of which was attributed to the Libyans: the Oblique Flute, πλαγιαυλος, ſo called, perhaps, from being blown at the ſide, like the modern Fife, or German Flute; and a very ſhrill flute, made of laurel wood, after the pith and bark were removed, that was uſed in breaking horſes, ἱπποφορβος. The natives of every quarter of the globe ſeem to have invented their own flutes; and if Hyagnis and his ſon Marſyas furniſhed the Aſiatics with thoſe inſtruments, Africa may have had her's from Libya, or its neighbouring country, Egypt.
(*t*) *Lib.* iii. *cap.* 10.

Lydia.

Lydia. This king took to wife a princeſs of the name of Dindyma, by whom he had a daughter. Enraged at the diſappointment of not having a ſon, he expoſed her upon mount Cybele. However the Gods permitted her to be ſuckled by wild beaſts; which being afterwards diſcovered by ſome ſhepherdeſſes in the neighbourhood, they ſtole her from her ſavage nurſes, and upon carrying her home called her Cybele, from the name of the mountain where ſhe had been found. This child ſurpaſſed as ſhe grew up all her companions, not only in beauty, but wiſdom and talents; for ſhe invented a flute, compoſed of many pipes, and was the firſt of that country who introduced drums and cymbals into choruſſes.

"The chief of her friends was Marſyas, a man commendable for his wiſdom and temperance: he manifeſted great genius in the invention of a flute, which, by means of holes, like that of Minerva, expreſſed all the ſounds of the ſeveral pipes, of which the ſyrinx was compoſed; and his attachment to Cybele muſt have been of a very pure and Platonic kind; for we are told that he preſerved his chaſtity to the laſt hour of his life.

"Cybele tranſported with love for a young man, named Atys, who had been put to death by her parents, became inſane, and ran wildly up and down the country, beating the cymbals. Marſyas taking pity of her misfortunes, and preſerving his former friendſhip for her, followed her in all her rambles, till ſhe arrived at Nyſa, the reſidence, at that time, of Bacchus, or Oſiris, where they found Apollo, who had acquired great reputation by his manner of playing the lyre. For it is ſaid, that though Mercury invented this inſtrument in the manner already related, he afterwards gave it to Apollo, who was the firſt that played upon it with method; and, by ſinging to it, made it the conſtant companion of poetry (*u*)."

(*u*) According to Homer's account of this tranſaction, in his hymn to Mercury, it was given by that God to Apollo, as a peace-offering and indemnification for the oxen which he had ſtolen from him:

To Phœbus Maia's ſon preſents the lyre,
A gift intended to appeaſe his ire;
The God receives it gladly, and eſſays
The novel inſtrument a thouſand ways.
With dext'rous ſkill the plectrum wields, and ſings
With voice accordant to the trembling ſtrings;
Such ſtrains as Gods and men approv'd, from whence
The ſweet alliance ſprung of ſound and ſenſe.

Marſyas

Plate II.

Marſyas having engaged in a muſical diſpute with Apollo, choſe the people of Nyſa for judges. Apollo played at firſt a ſimple air upon his inſtrument; but Marſyas taking up his pipe, ſtruck the audience ſo much by the novelty of its tone, and the art of his performance, that he ſeemed to be heard with more pleaſure than his rival. Having agreed upon a ſecond trial of ſkill, it is ſaid that the performance of Apollo, by accompanying the lyre with his voice, was allowed greatly to excel that of Marſyas upon the flute alone. Marſyas, with indignation, proteſted againſt the deciſion of his judges, urging, that he had not been fairly vanquiſhed according to the rules ſtipulated, becauſe the diſpute was concerning the excellence of their ſeveral inſtruments, not their voices; and that it was wholly unjuſt to employ two arts againſt one.

Apollo denied that he had taken any unfair advantage of his antagoniſt, ſince Marſyas had employed both his mouth and fingers in performing upon his inſtrument; ſo that if he was denied the uſe of his mouth, he would be ſtill more diſqualified for the contention. The judges approved of Apollo's reaſoning, and ordered a third trial. Marſyas was again vanquiſhed; and Apollo, inflamed by the violence of the diſpute, flead him alive for his preſumption.

Pauſanias relates a circumſtance concerning this conteſt, that had been omitted by Diodorus, which is, that Apollo accepted the challenge from Marſyas, upon condition that the victor ſhould uſe the vanquiſhed as he pleaſed.

Diodorus informs us, that Apollo ſoon repenting of the cruelty with which he had treated Marſyas, broke the ſtrings of the lyre, and by that means put a ſtop, for a time, to any further progreſs in the practice of that new inſtrument.

The next paſſage in this author being wholly applicable to the hiſtory of ancient muſic, I ſhall tranſcribe it: "The Muſes, ſays he, afterwards added to this inſtrument the ſtring called *Meſe*; Linus, that of *Lichanos*; and Orpheus and Thamyras, thoſe ſtrings which are named *Hypate* and *Parhypate*."

It has been already related, that the lyre invented by the Egyptian Mercury had but three ſtrings; and by putting theſe two circumſtances

cumſtances together, we may perhaps acquire ſome knowledge of the progreſs of muſic, or, at leaſt, of the extenſion of its ſcale, in the higheſt antiquity.

Meſe, in the Greek muſic, is the fourth ſound of the ſecond tetrachord of the great ſyſtem, and firſt tetrachord invented by the ancients, anſwering to our A, on the fifth line in the baſe. If this ſound then was added to the former three, it proves two important points: firſt, that the moſt ancient tetrachord was that from E in the baſe, to A: and that the three original ſtrings in the Mercurian and Apollonian lyre were tuned E, F, G, which the Greeks called *Hypate Meſon*, *Parhypate Meſon*, and *Meſon Diatonos*. The addition therefore of *Meſe* to theſe, completed the firſt and moſt ancient tetrachord, E, F, G, A (*x*).

The ſtring *Lichanos* then being added to theſe, and anſwering to our D, on the third line in the baſe, extended the compaſs downwards, and gave the ancient lyre a regular ſeries of five ſounds, in the Dorian mode, the moſt ancient of all the Greek modes; and the two ſtrings called *Hypate*, and *Parhypate*, correſponding with our B and C in the baſe, completed the heptachord, or ſeven ſounds, B, C, D, E, F, G, A, a compaſs that received no addition, till after the time of Pindar, who calls the inſtrument then in uſe, the *ſeven-tongued lyre* (*y*). But to return to Apollo and Marſyas.

It is natural to ſuppoſe that great provocation had been given on both ſides, previous to a trial of ſkill, big with ſuch ſerious conſequences. And it appears from a paſſage in Apuleius, that the champions had tried their ſtrength at invective and ſarcaſm, before the muſical conteſt began. According to this writer, Marſyas was ſo fooliſh as to irritate the God, by oppoſing his own entangled hair, his frightful and ſhaggy beard, to the flowing locks, the

(*x*) Captain Norden ſays, the ſepulchral urn on the firſt pyramid near Memphis, though it reſt intirely upon its baſe, ſounds like a bell; and Dr. Shaw believes the ſound emitted to be *E-la-mi*. Now if it be true that the Greeks had their firſt muſical knowledge from Egypt, we may ſuppoſe this ſound to be the ſtandard pitch, and fundamental note of the Mercurian lyre, and firſt tetrachord, E, F, G, A.

(*y*) Though Pindar calls the Lyre *ſeven-tongued*, yet we are told that Pythagoras, who lived before him, added an eighth ſtring to that inſtrument. But, perhaps, this new ſtring was not in *general* uſe, in Pindar's time.

finical

finical effeminacy, and dainty cleanlineſs of his rival; for which he was hiſſed by all the Muſes and company preſent (*y*).

It is difficult to acquire a true idea of the character of this muſician, as ſome ancient writers, in ſpeaking of him, tell us that he was a man of talents and wiſdom, while others repreſent him as an ignorant clown; juſt as Polonius, in our Shakeſpeare's Hamlet, is in ſome ſcenes a wiſe man, and in others an ideot.

Plato (*z*) tells us that we are indebted to Marſyas and Olympus for wind-muſic; and to theſe two muſicians is likewiſe attributed the invention of the Phrygian and Lydian meaſure. Marſyas is alſo ſaid by ſome to have been the inventor of the double flute, though others give it to his father Hyagnis.

Antiquity has furniſhed us with ſeveral monuments of the puniſhment inflicted upon him by Apollo. He may be ſeen in Berger, in Maffei, and in Du Choul. The ſtory is likewiſe well and fully repreſented in one of the ancient pictures dug out of Herculaneum (*a*). Here the vanquiſhed muſician is bound to a tree, the executioner ſtanding by with a knife in his hand, only waits for orders from the victor to flay him alive. Apollo is ſeated at a diſtance, with a lyre in one hand, and a plectrum in the other, and a Muſe by his ſide, preparing a garland for him in token of victory. A young man, on his knees, appears to implore his mercy: this is thought to be Olympus, the ſcholar of Marſyas, aſking pardon for his maſter, or, perhaps, permiſſion to give him funeral obſequies, which, as we learn from Hyginus, he obtained.

OLYMPUS is a name ſpoken of with ſuch reverence by the greateſt writers of Greece, as well as the beſt judges of muſic, that it ſeems to merit particular notice.

(*y*) *Marſyas, quod ſtultitiæ maximum ſpecimen eſt, non intelligens ſe de ridiculo haberi, priuſquam tibias occiperet inflare, prius de ſe et Apolline quædam deliramenta barbarè effutivit: laudans ſeſe quod erat et coma relicinus, et barba ſquallidus, et pectore hirſutus, et arte tibicen, et fortuna egenus, contra Apollinem ridiculum dictu, adverſis virtutibus culpabat. Quod Apollo eſſet et coma intonſus, et genis gratus, et corpore glabellus, et arte multiſcius, et fortuna opulentus. ——Riſere Muſæ, cum audirent hoc genus crimina.* Apuleius Floridor. p. 341.

(*z*) *De Legib.*

(*a*) *Antich. d'Ercolano, tom.* ii. *tav.* 19.

There were two great muſicians in antiquity of the name of *Olympus*, and both celebrated performers on the flute. One of them flouriſhed before the Trojan war, and the other was cotemporary with Midas, who died 697 years before Chriſt. The firſt was a ſcholar of Marſyas, and a Myſian; the ſecond, according to Suidas, was a Phrygian, and author of ſeveral poems, which were by ſome attributed to the firſt *Olympus*. But the moſt important addition which the diſciple of Marſyas made to the muſical knowledge of his time, was the invention of the *Enharmonic Genus*, as already deſcribed in the Diſſertation. Plato and Ariſtotle, as well as Plutarch, celebrate his muſical and poetical talents, and tell us that ſome of his airs were ſtill ſubſiſting in their time. Religion only can give permanence to muſic. The airs of *Olympus* uſed in the temple worſhip during the time of Plutarch, were not more ancient than the *Chants*, or *Canto Fermo*, to ſome of the hymns of the Romiſh church: and the melodies now ſung to many of the hymns and pſalms of the Lutherans and Calviniſts, are ſuch as were applied to them at the time of the Reformation.

Plato ſays the muſic of *Olympus* was, in a particular manner, adapted to affect and animate the hearers (*b*); Ariſtotle, that it ſwelled the ſoul with enthuſiaſm (*c*); and Plutarch (*d*), that it ſurpaſſed, in ſimplicity and effect, every other muſic then known. According to this Biographer, he was author of the Curule ſong, which cauſed Alexander to ſeize his arms, when it was performed to him by Antigenides. To his muſical abilities he joined thoſe of poetry; and, according to Suidas, and Jul. Pollux, he compoſed Elegies, and other plaintive ſongs, which were ſung to the ſound of the flute; and the melodies of theſe poems were ſo much celebrated in antiquity for their pathetic and plaintive caſt, that Ariſtophanes, in the beginning of his comedy called the *Knights*, where he introduces the two generals, Demoſthenes and Nicias, traveſtied into valets, and complaining of their maſter, makes them ſay, "Let us weep and wail like two Flutes, breathing ſome air

(*b*) *In Minoe. In Ione. De Legib. lib.* iii.
(*c*) *Politic. lib.* viii. *cap.* 5.
(*d*) *De Muſica.*

of

of *Olympus*." Plutarch aſcribes to him ſeveral *Nomes* or *Airs*, that are frequently mentioned by ancient writers: ſuch as the *Minerva*; the *Harmatian*, *Curule*, or Chariot air, juſt mentioned; and the *Spondean*, or Libation air.

There is a magnificent ſtatue at Rome, where Marſyas, the maſter of Olympus, is repreſented faſtened to a tree, with his arms extended. Others may be ſeen where Apollo holds a knife in his right hand, and the ſkin of Marſyas in his left, which ſerves to confirm the opinion, that ſome of the ancients thought Apollo was himſelf the executioner that flead him. In ſome of the ſtatues, Marſyas is ſculptured with the ears and tail of fauns and ſatyrs; of this kind is the figure in the grand duke's gallery at Florence. There was anciently to be ſeen in the citadel at Athens, a ſtatue of Minerva chaſtiſing the ſatyr Marſyas, for appropriating to himſelf the flutes which the goddeſs had rejected with contempt. Theſe flutes of Marſyas had been conſecrated in the temple of Apollo at Sicyon, by a ſhepherd who had collected them. At Mantinea, in the temple of Latona, was alſo to be ſeen a Marſyas playing upon the double flute; and he was not forgotten in the famous picture of Polygnotus, deſcribed by Pauſanias (*e*).

Among the inventions of Marſyas is numbered likewiſe the bandage made of leather thongs, uſed by the ancients in playing the flute, in order to keep the cheeks and lips firm, and to prevent the diſtortion of the countenance, ſo common in playing upon wind-inſtruments. This contrivance, which left only a ſmall aperture between the lips, juſt ſufficient to receive the mouth-piece of the flute, augmented likewiſe the force of the performer (*f*).

Servius, the grammarian, aſſerts, that moſt free towns had in the public places a ſtatue of Marſyas, which was a ſymbol of their liberty, becauſe of the cloſe connection between Marſyas, taken for Silenus, and Bacchus, known to the Romans by the name of *Liber*.

(*e*) *Lib.* x. *cap.* 30.

(*f*) This bandage was called φορβεια, or στομιον, *capiſtrum*. It is mentioned in Plutarch's *Sympoſiacs*, in the *Scholiaſt* of Ariſtophanes, and elſewhere; and may be ſeen in ſome ancient ſculpture, which Bartholinus has had engraved in his treatiſe *de Tibiis Veterum*, and in Plate VI. No. 1. of this work.

There was in the Forum at Rome one of thoſe ſtatues, with a tribunal erected by it, where juſtice was adminiſtered.

However, notwithſtanding the many teſtimonies of ancient authors concerning Marſyas having been flead alive, among which is that of Herodotus, who ſays he ſaw the ſkin of this unfortunate muſician hanging up at Celænæ, in the public ſquare, in the form of a bladder or foot-ball; there are authors who take the whole ſtory to be an allegory, founded upon the river Marſya, which ran through the city Celænæ, making a harſh and diſagreeable noiſe to the ear; or, rather, if we may believe Fortunio Liceti (*g*), the fable had its riſe from this, that, before the invention of the lyre, the flute was in higher favour than any other muſical inſtrument, and enriched all thoſe who were able to play upon it; and as the lyre brought the flute into ſuch diſcredit that nothing was to be gained by it, Apollo was ſaid to have ſtripped off the ſkin of Marſyas, the beſt performer on the flute of his time; which was the better imagined, as the money of thoſe days was of leather (*h*). This puniſhment has frequently been inflicted in modern times upon inferiority, not only by rival muſicians of great talents, but by faſhion.

The next incident to be mentioned in the hiſtory of Apollo is his defeat of the ſerpent Python.

The waters of Deucalion's deluge (*i*), ſays Ovid (*k*), which had overflowed the earth, left a ſlime, from which ſprung innumerable monſters, and among others the ſerpent Python, which made great havock in the country about Parnaſſus. Apollo, armed with his darts, put him to death; which, phyſically explained, implies that the heat of the ſun having diſſipated the noxious ſteams, thoſe monſters ſoon diſappeared; or, if this fable be referred to hiſtory, the ſerpent was a robber, who haunting the country about Delphos, and very much infeſting thoſe who came thither to ſacrifice, a prince, who bore the name of Apollo, or one of the prieſts of that God, put him to death.

(*g*) *Aierog.* cap. 109.
(*h*) Pollux, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 10.
(*i*) This event happened, according to the Parian Marbles, and Dr. Blair, 1503 years before the Chriſtian Æra, though, according to Sir Iſaac Newton, and Dr. Prieſtley, but 1046.
(*k*) *Met.* lib. i.

This

This event gave riſe to the inſtitution of the Pythian games, ſo frequently mentioned in the Grecian hiſtory. They were celebrated at firſt once in eight or nine years; but in proceſs of time were repeated every four years. Muſic and poetry were, in a particular manner, ſubjects of contention in theſe games, which were inſtituted in honour of that divinity, who was the immediate patron and protector of thoſe arts. And if, as Ovid informs us, they owe their inſtitution to Amphictyon, the ſon of Deucalion, ſoon after the deluge, which bears the name of his father, they were the moſt ancient of all the four great games of Greece: for Pauſanias tells us that the Olympic games were firſt celebrated by Clymenus, a deſcendant of Hercules, fifty years after the deluge of Deucalion. However, the ſame writer, who, in his travels through Greece, was particularly ſolicitous to inform himſelf of every circumſtance relative to theſe inſtitutions, tells us, that Diomedes, the ſon of Tydeus, having eſcaped a dangerous tempeſt in returning from Troy, dedicated a temple to Apollo, and founded the Pythian games in his honour. After being diſcontinued for ſome time, they were renewed by the brave Eurylochus of Theſſaly, whoſe valour and exploits acquired him the name of the *new Achilles*. This renewal of the Pythic games happened in the third year of the forty-eighth Olympiad, 586 before Chriſt; after which time they ſerved as an æra to the inhabitants of Delphos, and the neighbourhood.

Theſe muſical conteſts will be particularly diſcuſſed hereafter, with the other games of Greece, when we have quitted the mythological maze of fable and allegory, and are arrived at the ſtrait road of hiſtory.

It was from the legend of Apollo's victory over the Python, that the God himſelf acquired the name of Pythius, and his prieſteſs that of Pythia. The city of Delphos, where the famous oracles were ſo long delivered, was likewiſe frequently ſtyled Pytho.

The decrees of this oracle were not only uttered in hexameter verſe, but, if we may believe Lucan, were *ſung* (*l*).

(*l*) *Sive* canet *fatum*, *ſeu quod jubet ille* canendo,
Fit fatum.

And,

And, according to Plutarch, in his diſcourſe *on the Pythian Prieſteſs no longer rendering her prophecies in verſe*, the ancient oracles were not only delivered in verſe, and in a pompous ſtyle, but were ſung likewiſe *to the ſound of the flute* (*m*).

The ſame author likewiſe tells us that oracles were generally delivered in verſe, preceded by the ſound of kettles; which furniſhes no very exalted idea of the ſtate of muſic in remote antiquity, any more than what one of the interlocutors in his Dialogue on the Pythia, ſays of her verſes, does of poetry. "I have often wondered, ſaid Diogenian, at the meanneſs, and aukward roughneſs of the verſes, which conveyed the ancient oracles to mankind. And yet Apollo is called the leader of the Muſes, and God of poetry, as well as of muſic; and therefore it ſeems natural to ſuppoſe, that he would attend as much to elegance and beauty in the ſtyle and language of poetry, as to the voice and manner of ſinging it." All that Pagan piety could offer in defence of Apollo, was to ſay, that the God only furniſhed *inſpiration* with reſpect to the knowledge of future events, but gave himſelf no trouble about the voice, ſounds, words, or metre, that this knowledge was delivered in, all which proceeded from the prieſteſs. And yet how the God of muſic could bear the ſounding braſs, and worſe than tinkling cymbals, with which he was conſtantly ſtunned, is not eaſy to imagine.

In after-times the Pythia had in her miniſtry profeſſed *prophets*; and theſe had *poets* under them, whoſe buſineſs was to put the oracles into verſe. However, poets had no ſuch employment in earlier times. Herodotus tells us, that Olen of Lycia was at once both prophet and poet: the moſt ancient hymns known to have been uſed at Delos, in honour of Apollo, were of his compoſition; and the Greeks acknowledge him to have been the firſt that applied poetry to the purpoſe of praiſing the Gods;

(*m*) Plutarch in this paſſage uſes the term πλασμα, for *a florid modulation of voice*, and Quintilian latinizes the ſame word to expreſs *a ſoft and delicate modulation*. Lib. i. cap. 14. *Nec plaſmate effeminata*; which is a confirmation of *poetry* being *always ſung*. See an excellent criticiſm upon the term πλασμα, *Div. Leg.* book iv. ſect. 4.

indeed

indeed it ſeems as if hymns were the moſt ancient of all poetical compoſitions (*n*).

Olen was the firſt prieſt of Apollo at Delos, in the temple erected there to this God, by the northern people called Hyperboreans. Who theſe Hyperboreans were, ancient authors are not very well agreed. Diodorus Siculus calls them a people of Aſia, near the north, who inhabited a moſt fertile iſland, equal in ſize to that of Sicily. This was the birth-place of Latona, the mother of Apollo, on which account the iſlanders had a particular veneration for her ſon. They were almoſt all prieſts of that God, and continually ſinging hymns to his honour. They conſecrated an extenſive territory to him upon the iſland, in the midſt of which was a magnificent temple, in an oval form, always abounding with rich offerings. Their city was even conſecrated to the God, and filled with muſicians of all kinds, who every day celebrated his praiſes.

The particular worſhip of Apollo in that iſland, is ſuppoſed to have originated from the arrival of the Egyptian conqueror, Seſoſtris. The birth of a God in any country, ſays Herodotus, denoted only the introduction of his worſhip there. Thus Jupiter was ſaid to have been born in Crete, and Apollo in Delos.

But to return to the oracle at Delphos. The moſt celebrated of all the *Pythias* was Phœmonoe, who was not only the firſt prieſteſs of Apollo, but, according to Plutarch and Pauſanias, the firſt who pronounced oracles in hexameter verſe.

In after-times there were five principal prieſts of ſacrifice appointed. They were called ὅσιοι, *holy*; and whatever was ſacrificed at their reception was called ὁσιωτηρ, *the victim*. Theſe mi-

(*n*) The rhetorician Menander enumerates eight different ſpecies of *hymns*. In this author, and in the notes of the learned Spanheim upon Callimachus, it appears, that the moſt ancient of theſe canticles were thought to have been dictated by the Gods themſelves, or, at leaſt, by men truly inſpired. Some of them received their names from the different divinities to whom they were addreſſed, and the occaſions upon which they were ſung; and to others were prefixed the names of the moſt ancient poets, who had ſignalized themſelves in this ſpecies of writing: ſuch as Olen, Pamphus, Thamyris, Orpheus, Anthes, and Homer. *Burette's Notes on Plutarch.*

Longinus, in a beautiful ſimile, compares the effects of reading the beſt ancient authors, to the ſacred vapours with which the Pythian prieſteſs was inſpired on the tripod.

niſtries were perpetual, and hereditary in their children. They were believed to be deſcended from Deucalion. Beſides a great number of inferior prieſts, there were many players upon muſical inſtruments, and heralds, who proclaimed the public feaſts, to which, ſometimes, all the inhabitants of Delphos were invited. To theſe were joined choruſſes of youths and virgins, who ſung and danced at the feſtivals of Apollo.

Plutarch, in his *Dialogue on Muſic*, tells us, that Philammon had celebrated the birth of Latona, Apollo, and Diana, in lyric verſes; and that he was the inventor of the dances that were uſed in the temple of Apollo.

As Apollo was the God of the fine arts, thoſe who cultivated them were called his ſons. Philammon of Delphos, who being a great poet and muſician, was reported to be the offspring of the God who preſided over thoſe arts. He is one of the firſt, after Apollo, upon fabulous record, as a vocal performer, who accompanied himſelf with the ſound of the lyre; his ſon was the celebrated Thamyris. Tatian ranks Philammon among the writers who flouriſhed before the time of Homer; and the ſcholiaſt of Apollonius Rhodius, from Pherecydes, affirms, that it was this muſical poet, and not Orpheus, who accompanied the Argonauts in their expedition. If this circumſtance could be depended upon, there would be no difficulty in fixing the time when he lived, as the chronologiſts place this expedition in the century immediately preceding the Trojan war.

There can be no doubt but that Apollo was more generally revered in the Pagan world, than any other deity; having in almoſt every region of it, temples, oracles, and feſtivals, as innumerable as his attributes: the wolf and hawk were conſecrated to him, as ſymbols of his piercing eyes; the crow and the raven, becauſe theſe birds were ſuppoſed to have by inſtinct the faculty of prediction; the laurel, from a perſuaſion that thoſe who ſlept with ſome branches of that tree under their heads, received certain vapours, which enabled them to propheſy. The cock was conſecrated to him, becauſe by his crowing he announces the riſing of the ſun; and the graſshopper, on account of his ſinging faculty, which was ſuppoſed to do honour to the God of Muſic. Moſt of the ancient

cient poets have celebrated this tuneful inſect, but none better than Anacreon, Ode 43.

Plato ſays that the Graſshopper ſings all ſummer without food, like thoſe men who, dedicating themſelves to the Muſes, forget the common concerns of life.

The Swan was regarded by the ancients as a bird ſacred to Apollo in two capacities; firſt, as being like the crow and raven, gifted with the ſpirit of prediction (*o*); and, ſecondly, for his extraordinary vocal powers. The ſweetneſs of his ſong, eſpecially at the approach of death, was not only extolled by all the poets of antiquity, but by hiſtorians, philoſophers, and ſages (*p*); and to call a great writer the *ſwan* of his age and nation, was a full acknowledgement of his ſovereignty. Thus Horace calls Pindar, *the Theban ſwan* (*q*). We do not, however, find that Jupiter, when he aſſumed the figure of a ſwan, acquired the good graces of Leda by his vocal powers.

The univerſality with which the talent of this bird for ſong was allowed by antiquity, has furniſhed M. Morin with the ſubject of a pleaſant Diſſertation upon this queſtion, *Why ſwans ſung ſo well formerly, and why they ſing ſo ill, or rather why they have wholly ceaſed to ſing, now* (*r*)? The author aſks if it is the want of *hearing* muſic as they formerly did, on the banks of the Cäyſter and Meander? But, if they had imitative powers, the concerts ſo frequently performed on the Seine and the Thames, are ſurely ſufficient to provoke them to the exerciſe of thoſe powers. Are they degenerated in northern climates? This queſtion is fully anſwered by Ælian (*s*), who aſſerts, that among the Hyperboreans, or inhabitants of the *moſt northern parts of the globe*,

(*o*) *Commemorat* (Socrates) *ut cygnis, qui non ſine cauſa, Apollini dicati ſunt, ſed quod ab eo divinationem habere videantur, qua providentes quid in morte boni ſit; cum cantu et voluptate moriantur*——Cicero Tuſcul. Quæſt. *lib.* i. 59.

(*p*) *Illi quidem* (Cygni) *quando ſe brevi ſentiunt morituros, tunc magis admodum dulcius canunt, quam antea conſueverint, congratulantes quod ad Deum ſint, cujus erant famuli, jam migraturi. Sed quia Phœbo ſacri ſunt, ut arbitror, divinatione præditi, præſagiunt alterius vita bona; ideoque cantant alacrius, geſtiuntque ea die quam ſuperiori tempore.* Plato in *Phœdone*, vel de Anima, p. 505.

(*q*) *Dirceum levat aura cygnum.* Lib. iv. Ode 2. v. 25.

(*r*) *Mem. de l'Acad. des Inſcrip.* tom. v.

(*s*) *Lib.* ii. *cap.* 1.

who had a celebrated temple to Apollo, at a ſolemn feſtival in honour of the God, which was annually kept at a great expence, as ſoon as the prieſt had begun the ceremony, by a proceſſion, aſperſions, and luſtrations, a large flock of ſwans inſtantly deſcended from the top of Mount Riphæus; and after having croaked and cackled in the air, round the temple, to make a kind of luſtration, in their manner, they entered the choir, and gravely took their places among the prieſts and muſicians, who were preparing to ſing a ſacred hymn in honour of this feſtival; after which they performed their parts with the utmoſt preciſion, neither ſinging out of tune, nor breaking time; and when this was done, they retired in great order from the temple.

"Here are ſwans for you, ſays M. Morin, who ſung pſalms in a *northern* climate, as well as in Greece, in the preſence of a whole people, and an infinite number of ſpectators of all nations, who were drawn together by the ſolemnity; which ſhews, that, according to the opinion of thoſe times, ſwans always, and in every place, retained the power and dignity of ſongſters, inſeparable from their kind. However, Ælian confeſſes that he had the ſtory from tradition, having never been able to acquire any proof of their muſical powers from experience; and that all he knew of this matter was, that the ancients held it as a certainty, that theſe birds, before they died, ſung a kind of air, which was on that account called the *ſwan's* air."

Perhaps the idea of ſwans having the power of ſinging, was originally ſuggeſted by the magnificent length of their necks, which ſeem as capable of diviſions, trills, and ſhakes, as any of our wind-inſtruments. Lucian (*t*) is the only ancient writer who has dared to doubt of the muſical abilities of ſwans. He tells us, with his uſual pleaſantry, that he tried to aſcertain the fact, by making a voyage on the coaſts of Italy; and relates, that being arrived at the mouth of the Po, he and his friends had the curioſity to ſail up that river, in order to aſk the watermen and inhabitants concerning the tragical fate of Phaeton; and to examine

(*t*) *De Electr. ſeu Cygnis.*

the

the poplars, deſcendants of his ſiſters, whom they expected to ſhed amber inſtead of tears; as well as to ſee the ſwans repreſent the friends of this unfortunate prince, and hear them ſing lamentations and ſorrowful hymns, night and day, to his praiſe, as they uſed to do, in the character of muſicians, and favourites of Apollo, before their change. However, theſe good people, who never had heard of any ſuch *metamorphoſes*, freely confeſſed, that they had indeed ſometimes ſeen ſwans in the marſhes near the river, and had heard them croak and ſcream in ſuch a diſagreeable manner, that crows and jays would be ſirens, compared with them, in a muſical capacity; but that they had never even dreamed of ſwans ſinging a ſingle note that was pleaſing, or fit to be heard.

But to return once more to Apollo. Plutarch, who was himſelf a prieſt of that God, impreſſed with the higheſt reſpect and veneration for him and for muſic, in his Dialogue upon that art, makes one of his interlocutors ſay, that an invention ſo uſeful and charming could never have been the work of man, but muſt have originated from ſome God; ſuch as Apollo, the inventor of the flute and lyre, improperly attributed to Hyagnis, Marſyas, Olympus, and others; and the proofs he urges in ſupport of this aſſertion, ſhew, if not its truth, at leaſt that it was the common and received opinion.

All dances and ſacrifices, ſays he, uſed in honour of Apollo, are performed to the ſound of flutes: the ſtatue of this God at Delos, erected in the time of Hercules, had in its right hand a bow, and on the left ſtood the three Graces, who were furniſhed with three kinds of inſtruments: the lyre, the flute, and ſyrinx. The youth alſo, who carries the laurel of Tempe to Delphos, is accompanied by one playing on the flute: and the ſacred preſents formerly ſent to Delos by the Hyperboreans, were conducted thither to the ſound of lyres, flutes, and ſhepherds' pipes. He ſupports theſe facts by the teſtimonies of the poets Alcæus, Alcman, and the poeteſs Corinna.

It ſeems as if the account of Apollo could not be concluded by any thing that is left to offer on the ſubject, ſo properly, as by

part of the celebrated hymn of Callimachus, which during many ages was performed and heard by the moſt poliſhed people on the globe, with the utmoſt religious zeal, at the feſtivals inſtituted to this God. What has already been ſaid may, perhaps, throw ſome light upon this beautiful compoſition, which, in return, will explain and confirm the reaſons already aſſigned for the high veneration in which this divinity was held by antiquity.

HYMN to APOLLO

Hah! how the laurel, great APOLLO's tree,
And all the cavern ſhakes! far off, far off,
The man that is unhallow'd: for the God
Approaches. Hark! he knocks: the gates
Feel the glad impulſe: and the ſever'd bars
Submiſſive clink againſt their brazen portals,
Why do the Delian palms incline their boughs,
Self-mov'd: and hov'ring ſwans, their throats releas'd
From native ſilence, carol ſounds harmonious?
Begin, young men, the hymn: let all your harps
Break their inglorious ſilence; and the dance,
In myſtic numbers trod, explain the muſic.
But firſt by ardent pray'r, and clear luſtration
Purge the contagious ſpots of human weakneſs:
Impure no mortal can behold Apollo.
So may you flouriſh, favour'd by the God,
In youth with happy nuptials, and in age
With ſilver hairs, and fair deſcent of children;
So lay foundations for aſpiring cities,
And bleſs your ſpreading colonies' encreaſe.
Pay ſacred reverence to Apollo's ſong;
Leſt watchful the far-ſhooting God emit
His fatal arrows. Silent Nature ſtands;
And ſeas ſubſide, obedient to the ſound
Of Io! Io Pæan! nor dares Thetis
Longer bewail her lov'd Achilles' death:

For

For Phœbus was his foe. Nor muſt ſad Niobe
In fruitleſs ſorrow perſevere, or weep
Even thro' the Phrygian marble. Hapleſs mother!
Whoſe fondneſs could compare her mortal offspring
To thoſe which fair Latona bore to Jove.
Io! again repeat ye, Io! Pæan!

Recite Apollo's praiſe till night draws on,
The ditty ſtill unfiniſh'd; and the day
Unequal to the Godhead's attributes
Various, and matter copious of your ſongs.
Sublime at Jove's right hand Apollo ſits,
And thence diſtributes honour, gracious king,
And theme of verſe perpetual. From his robe
Flows light ineffable: his harp, his quiver,
And Lyctian bow, are gold: with golden ſandals
His feet are ſhod. How rich! how beautiful!
Beneath his ſteps the yellow min'ral riſes;
And earth reveals her treaſures. Youth and beauty
Eternal deck his cheek: from his fair head
Perfumes diſtil their ſweets; and chearful Health,
His duteous hand-maid, through the air improv'd
With laviſh hand diffuſes ſcents ambroſial.
The ſpearman's arm by thee, great God, directed,
Sends forth a certain wound. The laurel'd bard
Inſpir'd by thee, compoſes verſe immortal.
Taught by thy art divine, the ſage phyſician
Eludes the urn, and chains, or exiles death.

Perpetual fires ſhine hallow'd on thy altars,
When annual the Carnean feaſt is held:
The warlike Libyans, clad in armour, lead
The dance, with clanging ſwords and ſhields, they beat
The dreadful meaſure: in the chorus join
Their women, brown but beautiful; ſuch rites
To thee well pleaſing.———

The

——————— The mon'ſtrous Python
Durſt tempt thy wrath in vain; for dead he fell,
To thy great ſtrength, and golden arms unequal.
Io! while thy unerring hand elanc'd
Another and another dart, the people
Joyful repeated *Io! Io Pean!*
Elance the dart, Apollo: for the ſafety
And health of man, gracious thy mother bore thee!

PRIOR.

The MUSES.

After the enquiries that have been made, perhaps with too much minuteneſs, concerning the origin of that worſhip which antiquity paid to Mercury and Apollo, it ſeems neceſſary to ſay ſomething of other Pagan divinities, among whoſe attributes muſic has a place. Of this claſs, as moſt intimately connected with the God of Song, are the *Muſes*, thoſe celebrated female muſicians, ſo dear to men of genius, and lovers of art, that it is hardly poſſible for them to hear their names mentioned, without feeling a ſecret and refined pleaſure.

Theſe are the only Pagan divinities whoſe worſhip has been continued through all ſucceeding changes in the religion and ſentiments of mankind. Profeſſors of every liberal art in all the countries of Europe, ſtill revere them, particularly the poets, who ſeldom undertake the ſlighteſt work, without invoking their aid.

It has been aſſerted by ſome ancient writers, that at firſt they were only three in number; but Homer, Heſiod, and other profound mythologiſts, admit of nine (*u*).

In his Hymn to Apollo, Homer ſays

——By turns the *Nine* delight to ſing

(*u*) It has been ſaid, that when the citizens of Sicyon directed three ſkilful ſtatuaries to make each of them ſtatues of the three Muſes, they were all ſo well executed, that they did not know which to chuſe, but erected all nine, and that Heſiod and Homer only gave them names.

And

And Heſiod, in his Theogony, names them all. They are ſaid ſeverally to preſide over ſome art or ſcience, as muſic, poetry, dancing, aſtronomy. And each of their names has been ſuppoſed to include ſome particular allegory: *Clio*, for inſtance, has been thus called, becauſe thoſe who are praiſed in verſe, acquire immortal fame; *Euterpe*, on account of the pleaſure accruing to thoſe who hear learned poetry, &c.

An Epigram of Callimachus, in the *Anthologia*, gives the attributes of the Nine Muſes in as many lines.

Calliope the deeds of heroes ſung;
The choral lyre by *Clio* firſt was ſtrung;
Euterpe the full tragic chorus found;
Melpomene taught lutes their ſoothing ſound;
Terpſichore the flute's ſoft pow'r diſplay'd;
By *Erato* the pious hymn was made;
Polymnia to the dance her care applied;
Urania wiſe, the ſtarry courſe deſcried;
And gay *Thalia*'s glaſs was life and manners' guide (*x*).

This epigram does not, however, exactly correſpond with the ideas of other poets, or with thoſe of the ancient painters, in characteriſing the attributes of the Muſes.

(*x*) Καλλιοπη σοφιην ἡρωιδος ἑυρεν ἀοιδης·
Κλειω, καλλιχορε κιθαρης μελιηδεα μολπην·
Ευτερπη, τραγ.κοιο χορε πολυηχεα φωνην·
Μελπομενη θνητοισι μελιφρονα βαρβιτον ἡρε·
Τερψιχορη χαριεσσα πορεν τεχνημονας ἀυλες,
Υμνες αθανατων Ερατω πολυτερπεας ἑυρε·
Τερψιας ὀρχηθμοιο Πολυμνια παντσοφος ἑυρεν.
[Αρμονιην πασαισι Πολυμνια δωκεν ἀοιδαις·]
Ουρανιη πολον ἑυρε γαι ὁυρανιων χορον ἀστρων·
Κωμικον ἑυρε Θαλεια βιον τε και ἠθεα κεδνα.

There is a redundant line in this epigram, which, though it was evidently intended to convey the attributes of the nine Muſes in *as many* lines, yet Polymnia occupies two, which characterize her very differently. I have preferred that which I thought the moſt intelligible. Natalis Comes has given a Latin verſion of theſe mythological verſes, in which he has not adhered very cloſely to the original.

Calliope *reperit ſapientes provida cantus*
Heroum. Clio *citharam clariſſima. Vocem*
Mimorum Euterpe *tragicis lætata querelis.*
Melpomene *dulcem mortalibus addidit ipſa*
Barbiton. Et ſuavis tibi tradita tibia
fertur
Terpſichore. *Divumque* Erato *mox protulit*
hymnos.
Harmoniam cunctiſque Polymnia *cantibus*
addit.
Euranie *cæli motus atque aſtra notavit.*
Comica vita tibi eſt, moreſque Thalia *reperti.*

Among

Among the capital pictures dug out of Herculaneum, are portraits of Apollo, and the Muſes, his companions: from which engravings have been publiſhed in the ſecond volume of *Le Pitture antiche d' Ercolano.*

Portrait I. The God is ſeated on a throne, with a cithara of eleven ſtrings in his left hand, in the character of *Muſagetes*, or conductor of the Muſes (*x*).

II. *Clio* ſeated, her head crowned with laurels; in her left hand ſhe holds an open volume, in which ſhe appears to be reading. On the outſide is written ΚΛΕΙΩ. ΙCΤΟΡΙΑΝ. *Clio* invented *Hiſtory*. At her feet are ſix other rolls, or antique volumes, incloſed in a cylindrical caſe.

The picture of *Euterpe* had been ſo much injured by time, that it could not be engraved. But the poets uſually give her the flute, as her ſymbol.

Dulciloquos calamos *Euterpe flatibus urget.*
Auſon. Idyl. 20.

III. ΘΑΛΕΙΑ ΚωΜΟΔΙΑΝ (*y*). *Thalia* invented *Comedy*. This Muſe is repreſented with a comic maſk in her left hand. See Plate IV. No. 3.

IV. ΜΕΛΠΟΜΕΝΗ ΤΡΑΓωΔΙΑΝ. *Melpomene* invented *Tragedy*. A tragic maſk is placed in her left hand.

V. ΤΕΡΨΙΧΟΡΗ ΛΥΡΑΝ. *Terpſichore* preſides over the *Lyre*. The inſtrument which ſhe holds is ſmall, and has but ſeven ſtrings. The belly of it is in a round form. It is diſputed whether this lyre is the ſame as the cithara or teſtudo. The belly and ſides are ſomething like thoſe of the latter. But whatever name this kind of inſtrument had in early times, there can be no doubt of lyre

(*x*) Mythology choſe Apollo to preſide over arts and ſciences. but gave him the nine Muſes for his companions, becauſe the ancients were perſuaded, that without the concurrence of a ſex, which every where diffuſes grace and pleaſure, arts and ſciences would have been productive of nothing but diſguſt and melancholy to mankind.

(*y*) This ſhould be written Κωμῳδιαν. The word, however, has been faithfully tranſcribed from the plate in the Antiquities of Herculaneum, where it is ſaid to be erroneouſly written in the original inſcription upon the baſe of the ſtatue; a proof that there were artiſts among the ancients who could not *ſpell*, as well as among the moderns.

being

being the general appellation for it when it was painted. See Plate V. No. 3.

VI. ΕΡΑΤω ΨΑΛΤΡΙΑΝ. *Erato* invented the *Pſaltery*, or long lyre of nine ſtrings. This inſtrument is more than twice the length of that in the hand of Terpſichore. See Plate V. No. 4. The Muſe holds a plectrum in her right hand, and ſeems playing with the fingers of her left.

VII. ΠΟΛΥΜΝΙΑ· ΜΥΘΟΥC. *Polhymnia the Fabuliſt.* She is here repreſented as the patroneſs of mimes, with her finger on her mouth, in token of ſilence. The painter differs in characteriſing this Muſe from moſt of the poets and mythologiſts, who make her the inventreſs of hymns to the Gods. However, there are etymologiſts, among whom are Plutarch and Nonnus, who derive her name from Μνημη, *tradition*, alluding to the fables and tales of antiquity, which the mimes and dancers uſually made the ſubjects of their performance. *Nonnus Dionyſ.* V. v. 104, *et ſeq.* ſays,

Sweet Polhymnia, ſee advance,
Mother of the graceful dance:
She who taught th' ingenious art,
Silent language to impart:
Signs for ſentiment ſhe found,
Eloquence without a ſound:
Hands loquacious ſave her lungs,
All her limbs are ſpeaking tongues.

VIII. ΟΥΡΑΝΙΑ. *Urania*, with a globe in her hand, as the patroneſs of aſtronomy.

IX. ΚΑΛΛΙΟΠΗ ΠΟΙΗΜΑ. *Calliope* invented *Poetry*; ſhe is painted with a roll of paper, or volume, in her hand, as the Muſe who preſides over heroic verſe, or epic poetry; the invention of which was given to her by Callimachus in the epigram juſt cited:

Καλλιοπη σοφιην ἡρωιδος ευρεν αοιδης.

Calliope th' heroic canto found.

The ancients had numberleſs ingenious and fanciful ideas concerning the Muſes; and ſome very whimſical and diverting: Fulgentius informs us that Apollo was painted with a cithara of *ten ſtrings*, as a ſymbol of the union of the God with the nine Muſes, and to ſhew that the human voice is compoſed of *ten parts*; of which the four firſt are the front *teeth*, placed one againſt the other, ſo uſeful for the appulſe of the tongue, in forming ſounds, that, without any one of them, a whiſtle would be produced inſtead of a voice; the fifth and ſixth are the two *lips*, like cymbals, which, by being ſtruck againſt each other, greatly facilitate ſpeech; the ſeventh is the *tongue*, which ſerves as a plectrum to articulate ſounds; the eighth is the *palate*, the concave of which forms a belly to the inſtrument; the ninth is the *throat*, which performs the part of a flute; and the tenth the *lungs*, which ſupply the place of bellows.

Pythagoras, and, afterwards, Plato, make them the ſoul of the planets in our ſyſtem; whence the imaginary muſic of the ſpheres (*z*).

The Pythagoreans and Platoniſts, ſays Mr. Stillingfleet (*a*), ſuppoſed the univerſe itſelf, and all its parts, to be formed on the principles of harmony. And this ſuppoſition does not ſeem to have been merely figurative; there are traces of the harmonic principle ſcattered up and down, ſufficient to make us look on it as one of the great and reigning principles of the inanimate world; and though we have no proof, or indeed any reaſon to believe, that the Greeks were acquainted with the foundation of ſome of their philoſophical opinions, yet what that very ſagacious philoſopher, Mr. Maclaurin, obſerves (*b*), concerning the aſtronomy of Pythagoras, ſeems highly probable. "When we find, ſays he, their accounts (i. e. of the Greeks) to be very imperfect, it ſeems reaſonable to ſuppoſe they had ſome hints only, from ſome more knowing nations, who had made greater advances in philoſophy."

(*z*) The compariſon and union of the elements of aſtronomy and muſic are of much higher antiquity than the time of Pythagoras, if the hymn to Apollo, which is *attributed* to Orpheus, be genuine. See Ορφεως Υμνοι, p. 226.

(*a*) *Principles and Power of Harmony.*

(*b*) *Phil. Diſcov. of Newton*, &c. p. 35.

Thoſe

Thoſe more knowing nations I ſuppoſe to have been the Egyptians, from whom the firſt and great outlines of every art and ſcience originally came. Maclaurin gives us one inſtance of the Pythagorean doctrine, which could hardly be ſuppoſed to be of Greek original, *the harmony of the ſpheres*, and which, in conformity with Dr. Gregory, he explains as follows: "If we ſhould ſuppoſe muſical chords extended from the ſun to each planet, that all theſe chords might become uniſon, it would be requiſite to encreaſe or diminiſh their tenſions, in the ſame proportions as would be ſufficient to render the gravities of the planets equal; and from the ſimilitude of thoſe proportions, the celebrated doctrine of the harmony of the ſpheres is ſuppoſed to have been derived." Certain as this harmonic coincidence is now become, till Sir Iſaac Newton demonſtrated the laws of gravitation in relation to the planets, it muſt have paſſed for the dream of an Utopian philoſopher (*c*).

BACCHUS.

This perſonage ſeems to have acted too important a part in muſical mythology to be omitted: for though he is ſeldom named in modern times, but as a ſenſual encourager of feaſt and jollity, he was regarded in a more reſpectable light by the ancients, who worſhipped him in different countries under different appellations.

It is natural to ſuppoſe that the Greeks and Romans, as uſual, beſtowed upon the *one* Bacchus which they worſhipped, the ſeveral actions and attributes of the *many* divinities known by that name, and by other equivalent denominations in different countries. However, antiquity chiefly diſtinguiſhed two Gods under the title of Bacchus: that of Egypt, the ſon of Ammon, and the ſame as Oſiris; and that of Thebes in Bœotia, the ſon of Jupiter and Semele.

The Egyptian Bacchus was brought up at Nyſa, a city of Arabia Felix, whence he acquired the name of *Dionyſius*, or the God

(*c*) See *Principles and Power of Harmony*, p. 146.

of Nyſa; and this was the conqueror of India. Though this Bacchus of the Egyptians was one of the elder Gods of Egypt, yet the ſon of Semele was the youngeſt of the Grecian deities. Diodorus Siculus tells us, that Orpheus firſt deified the ſon of Semele by the name of Bacchus, and appointed his ceremonies in Greece, in order to render the family of Cadmus, the grandfather of the Grecian Bacchus, illuſtrious.

The Great Bacchus, according to Sir Iſaac Newton (*d*), flouriſhed but one generation before the Argonautic expedition. This Bacchus, ſays Hermippus (*e*), was potent at ſea, conquered eaſtward as far as India, returned in triumph, brought his army over the Helleſpont, conquered Thrace, and left muſic, dancing, and poetry there. And, according to Diodorus Siculus, it was the ſon of Semele who invented farces and theatres, and who firſt eſtabliſhed a muſic ſchool, exempting from all military functions ſuch muſicians as diſcovered great abilities in their art; on which account, ſays the ſame author, muſicians formed into companies, have ſince frequently enjoyed great privileges.

It has already been obſerved, that the dithyrambics which gave birth to dramatic repreſentations, are as ancient as the worſhip of Bacchus in Greece; and there is little doubt but that the ceremonies of his myſteries gave riſe to the pomp and illuſions of the theatre. Many of the moſt ſplendid exhibitions upon the ſtage, for the entertainment of the people of Athens and Rome, being performed upon the feſtivals of Bacchus, gave occaſion to the calling all thoſe that were employed in them, whether for ſinging, dancing, or reciting, *ſervants of Bacchus*.

Pauſanias, in his Attics, ſpeaks of a place at Athens, conſecrated to *Bacchus*, the *ſinger*; thus named, he ſays, for the ſame reaſon as Apollo is called the chief, and conductor of the Muſes. Whence it ſhould ſeem that Bacchus was regarded by the Athenians not only as the God of wine, but of *ſong*; and it muſt be owned, that his followers, in their cups, have been much inclined to ſinging ever ſince. Indeed we are certain, that in none of the orgies,

(*d*) *Chron.* p. 191. (*e*) *Athenæus*, lib. i.

proceſſions,

proceſſions, triumphs, and feſtivals, inſtituted by the ancients to the honour and memory of this prince of *bons vivans*, muſic was forgotten, as may be ſtill gathered from ancient ſculpture, where we find not only that muſicians, male and female, regaled him with the lyre, the flute, and with ſong; but that he was accompanied by fauns and ſatyrs playing upon timbrels, cymbals, bagpipes, and horns; theſe Suidas calls his minſtrels; and Strabo gives them the appellations of *Bacchi, Sileni, Satyri, Bacchæ, Lenæ, Thyæ, Mamillones, Naiades, Nymphæ*, and *Tityri*.

Theſe repreſentations have furniſhed ſubjects for the fineſt remains of ancient ſculpture *(f)*; and the moſt voluptuous paſſages of ancient poetry are deſcriptions of the orgies and feſtivals of Bacchus.

The *Orgia*, or feaſts and ſacrifices performed in honour of this God in Greece, were chiefly celebrated on the mountains of Thrace by wild diſtracted women called *Bacchæ* (*g*).

They had certainly their riſe in Egypt, where Oſiris was the model of the Grecian Bacchus; from thence they paſſed into Greece, Italy, Gaul; and were adopted almoſt throughout the whole pagan world. They were at firſt performed with ſimplicity and decorum; but afterwards they degenerated into ſo much folly and licentiouſneſs, that hiſtorians aſſure us the debaucheries practiſed in them during the night time were ſo enormous, as to oblige the Roman ſenate, in the 556th year of the city, 186 B. C. to aboliſh them entirely throughout the Roman dominions (*h*).

Modern writers upon mythology pretend to inform us in what theſe orgies conſiſted, as minutely as if they had been initiated; but it is hardly poſſible for credulity itſelf to imagine, that what was ſo great a myſtery to the ancients themſelves, ſhould be no ſecret now.

All we can be certain of, at this diſtance of time, is, that Greece had three ſolemnities known by the name of *Orgia*, which were

(*f*) See *Mich. Angelo*; *de la Chauſſe*; *Montfaucon*; & *Gori*.

(*g*) The Orgies of Bacchus have furniſhed Æſchylus with a ſubject for one of his tragedies, whence may be acquired a truer idea of them, before their corruption, than from any other remains of antiquity.

(*h*) Livy, *Dec.* 4. *lib.* xxix. *cap.* 8. *et ſeq.*

dedi-

dedicated to Bacchus, to Cybele, and to Ceres: and that each of them had many ceremonies peculiar to itſelf: the preſent enquiries, however, ſhall be confined to the muſic which accompanied the public proceſſions of Bacchus.

The orgies being a commemoration of the march of the elder Bacchus into India, and that prince having had in his train muſicians of both ſexes, ſatyrs, and fauns, or men equipped like fauns and ſatyrs, theſe were afterwards employed in the proceſſions and orgies, and formed into bands of muſic, playing upon drums and cymbals, and crying out *Evohe Bacche!*

In the Juſtinian garden at Rome there is a marble vaſe of moſt precious workmanſhip, upon which is a repreſentation of theſe Orgies of Bacchus. This vaſe, from the beauty of the ſculpture, is ſuppoſed to be by the hand of Saurus (*i*). The whole pomp of one of theſe proceſſions is there admirably repreſented; in which are introduced Bacchus, the Bacchanals, the Mænades, the players on flutes, matrons and virgins, with the Crotalum, or cymbalum, and tympanum; fauns and ſatyrs, holding in their hands vaſes and cups; prieſts leading the victims deſtined for ſacrifice, ſuch as the boar, the he-goat, and the bull; and, laſtly, old Silenus, drunk, upon his aſs, which he is hardly able to guide.

With reſpect to Bacchanalian ſongs, as the ancient Greeks, and modern French have at all times had the beſt wine to drink, they ſeem to have been the moſt happy in ſinging its praiſes. Anacreon will authoriſe this opinion with reſpect to the Greeks, and the French have many Anacreons; among whom may be numbered the abbé de Chaulieu, La Chapelle, La Fare, and St. Aulaiſe.

But Bacchus is ſaid by Diodorus (*k*) to have invented *Beer*, for the uſe of mankind in ſuch parts of the globe as are unfit for the culture of the grape; and our gluey potations, with the black juice of Oporto, have ſometimes inſpired the bards of this iſland with wit and jollity in their drinking ſongs. And indeed our

(*i*) It is from thence the drawings of the inſtruments, Plate IV. No. 6, and ſeveral in Plate V. have been taken.

(*k*) *Lib.* iv.

Catches,

Catches, by the ingenuity of the muſical compoſer, are perhaps fraught with more pleaſantry, and are productive of more genuine mirth, than the Bacchanalian hymns of any other people on the globe.

CHAP. II.

Of the Terreſtrial, or Demi-Gods.

HAVING tried to trace the opinions of the wiſeſt men among the Greek hiſtorians, philoſophers, and poets, concerning the muſical diſpoſitions and abilities of the greater order of divinities during their mortal ſtate upon earth, my next attempt will be to collect what has been thought moſt conſonant to reaſon and probability, concerning the *Demi-Gods*.

Among theſe, *Pan* ſeems to merit the firſt place (*l*). The abbé Banier remarks, that if ever the Greeks corrupted ancient hiſtory, it was in fabricating the fable of Pan. According to them, ſays Herodotus, Hercules, Dionyſius or Bacchus, and Pan, were the laſt of all the Gods: however, in the opinion of the Egyptians, Pan was one of the eight great divinities that formed the firſt claſs in their theology, which were the moſt powerful and the moſt ancient of all.

Diodorus makes him one of the attendants upon Oſiris, in his Indian expedition. "Oſiris, ſays this author, took with him Pan, a perſon much reſpected throughout his dominions; for he had not only his ſtatue afterwards placed in all the temples, but a city was built in the Thebaid, which, in honour of Pan, was called *Chemmis*, or *Chammo*, a word that ſignifies in the Egyptian language, the city of Pan."

The ſame author, however tells us, that he was the leader of a troop of fauns and ſatyrs, or wild and ruſtic men, much addicted to ſinging, dancing, and feats of activity, who were preſented to

(*l*) *Julian. Aurelius de Cognominib. Deor. Gentil. Lil. Gyraldus Hiſt. Deor. Synt.* XV. *Ab. Declauſtre Dizion. Mitolog.* tom. iii. p. 41.

Oſiris

Oſiris in Ethiopia; and with whom that prince was ſo much pleaſed, that he retained them in his ſervice.

He was alſo the inventor of the inſtrument called the ſyrinx, or fiſtula; which invention has given birth to a fable in Ovid's Metamorphoſes (*m*).

A nymph of late appear'd, as Dian chaſte,
Whoſe beauteous form all other nymphs ſurpaſs'd;
The pride and joy of fair Arcadia's plains.
Belov'd by deities, ador'd by ſwains,
Syrinx her name; by ſylvans oft purſu'd,
As oft would ſhe the wanton Gods delude.

Deſcending from Lycæus, Pan admires
The matchleſs nymph, and burns with new deſires.
A crown of pine upon his head he wore,
And vainly ſtrove her pity to implore:
For ere he could begin, ſhe took her flight,
And, wing'd by fear, ſhe ſoon was out of ſight,
Nor ſtay'd to hear the courtſhip of the God,
But bent her courſe to Ladon's gentle flood;
There by the river ſtopt, and tir'd before,
Relief from water-nymphs her pray'rs implore.
Now while the am'rous God, with ſpeedy pace
Juſt thought to ſtrain her in a fond embrace,
He fills his arms with reeds, new riſing on the place.
And while he ſighs, his ill ſucceſs to find,
The tender canes were ſhaken by the wind;
And breath'd a mournful air, unheard before,
Which greatly Pan ſurpris'd, yet pleas'd him more.
Admiring this new muſic, Thou, he ſaid,
Who can'ſt not be the partner of my bed,
At leaſt ſhalt be the conſort of my mind,
And often, often to my lips be join'd!
The tuneful reeds he form'd, and wax'd with care,
Which ſtill retain the name of his ungrateful fair.

DRYDEN.

(*m*) *Lib.* i.

Pan

Pan was regarded by the Egyptians, after his apotheoſis, as the God who preſided over the whole univerſe, as Παν, *omne*, implies. He repreſented nature and feſtivity, and was God of the woods and fields, wholly taken up with the pleaſures of a country life; dancing conſtantly with the fauns and ſatyrs, and running after the nymphs, to whom he was ſuch a terror, that it is ſuppoſed the word *Panic* is derived from *Panici terrores*, with which thoſe who were ſaid to have ſeen him were ſeized. Apuleius (*n*), however, gives an agreeable deſcription of him. "By chance the God, Pan, happened to be ſeated on a little eminence near a river, and, always conſtant in his love to the nymph Syrinx, transformed into a reed, he taught her to produce all kinds of agreeable ſounds, while his goats were ſkipping round him, and feeding on the banks."

Lucian deſcribes him as the companion, miniſter, and counſellor of Bacchus. He was a kind of *Scrub*, a drudge, fit for *all work*, having been occaſionally employed in the capacity of ſhepherd, muſician, dancer, huntſman, and ſoldier. In ſhort, he ſerved not only as *maeſtro di capella*, in directing the Bacchanals, but was ſo expert in playing upon flutes, and was ſuch an excellent piper on the fiſtula, that Bacchus was never happy without him. We have the authority of the grave Virgil (*o*), and of the ſentimental and pious Plato (*p*), for his attributes.

After Pan, it ſeems neceſſary to ſpeak of the ſatyrs, of whom the oldeſt, according to Pauſanias, were called Sileni, from Silenus, the governor of Bacchus in his youth, as a hymn, attributed to Orpheus, informs us. Silenus was ſo notable a muſician, that he is not only ſaid to have invented muſical inſtruments, but to have had the courage, like Marſyas, to challenge even Apollo himſelf to a trial of ſkill: though we find by the cataſtrophe that he eſcaped with a whole ſkin (*q*).

Shepherds dreſſed in goat's ſkins have been thought by ſome to have furniſhed the idea of ſatyrs with goat's feet. But it is the

(*n*) *Metamorph.* lib. v.
(*o*) *Eclogue* 2.
(*p*) *Platonis Carmina apud Nat. Comit. Mytholog.* lib. vii. cap. 15.
(*q*) *Pauſanias Corinth.* cap. 22.

opinion of a modern writer (*r*), that the Orang-outang has been the prototype of all the fauns, ſatyrs, Pans, and *Sileni*, deſcribed by the ancient poets, and whoſe forms are come down to us in the works of the painters and ſculptors of antiquity; embelliſhed or disfigured, according to the fancy or genius of the authors; who, having no real models, have given an unbounded ſcope to imagination in repreſenting them. And yet theſe animals ſeem to have been much more numerous formerly than at preſent; witneſs the large troops to which Alexander, when in India, prepared to give battle; and the attack made by Hanno on another large body of them, in an iſland on the coaſt of Africa, where he took three of the females, whoſe ſkins were depoſited in the temple of Juno, and found there by the Romans at the taking of Carthage (*s*)."

Satyr is a name given by ſome authors, ſays M. de Buffon, to the *Orang-outang*, or man of the woods, an animal that differs in form leſs from man than from the Ape, and is only to be found in Africa, and the ſouthern parts of Aſia (*t*). Dr. Tyſon, and the celebrated anatomiſt Cowper, who jointly diſſected one of theſe animals, found in him more ſpecific marks of reſemblance to man, than to any other creature (*u*).

Since the interior parts of Africa and India have been better known, this large ſpecies of Ape, equal in ſize and ſtrength to man, and as fond of women as of his own females, has been frequently ſeen. This animal arms himſelf with ſtones in attacking his enemies, and ſticks in defending himſelf; and, beſides his being without a tail, and having a flat face, his arms, hands, fingers, and nails, are like thoſe of human creatures, and he always walks upright upon his two hinder legs. He has a kind of face and features much reſembling thoſe of man, with ears of the ſame form, hair upon his head, and a beard on his chin: ſo that the civilized Indians make no ſcruple of ranking him among the human ſpecies by the name of Orang-outang, or wild man; though

(*r*) The author of *Recherches Philoſophiques ſur les Americains.*

(*s*) Strabo, *lib.* xv. and *Hannonis Periplum.*

(*t*) *Hiſt. Nat.* tom. ix.

(*u*) *Anat. of the Ourang-outang*, London, 1699. 4to.

the

the Negroes, almoſt equally wild, and quite as ill-favoured, not reflecting that man is more or leſs exalted, in proportion as his reaſon is cultivated, have given them the name of *Pongo*, which implies a beaſt, and not a man. But vices in men ſimilar to thoſe of goats and monkeys, have more frequently furniſhed ideas of a reſemblance between them and thoſe animals, than their figures. This *Orang-outang*, or *Pongo*, is indeed only an animal of the brute kind, though of ſo ſingular a nature, that man can never behold him without a ſecret horror, in comparing him with himſelf, or without being convinced that his own body is not the moſt eſſential part of his nature.

Next to the Satyrs, it ſeems requiſite to ſay ſomething of the *Sirens*, thoſe celebrated ſongſtreſſes of Sicily, who were ranked among the Demi-gods, as well as Demi reps, of antiquity. Hyginus places their birth among the conſequences of the rape of Proſerpine. Others make them daughters of the river Acheloüs, and one of the Muſes (*x*).

——O ye nymphs that from the flood deſcend,
What fault of yours the Gods could ſo offend,
With wings and claws your beauteous forms to ſpoil,
Yet ſave your maiden face, and winning ſmile?
Were you not with her, in Perguſa's bow'rs,
When Proſerpine went forth to gather flow'rs?
Since Pluto in his car the goddeſs caught,
Have you not for her in each climate ſought?
And when on land you oft had ſearch'd in vain,
You wiſh'd for wings to croſs the pathleſs main.
The earth and ſea were witneſs to your care:
The Gods were eaſy, and return'd your pray'r;
With golden wings o'er foamy waves you fled,
And to the ſun your plumy glories ſpread:
But leſt the ſoft enchantment of your ſongs,
And the ſweet muſic of your flattering tongues,
Should quite be loſt, as courteous fates ordain,
Your voice and virgin beauty ſtill remain. GARTH's Ovid.

(*x*) Ovid *Met.* lib. v.

The number of the Sirens was three, and their names Parthenope, Lygea, and Leucoſia. Some make them half women and half fiſh; others, half women and half birds. There are antique repreſentations of them ſtill ſubſiſting, under both theſe forms.

On an Etruſcan vaſe, in the grand duke's collection at Florence, the middle Siren holds a ſyrinx, with ſeven pipes; another plays on the lyre with the plectrum, and the third on a monaulos, or ſingle pipe. Theſe have wings, and birds feet (*y*); and in the *Muſeo* at Portici, there is a fine piece of antique Moſaic, dug out of Herculaneum, which repreſents one of the Sirens in the act of ſinging, another playing upon the flute, and the third upon the lyre.

Pauſanias tells us that the Sirens, by the perſuaſion of Juno, challenged the Muſes to a trial of ſkill in ſinging; and theſe having vanquiſhed them, plucked the golden feathers from the wings of the Sirens, and formed them into crowns, with which they adorned their own heads. And it was, perhaps, in alluſion to this circumſtance, that the proverbial phraſe originated, of one perſon pluming himſelf with the feathers, or talents, of another.

The Argonauts are ſaid to have been diverted from the enchantment of their ſongs, by the ſuperior ſtrains of Orpheus: Ulyſſes, however, had great difficulty in ſecuring himſelf from ſeduction. Circe prepares him for the conflict by the following picture and precepts (*z*):

Next where the *Sirens* dwell you plow the ſeas,
Their ſong is death, and makes deſtruction pleaſe.
Unbleſt the man, whom muſic wins to ſtay
Nigh the curſt ſhore, and liſten to the lay:
No more that wretch ſhall view the joys of life,
His blooming offſpring, or his beauteous wife!

Fly ſwift the dangerous coaſt! let every ear
Be ſtop'd againſt the ſong! 'tis death to hear!

(*y*) See *Gori Muſ. Etruſc.* Claſs ii. p. 288. (*z*) *Odyſ.* lib. xii. ver. 51.

Firm

Firm to the maſt thyſelf with chains be bound,
Nor truſt thy virtue to th' enchanting ſound.
If mad with tranſport, freedom thou demand,
Be every fetter ſtrain'd, and added band to band.

And the hero himſelf, upon his arrival on the coaſt of Sicily, addreſſes his companions in the following admirable lines:

O friends! O ever partners of my woes!
Attend, while I what heav'n foredooms diſcloſe,
Hear all! fate hangs o'er all! on you it lies
To live or periſh; to be ſafe, be wiſe!
In flow'ry meads the ſportive ſirens play,
Touch the ſoft lyre, and tune the vocal lay;
Me, me alone, with fetters firmly bound,
The Gods allow to hear the dangerous ſound.

Then follows the account which Ulyſſes himſelf gives of them (*a*).

While yet I ſpeak the winged galley flies,
And lo! the ſiren ſhores like miſts ariſe.
Sunk were at once the winds; the air above,
And waves below, at once forgot to move!
Some dæmon calm'd the air, and ſmooth'd the deep,
Huſh'd the loud winds, and charm'd the waves to ſleep.
Now ev'ry ſail we furl, each oar we ply,
Laſh'd by the ſtroke, the frothy waters fly;
The ductile wax with buſy hands I mold,
And cleft in fragments, and the fragments roll'd;
Th' aerial region now grew warm with day,
The wax diſſolv'd beneath the burning ray;
Then every ear I barr'd againſt the ſtrain,
And from acceſs of phrenzy lock'd the brain.
Now round the maſt, my mates the fetters roll'd,
And bound me limb by limb, with fold on fold.

(*a*) Ibid.

Then

Then bending to the ſtroke, the active train,
Plunge all at once their oars, and cleave the main.
While to the ſhore the rapid veſſel flies,
Our ſwift approach the ſiren choir deſcries;
Celeſtial muſic warbles from their tongue,
And thus the ſweet deluders tune the ſong.
O ſtay! O pride of Greece, Ulyſſes ſtay,
O ſtop thy courſe, and liſten to our lay!
Bleſt is the man, ordain'd our voice to hear,
The ſong inſtructs the ſoul, and charms the ear.
Approach! thy ſoul ſhall into raptures riſe,
Approach! and learn new wiſdom from the wiſe!
We know whate'er the kings of mighty name
Achiev'd at Ilion in the field of fame;
Whate'er beneath the ſun's bright journey lies,
O ſtay, and learn new wiſdom from the wiſe! (*b*).
Thus the ſweet charmers warbled o'er the main,
My ſoul takes wing to meet the heav'nly ſtrain;
I give the ſign, and ſtruggle to be free:
Swift row my mates, and ſhoot along the ſea;
New chains they add, and rapid urge the way,
Till dying off, the diſtant ſounds decay;
Then ſcudding ſwiftly from the dang'rous ground,
The deafen'd ear unlock'd, the chains unbound.

Pope, in his note on this paſſage, ſays, "there are ſeveral things remarkable in this ſhort ſong of the ſirens: one of the firſt words they ſpeak is the name of Ulyſſes; this ſhews that they had a kind of omniſcience; and it could not fail to raiſe the curioſity of a wiſe man to be acquainted with perſons of ſuch extenſive knowledge. The ſong is well adapted to the character of Ulyſſes; it is not pleaſure or dalliance with which they tempt that hero,

(*b*) There is a remarkable ſimilitude between this promiſe of wiſdom made by the Sirens to Ulyſſes, and that of knowledge from the tree of life, which was offered to our firſt parents, by the ſerpent. *Gen.* iii. *In the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes ſhall be opened; and ye ſhall be as Gods, knowing good and evil.*

but

but a promiſe of wiſdom, and a recital of the war of Troy, and his own glory. Homer, ſays Cicero, ſaw that his fable could not be approved, if he made his hero to be taken with a mere ſong: the Sirens therefore promiſe knowledge, the deſire of which might probably prove ſtronger than the love of his country. To deſire to know all things, whether uſeful or trifles, is a faulty curioſity; but to be led by the contemplation of things great and noble, to a thirſt of knowledge, is an inſtance of greatneſs of ſoul."

Again, in his notes to the twelfth book of the *Odyſſey*, "The critics have greatly laboured to explain what was the foundation of this fiction of the Sirens. We are told by ſome that the Sirens were queens of certain ſmall iſlands, named *Sirenuſæ*, that lie near Capreæ in Italy, and chiefly inhabited the promontory of Minerva, upon the top of which that Goddeſs had a temple, as ſome affirm, built by Ulyſſes. Here there was a renowned academy, in the reign of the Sirens, famous for eloquence and the liberal ſciences, which gave occaſion to the invention of this fable of the ſweetneſs of the voice, and attracting ſongs of the Sirens. But why then are they fabled to be deſtroyers, and painted in ſuch dreadful colours. We are told that at laſt the ſtudents abuſed their knowledge, to the colouring of wrong, the corruption of manners, and the ſubverſion of government: that is, in the language of poetry, they were feigned to be transformed into monſters, and with their muſic to have enticed paſſengers to their ruin, who there conſumed their patrimonies, and poiſoned their virtues with riot and effeminacy. The place is now called Maſſa. Some writers tell us of a certain bay, contracted within winding ſtreights and broken cliffs, which, by the ſinging of the winds, and beating of the waters, returns a delightful harmony, that allures the paſſenger to approach, who is immediately thrown againſt the rocks, and ſwallowed up by the violent eddies. Thus Horace moraliſing, calls idleneſs a Siren,

———*Vitanda eſt improba ſiren*
Deſidia———

But the fable may be applied to all pleaſures in general, which if

too

too eagerly purſued, betray the incautious into ruin; while wiſe men, like Ulyſſes, making uſe of reaſon, ſtop their ears againſt their inſinuations."

All ancient authors agree in telling us, that Sirens inhabited the coaſt of Sicily. The name, according to Bochart, who derives it from the Phœnician language, implies a *Song ſtreſs*. Hence it is probable, that in ancient times there may have been excellent ſingers, but of corrupt morals, on the coaſt of Sicily, who by ſeducing voyagers, gave riſe to this fable. And if this conjecture be well founded, I was too haſty in declaring that the Muſes were the only Pagan divinities who preſerved their influence over mankind in modern times; for every age has its *Sirens*, and every *Siren* her votaries; when beauty and talents, both powerful in themſelves, are united, they become ſtill more attractive.

CHAP. III.

Concerning the Muſic of Heroes and Heroic Times.

Inventus aut qui vitam excoluere per artes,
Quique ſui memores alios fecere merendo (*c*).

IT has been the opinion of the greateſt poets, and the moſt ancient hiſtorians, that in the early ages of the world the chief employment of princes was to tend their flocks, and to amuſe themſelves with ruſtic ſongs, accompanied by rude and artleſs inſtruments.

The poetical deſcriptions of the golden age are pleaſing pictures of an innocent life, and ſimplicity of manners; Ovid and Lucretius ſeem to have exhauſted the ſubject.

But the paſtoral kings of Egypt, and the ſhepherds of Arcadia, have furniſhed themes for a more elegant and polliſhed ſpecies of poetry, without the admiſſion of vice or luxury.

(*c*) Worthies, who life by uſeful arts refin'd,
With thoſe, who left a deathleſs name behind,
Friends of the world, and fathers of mankind!
PITT's *Æneid of Virgil*, Book VI.

After

After this, when mankind, not content with the natural and ſpontaneous productions of the earth, obtained an artificial encreaſe by til'age,

man then, to ſooth the toilſome day,
eaſur'd feet his ſylvan lay;
o'er, he firſt in blithſome vein,
hold Gods the hymning ſtrain (*d*).

GRAINGER.

In proceſs of time, when the human mind was more enlarged and cultivated; when the connexions and intereſts of men and ſtates became more complicated, muſic and poetry extended their influence, and uſe, from the field to the city; and thoſe who before only amuſed themſelves while tending a flock of ſheep, or herd of cattle, were now employed to ſing either with the voice alone, or accompanied with inſtruments, the myſteries of religion, or the valiant deeds performed by heroes in defence of their country. Of this uſe of poetry and muſic, innumerable inſtances may be found in Homer and Virgil. Indeed *finger* was a common name among the Hebrews, Greeks, Romans, and other ancient people, for poet and muſician; employments which, with them, were inſeparable, as no poetry was written but to be ſung, and little or no muſic compoſed, but as an accompaniment to poetry (*e*).

Hence the difficulty of diſcriminating the effects attributed to muſic, from thoſe of poetry and the other arts, which were then ſo much connected with muſic, as to conſtitute an eſſential and indiſpenſable part of it. Every thing that depended on proportion, was included in the ſcience of *Harmony*. Hence every man of ſcience was neceſſarily a muſician, as the ſtudy of *Harmony*, according to its ancient and extenſive ſignification, muſt have employed a very conſiderable part of the time ſpent in the education

(*d*) *Agricola aſſiduo primum ſatiatus aratro.*
Cantavit certo ruſtica verba pede.
Et ſatur arenti primum eſt modulatus avena.
Carmen, ut ornatos diceret ante Deos.
Tibul. *lib.* ii. *Eleg.* 1.

(*e*) Ariſtotle, in his *Poetics*, *cap.* 5. *Quintil. de Inſt. Orator.* lib. i. cap. 10, and *Cicero de Orat.* lib. iii. are very full upon this ſubject.

of thoſe who were intended to fill important and conſpicuous employments in the temple, the ſenate, or the field. This being premiſed, I ſhall proceed to ſpeak of the uſe of muſic in the times which the Greeks diſtinguiſhed by the epithet *heroic*, which may more properly be called poetic times; for, though little better than a blank in hiſtory and chronology, they have notwithſtanding been filled up by the poets and fabuliſts with wonderful events, in the ſame manner as the vacuity in parts of the Pacific ocean have been filled up by navigators and geographers with whales, with dolphins, and with ſea monſters.

In this chapter I ſhall conſider what ancient authors furniſh relative to our ſubject in the times of the *Theban chiefs*, the *Argonauts*, and the *Trojans*, the richeſt and moſt fertile periods in all antiquity for poetic and dramatic events, though they are ſomewhat barren with reſpect to muſic. But as little can be ſaid with certainty concerning the *muſic* of this period, I ſhall chiefly confine my enquiries to *muſicians*, whoſe names are upon record; and ſtripping their biography of fiction and allegory, I ſhall relate only the few hiſtorical facts which are to be found concerning them, in authentic remains of antiquity.

So many fables have been deviſed concerning the firſt poets and muſicians, that a doubt has been thrown even upon their exiſtence. Chiron, Amphion, Orpheus, Linus, and Muſæus, are ſpoken of by the poets and mythologiſts ſo hyperbolically, that the time when, and place where they flouriſhed, will appear to many as little worth a ſerious enquiry as the genealogy of Tom Thumb, or the chronology of a fairy tale. However, though I am ready to part with the miraculous powers of their muſic, I am unwilling that perſons, whoſe talents have been ſo long celebrated, ſhould be annihilated, and their actions cancelled from the records of paſt times.

> "Ev'n from the tomb the voice of nature cries,
> Ev'n in their aſhes live their wonted fires."

But there are characters in hiſtory ſuperior to the devaſtations of time; like thoſe high rocks in the ocean, againſt which the winds

winds and waves are for ever, in vain, expending their fury. Nor can the fame of Orpheus, Linus, and Muſæus, ever be wholly conſigned to oblivion, as long as any one alphabet remains in uſe among mankind. Their works may be deſtroyed, and their exiſtence doubted, but their names muſt be of equal duration with the world. The memory of few tranſactions of importance to mankind, has been loſt ſince letters have been found: and if we are ignorant of the hiſtory of the Egyptian, Aſſyrian, and Perſian monarchies, it is from their having preceded that period. The firſt preceptors of mankind, ſuch as are now the ſubject of my enquiries, had too much buſineſs upon their hands in civilizing their ſavage cotemporaries, to write either the hiſtory of their anceſtors, or their own. Learning was then in too few hands for all its departments to be filled; but ſince its general diffuſion, nothing worth recording has been left untold.

It is impoſſible to particularize within the limits of this work, or even to enumerate, in a General Hiſtory of an art which has ſubſiſted ſo many ages as muſic, all thoſe who have been ſucceſsful in its cultivation. This would require a biographical work, more voluminous than that of Moreri, or Bayle; for as all the firſt poets were likewiſe muſicians, they cannot be ſeparated during the union of their profeſſions. Indeed antiquity has left ample materials ſcattered throughout all literature, for writing the lives of its favourite bards, many of which have been collected by the indefatigable labour of the learned Fabricius *(f)*, and M. Burette (*g*), who have both greatly facilitated and abridged my enquiries: the chief difficulties now remaining, are to ſelect ſuch as are moſt intereſting, and to digeſt them into my work, without allowing them to occupy too large a portion of it, to the excluſion of more important concerns.

Though the Egyptian Thebes is of much higher antiquity than the Grecian, yet this laſt is ſo ancient, and its hiſtory is ſo much involved in darkneſs and poetic fiction, that nothing can be depended upon concerning it, but that it is recorded to have been

(f) Bib. Græc. *(g) Mem. des Inſcrip.*

built by Cadmus, long before the Trojan war, or even the Argonautic expedition; Pauſanias, indeed, gives a liſt of ſixteen kings, who reigned at Thebes in Bœotia, but they are rather the heroes of tragedy, than real hiſtory. Among theſe is

AMPHION, the twin brother of Zethus, who uſurped the crown from Laius, the father of the unfortunate Oedipus. But though Amphion is the firſt and only Theban muſician upon record in theſe early ages, I ſhall be the leſs minute in my account of him, as it is very doubtful whether muſic had any of thoſe obligations to his genius and talents, which the poets, many ages after the time when he is ſaid to have reigned, beſtowed upon him. Homer, indeed, tells us, that to ſecure the crown which he had uſurped, he incloſed the city of Thebes with a wall, fortified with ſeven gates, and many ſtately towers: the poet, however, does not ſay a word of the miraculous power of Amphion's muſic, or of his building the wall by the ſound of his lyre. "For my part, ſays Pauſanias, I believe that Amphion only acquired his muſical reputation from his alliance with the family of Tantalus, whoſe daughter, Niobe, he had married." Pliny (*h*) aſcribes to him, however, the invention of muſic, and of the cithara; and both theſe authors ſay, that Amphion learned muſic in Lydia, and bringing it from that country into Greece, was called the inventor of the Lydian mode.

CHIRON is ſtyled by Plutarch, in his *Dialogue upon Muſic*, the *wiſe Centaur*. Sir Iſaac Newton places his birth in the firſt age after Deucalion's deluge, commonly called the Golden Age; and adds, that he formed the conſtellations for the uſe of the Argonauts, when he was eighty-eight years old, for he was a practical aſtronomer, as well as his daughter Hippo (*i*): he may therefore be ſaid to have flouriſhed in the earlieſt ages of Greece, as he preceded the conqueſt of the Golden Fleece, and the Trojan war.

He is generally called the ſon of Saturn and Philyra, and is ſaid to have been born in Theſſaly among the Centaurs, who were

(*h*) *Lib.* vii. *cap.* 56. (*i*) *Chron.* p. 25.

the

the firſt Greeks that had acquired the art of breaking and riding horſes; whence the poets, painters, and ſculptors, have deſcribed and repreſented them as a compound of man and horſe; and perhaps it was imagined by the Greeks, as well as the Americans, when they firſt ſaw cavalry, that the horſe and the rider conſtituted one and the ſame animal.

Chiron was regarded by the ancients as one of the firſt inventors of medicine, botany, and *chirurgery* (*k*); a word which ſome etymologiſts have derived from his name. He inhabited a grotto, or cave, at the foot of mount Pelion, which from his wiſdom, and great knowledge of all kinds, became the moſt famous and frequented ſchool throughout Greece. Almoſt all the heroes of his time were ambitious of receiving his inſtructions; and Xenophon, who enumerates them, names the following illuſtrious perſonages among his diſciples: Cephalus, Eſculapius, Melanion, Neſtor, Amphiaraus, Peleus, Telamon, Meleager, Theſeus, Hypolitus, Palamedes, Ulyſſes, Mneſtheus, Diomedes, Caſtor and Pollux, Machaon and Podalirius, Antilochus, Æneas, and Achilles. From this catalogue it appears, that Chiron frequently inſtructed both fathers and ſons; and Xenophon has given a ſhort eulogium upon each, which may be read in his works, and which redounds to the honour of the preceptor. The Greek hiſtorian, however, has omitted naming ſeveral of his ſcholars, ſuch as Bacchus, Phœnix, Cocytus, Ariſtæus, Jaſon, and his ſon Medus, Ajax, and Proteſilaus. It is not my intention to characterize all theſe; I ſhall only mention ſuch as intereſt Chiron more particularly.

It is pretended that the Grecian Bacchus was the favourite ſcholar of the Centaur, and that he learned of this maſter the revels, orgies, Bacchanalia, and other ceremonies of his worſhip.

According to Plutarch, it was likewiſe at the ſchool of Chiron that Hercules ſtudied muſic, medicine, and juſtice; though Diodorus Siculus tells us that Linus was the muſic-maſter of this hero. Theſe are points which it is now not eaſy to ſettle; nor are

(*k*) *Schol. Hom. Il.* iv. *v.* 219. *Schol. Plin. lib.* vii. *cap.* 56, *ſect.* 57. *Arat. Phænom. v.* 43. *Hygin. Fab.* 274.

they

they of any other conſequence to our enquiries, than ſerving as proofs, that ancient authors all agreed in thinking it natural and neceſſary for heroes to have been inſtructed in muſic. *Nec fides didicit, nec natare*, was, in antiquity, a reproach to every man above the rank of a plebeian.

But among all the heroes who have been diſciples of this Centaur, no one reflected ſo much honour upon him as Achilles, whoſe renown he in ſome meaſure ſhared, and to whoſe education he in a particular manner attended, being his grandfather by the mother's ſide. Apollodorus tells us that the ſtudy of muſic employed a conſiderable part of the time which he beſtowed upon his young pupil, as an incitement to virtuous actions, and a bridle to the impetuoſity of his temper. One of the beſt remains of antique painting now ſubſiſting, is a picture upon this ſubject, dug out of Herculaneum, in which Chiron is teaching the young Achilles to play on the lyre.

The death of this philoſophic muſician was occaſioned, at an extreme old age, by an accidental wound in the knee with a poiſoned arrow, ſhot by his ſcholar, Hercules, at another. He was placed after his death by Muſæus among the conſtellations, through reſpect for his virtues, and in gratitude for the great ſervices which he had rendered the people of Greece (*l*).

The ancients have not failed to attribute to him ſeveral writings; among which, according to Suidas (*m*), are *precepts*, ὑποθηκας, in verſe, compoſed for the uſe of Achilles; and a medicinal treatiſe on the *Diſeaſes incident to Horſes*, and other quadrupeds, ἱππιατρικον; the lexicographer even pretends, that it is from this work he derived his name of *Centaur*.

Fabricius (*n*) gives a liſt of the works attributed to Chiron, and diſcuſſes the claims which have been made for others to the fame

(*l*) Sir Iſaac Newton ſays, in proof of the conſtellations being formed by Chiron and Muſæus for the uſe and honour of the Argonauts, that nothing later than that expedition was delineated on the original ſphere; according to the ſame author, Chiron lived till after the Argonautic expedition, in which he had two grandſons. *Chronol.* p. 151.

(*m*) *Voc.* Χειρων.

(*n*) *Bib. Græc.* vol. i.

writings;

writings; and in vol. xiii. he gives him a diſtinguiſhed place in his Catalogue of ancient Phyſicians.

Next to Chiron, LINUS, and Orpheus, ſeem to have been the moſt ancient poets and muſicians of Greece; but to determine whether Linus was the maſter of Orpheus, or Orpheus of Linus, would be as vain to attempt, as difficult to accompliſh. All that can be done at this diſtance of time, is to compare the opinions of ancient writers upon the ſubject, and to incline to the moſt numerous and reſpectable evidence: and in purſuing this method, it appears that the majority are in favour of the ſuperior antiquity of Linus. No teſtimony places him in a more remote period, or does more honour to his memory, than that of Herodotus, already cited (*o*). According to archbiſhop Uſher, he flouriſhed about 1280 years before Chriſt, and he is mentioned by Euſebius (*p*) among the poets who wrote before the time of Moſes. Diodorus Siculus, who is very diffuſive in his account of Linus (*q*), tells us, from Dionyſius of Mitylene, the hiſtorian, who was cotemporary with Cicero, that Linus was the firſt among the Greeks who invented verſe and muſic, as Cadmus firſt taught them the uſe of letters. The ſame writer likewiſe attributes to him an account of the exploits of the firſt Bacchus, and a treatiſe upon Greek Mythology, written in Pelaſgian characters, which were alſo thoſe uſed by Orpheus, and by Pronapides, the preceptor of Homer. Diodorus ſays that he added the ſtring *Lichanos* to the Mercurian lyre, and gives to him the invention of rhythm and melody, which Suidas, who regards him as the moſt ancient of lyric poets, confirms (*r*). He is ſaid by many ancient writers to have had ſeveral diſciples of great renown, among whom were Hercules, Thamyris, and, according to ſome, Orpheus.

Hercules, ſays Diodorus, in learning of Linus to play upon the lyre, being extremely dull and obſtinate, provoked his maſter to

(*o*) P. 202.
(*p*) *Præp. Evang.*
(*q*) *Lib.* iii. *cap.* 3.
(*r*) Mr. Marpurg tells us, I know not from what authority, that Linus invented *cat-gut* ſtrings for the uſe of the lyre, which, before his time, was only ſtrung with thongs of leather, or with different threads of flax twiſted together. Geſchichte der MUSIK. Page 17.

ſtrike

ſtrike him, which ſo enraged the young hero, that inſtantly ſeizing the lyre of the muſician, he beat out his brains with his own inſtrument. Heroes are generally impatient of controul, and not often gifted with a taſte for refined pleaſures; hence, relying merely on corporal force, their mental faculties, feeble perhaps by nature, are ſeldom fortified by education.

With reſpect to the dirges, which Plutarch, from Heraclides of Pontus, mentions as written by Linus, I find no account of them in any other ancient author. It appears, however, that his death has given birth to many ſongs of that kind, which have been compoſed in honour of his memory. A feſtival was likewiſe inſtituted by the name of *Linia*, for the celebration of his virtues; and ſo numerous were his inventions, and various the periods and places in which different authors fix them, that ſome have tried to reconcile theſe jarring accounts, by ſuppoſing that there were three ſeveral illuſtrious perſonages of that name; a ſuppoſition which I ſhall not pretend either to affirm or deny.

"The Thebans, ſays Pauſanias (*s*), aſſure us, that Linus was buried in their city; and that Philip, the ſon of Amyntas, after the battle of Chæronæa, which was fatal to the Greeks, excited by a dream, removed his bones into Macedon, whence, by counſel received in another dream, he ſent them back to Thebes; but time has ſo defaced his tomb, that it is no longer diſcoverable."

Homer (*t*) has paid a tribute to the memory of Linus, in his deſcription of the ſhield of Achilles.

To theſe a youth awakes the warbling ſtrings,
Whoſe tender lay the fate of Linus ſings;
In meaſur'd dance behind him move the train,
Tune ſoft the voice, and anſwer to the ſtrain (*u*). POPE.

(*s*) *In Bœotic.*
(*t*) *Lib.* xviii. *ver.* 569.
(*u*) *Lib.* xviii. In his notes upon theſe verſes, Mr. Pope ſays, "there are two interpretations of them in the original. That which I have choſen is confirmed by the teſtimony of Herodotus, *lib.* ii. and Pauſanias, *Bœoticis*. Linus was the moſt ancient name in poetry, the firſt upon record who invented verſe and meaſure amongſt the Greeks. There was a ſolemn cuſtom among them, of bewailing annually the death of their firſt poet. Pauſanias informs us, that before the yearly ſacrifice to the Muſes

ORPHEUS is one of the moſt ancient and venerable names among the poets and muſicians of Greece. His reputation was eſtabliſhed as early as the time of the Argonautic expedition, in which he was himſelf an adventurer; and is ſaid by Apollonius Rhodius, not only to have incited the Argonauts to row by the ſound of his lyre, but to have vanquiſhed, and put to ſilence the Sirens, by the ſuperiority of his ſtrains (*x*). Yet, notwithſtanding the great celebrity he had ſo long enjoyed, there is a paſſage in Cicero, which ſays, that Ariſtotle, in the third book of his *Poetics*, which is now loſt, *was of opinion that ſuch a perſon as Orpheus never exiſted* (*y*); but as the work of Cicero, in which this paſſage occurs, is in dialogue, it is not eaſy to diſcover what was his own opinion upon the ſubject, the words cited being put into the mouth of Caius Cotta. And Cicero, in other parts of his writings, mentions Orpheus as a perſon of whoſe exiſtence he had no doubts. There are ſeveral ancient authors, among whom is Suidas, who enumerate five perſons of the name of Orpheus, and relate ſome particulars of each. And it is very probable that it has fared with Orpheus as with Hercules, and that writers have attributed to *one* the actions of *many*. But however that may have been, I ſhall not attempt to collect all the fables that poets and mythologiſts have invented concerning him; they are too well known to need inſertion here. I ſhall, therefore, in ſpeaking of him, make uſe only of ſuch materials as the beſt ancient hiſtorians, and the moſt reſpectable writers among the moderns, have furniſhed towards his hiſtory.

Dr. Cudworth, in his *Intellectual Syſtem* (*z*), after examining and confuting the objections that have been made to the being of

Muſes on Mount Helicon, the obſequies of Linus were performed, who had a ſtatue and altar erected to him in that place. Homer alludes to that cuſtom in this paſſage, and was doubtleſs fond of paying this reſpect to the old father of poetry."

(*x*) This celebrated voyage, which is the firſt epoch in the Grecian hiſtory, upon which any ſtreſs can be laid, was undertaken, according to archbiſhop Uſher, and the authors of the *Univerſal Hiſtory*, 1280 B. C. Dr. Blair places it 1263; and Sir Iſaac Newton, and Dr. Prieſtley, 936 years before the ſame period; but all chronologers agree in fixing this enterprize near a century before the Trojan war.

(*y*) Orpheum *Poetam docet* Ariſtoteles *nunquam fuiſſe*. De Nat. Deor. *l.* i. *ſec.* 38.

(*z*) Page 294. 2d Edition.

an Orpheus, and, with his uſual learning and abilities, clearly eſtabliſhing his exiſtence, proceeds, in a very ample manner, to ſpeak of the opinions and writings of our bard, whom he regards not only as the firſt muſician and poet of antiquity, but as a great mythologiſt, from whom the Greeks derived the Thracian religious rites and myſteries.

"It is the opinion, ſays he, of ſome eminent philologers (*a*) of later times, that there never was any ſuch perſon as Orpheus, except in Fairy-land; and that his whole hiſtory was nothing but a mere romantic allegory, utterly devoid of truth and reality. But there is nothing alledged for this opinion from antiquity, except the one paſſage of Cicero concerning Ariſtotle, who ſeems to have meant no more than this, that there was no ſuch poet as Orpheus, anterior to Homer, or that the verſes vulgarly called Orphical, were not written by Orpheus. However, if it ſhould be granted that Ariſtotle had denied the exiſtence of ſuch a man, there ſeems to be no reaſon why his ſingle teſtimony ſhould preponderate againſt the univerſal conſent of all antiquity, which agrees, that Orpheus was the ſon of Oeager, by birth a Thracian, the father, or chief founder of the mychological and allegorical theology amongſt the Greeks, and of all their moſt ſacred religious rites and myſteries; who is commonly ſuppoſed to have lived before the Trojan war, that is, in the time of the Iſraelitiſh judges, or at leaſt to have been ſenior both to Heſiod and Homer, and to have died a violent death, moſt affirming that he was torn in pieces by women. For which reaſon, in the viſion of Herus Pamphylius, in Plato, Orpheus's ſoul paſſing into another body, is ſaid to have choſen that of a ſwan, a reputed muſical animal, on account of the great hatred he had conceived for all women, from the death which they had inflicted on him. And the hiſtoric truth of Orpheus was not only acknowledged by Plato, but alſo by Iſocrates, who lived before Ariſtotle, in his oration in praiſe of Buſiris; and confirmed by the grave hiſtorian Diodorus Siculus (*b*), who ſays, that Orpheus diligently applied himſelf to literature, and when he

(*a*) G. I. Voſſius *De Ar. Po. cap.* 13. (*b*) *Lib.* iv. *cap.* 25.

had

had learned τα μυθολογεμενα, or the mythological part of theology, he travelled into Egypt, where he ſoon became the greateſt proficient among the Greeks, in the myſteries of religion, theology, and poetry. Neither was this hiſtory of Orpheus contradicted by Origen, when ſo juſtly provoked by Celſus, who had preferred him to our Saviour; and, according to Suidas, Orpheus the Thracian was the firſt inventor of the religious myſteries of the Greeks, and that religion was thence called *Threſkeia*, as it was a Thracian invention. On account of the great antiquity of Orpheus, there have been numberleſs fables intermingled with his hiſtory, yet there appears no reaſon that we ſhould diſbelieve the exiſtence of ſuch a man."

The biſhop of Glouceſter (*c*) ſpeaks no more doubtfully of the exiſtence of Orpheus, than of Homer and Heſiod, with whom he ranks him, not only as poet, but alſo as a theologian, and founder of religion. This learned author has thrown new lights upon the character of Orpheus; our purſuits are ſomewhat different; it was his buſineſs to introduce him to his readers as a philoſopher, a legiſlator, and a myſtagogue; and it is mine, after eſtabliſhing his exiſtence, to rank him among the firſt cultivators of muſic and poetry, and to give him that exalted and reſpectable ſtation among illuſtrious bards, which has been allowed him by almoſt all antiquity.

The family of Orpheus is traced by Sir Iſaac Newton for ſeveral generations: "Seſac paſſing over the Helleſpont, conquers Thrace, kills Lycurgus, king of that country, and gives his kingdom, and one of his ſinging women to Oeagrus, the ſon of Tharops, and father of Orpheus; hence Orpheus is ſaid to have had the Muſe Calliope for his mother."

He is allowed by moſt ancient authors to have excelled in poetry and muſic, particularly the latter; and to have early cultivated the lyre, in preference to every other inſtrument; ſo that all thoſe who came after him were contented to be his imitators; whereas he adopted no model, ſays Plutarch; for before his time no other

(*c*) *Div. Leg.* book ii. ſect. 1.

muſic was known, except a few airs for the flute. Muſic was ſo cloſely connected in ancient times with the moſt ſublime ſciences, that Orpheus united it not only with philoſophy, but with theology. He abſtained from eating animal food, and held eggs in abhorrence as aliment, being perſuaded that the egg ſubſiſted before the chicken, and was the principle of all exiſtence. Both his knowledge and prejudices, it is probable, were acquired in Egypt, as well as thoſe of Pythagoras, many ages after.

With reſpect to his abſtaining from the fleſh of oxen, Geſner ſuppoſes it to have proceeded from the veneration ſhewn to that animal, ſo uſeful in tillage, in the Eleuſinian myſteries, inſtituted in honour of Ceres, the Goddeſs of Agriculture. He might have added that, as theſe myſteries were inſtituted in imitation of thoſe eſtabliſhed in Egypt, in honour of Oſiris and Iſis, this abſtinence from animal food was of the like origin, and a particular compliment to Apis. But the abbé Fraguier, in an ingenious Diſſertation upon the *Orphic Life* (*d*), gives ſtill more importance to the prohibition; for as Orpheus was the legiſlator and humanizer of the wild and ſavage Thracians, who were canibals, a total abolition of eating human fleſh could only be eſtabliſhed by obliging his countrymen to abſtain from that of every thing that had life.

With reſpect to theology, Diodorus Siculus tells us, that his father Oeagrus gave him his firſt inſtructions in religion, imparting to him the myſteries of Bacchus, as they were then practiſed in Thrace. He became afterwards a diſciple of the Idæi Dactyli in Crete, and there acquired new ideas concerning religious ceremonies. But nothing contributed ſo much to his ſkill in theological matters as his journey into Egypt, where being initiated into the myſteries of Iſis and Oſiris, or of Ceres and Bacchus, he acquired a knowledge concerning initiations, expiations, funeral rites, and other points of religious worſhip, far ſuperior to any one of his age and country. And being much connected with the deſcendants of Cadmus, the founder of Thebes in Bœotia, he reſolved,

(*d*) *Mem. des Inſcrip.* tom. v. p. 117.

in

in order to honour their origin, to tranſport into Greece the whole fable of Oſiris, and apply it to the family of Cadmus. The credulous people eaſily received this tale, and were much flattered by the inſtitution of the ceremonies in honour of Oſiris. Thus Orpheus, who was held in great veneration at the Grecian Thebes, of which he was become a citizen, admirably adapted this fable, and rendered it reſpectable, not only by his beautiful verſes, and manner of ſinging them, but by the reputation he had acquired of being profoundly ſkilled in all religious concerns.

At his return into Greece, according to Pauſanias (*e*), he was held in the higheſt veneration by the people, as they imagined he had diſcovered the ſecret of expiating crimes, purifying criminals, curing diſeaſes, and appeaſing the angry Gods. He formed and promulgated an idea of a hell, from the funeral ceremonies of the Egyptians, which was received throughout all Greece *(f)*. He inſtituted the myſteries and worſhip of Hecate among the Eginetes (*g*), and that of Ceres at Sparta.

Juſtin Martyr ſays, that he introduced among the Greeks near three hundred and ſixty Gods; Heſiod and Homer purſued his labours, and followed the ſame clue, agreeing in the like doctrines, having all drank at the ſame Egyptian fountain.

Profane authors look upon Orpheus as the inventor of that ſpecies of magic, called *evocation of the manes*, or raiſing ghoſts; and indeed the hymns which are attributed to him are moſtly pieces of incantation, and real conjuration. Upon the death of his wife Eurydice, he retired to a place in Theſprotia, called Aornos, where an ancient oracle gave anſwers to ſuch as evoked the dead. He there fancied he ſaw his dear Eurydice, and at his departure flattered himſelf that ſhe followed him; but upon looking behind him, and not ſeeing her, he was ſo afflicted, that he ſoon died of grief (*h*).

There were perſons among the ancients who made public profeſſion of conjuring up ghoſts, and there were temples where the

(*e*) *Lib.* ix. *cap.* 30.
(*f*) Diod. Sic. *lib.* i.
(*g*) Pauſan. *lib.* ii. *cap.* 30.
(*h*) Ib. *lib.* ix.

cere-

ceremony of conjuration was to be performed. Pauſanias (*i*) ſpeaks of that which was in Theſprotia, where Orpheus went to call up the ghoſt of his wife Eurydice. It is this very journey, and the motive which put him upon it, that made it believed he went down into hell.

But it is not only the poets who ſpeak of conjuring up ſpirits; examples of it are to be found both in ſacred (*k*) and profane hiſtory. Periander, the tyrant of Corinth, viſited the Theſprotians, to conſult his wife about ſomething left with her in truſt; and we are told by the hiſtorians, that the Lacedæmonians having ſtarved Pauſanius their general to death, in the temple of Pallas, and not being able to appeaſe his *manes*, which tormented them without intermiſſion, ſent for the magicians from Theſſaly, who, when they had called up the ghoſts of his enemies, ſo effectually put to flight the ghoſt of Pauſanias, that it never more choſe to ſhew its face.

The poets have embelliſhed this ſtory, and given to the lyre of Orpheus, not only the power of ſilencing Cerberus, and of ſuſpending the torments of Tartarus, but alſo of charming even the infernal deities themſelves, whom he rendered ſo far propitious to his entreaties, as to reſtore to him Eurydice, upon condition that he would not look at her, till he had quitted their dominions; a bleſſing which he ſoon forfeited, by a too eager and fatal affection.

All dangers paſt, at length the lovely bride
In ſafety goes, with her melodious guide;
Longing the common light again to ſhare,
And draw the vital breath of upper air:
He firſt, and cloſe behind him follow'd ſhe,
For ſuch was Proſerpine's ſevere decree.
When ſtrong deſires th' impatient youth invade,
By little caution, and much love betray'd:
A fault which eaſy pardon might receive,
Were lovers judges, or could hell forgive.

(*i*) *In Bœot.* (*k*) Witch of Endor, 1 *Sam.* chap. xxviii. ver. 11 and 12.

For

Plate III

For near the confines of etherial light,
And longing for the glimmering of a ſight,
Th' unwary lover caſt a look behind,
Forgetful of the law, nor maſter of his mind.
Straight all his hopes exhal'd in empty ſmoke;
And his long toils were forfeit for a look.

DRYDEN's Virgil (*l*).

Tzetzes (*m*) explains the fable of his drawing his wife Eurydice from hell by his great ſkill in medicine, with which he prolonged her life, or, in other words, ſnatched her from the grave. Æſculapius, and other phyſicians have been ſaid to have raiſed from the dead thoſe whom they had recovered from dangerous diſeaſes.

The biſhop of Glouceſter, in his learned, ample, and admirable account of the Eleuſinian myſteries, ſays, "While theſe myſteries were confined to Egypt, their native country, and while the Grecian law-givers went thither to be initiated, as a kind of deſignation to their office, the ceremony would be naturally deſcribed in terms highly allegorical.—This way of ſpeaking was uſed by Orpheus, Bacchus, and others; and continued even after the myſteries were introduced into Greece, as appears by the fables of Hercules, Caſtor, Pollux, and Theſeus's deſcent into hell; but the allegory was ſo circumſtanced, as to diſcover the truth concealed under it. So Orpheus is ſaid to get to hell by the power of his harp,

Threïcia fretus citharâ, fidibuſque canoris.

VIRG. *Æn.* VI. *ver.* 119.

that is in quality of law-giver; the harp being the known ſymbol of his laws, by which he humanized a rude and barbarous people.—Had an old poem, under the name of Orpheus, entitled *A Deſcent into Hell* been now extant, it would perhaps have ſhewn us, that no more was meant than Orpheus's *initiation*."

(*l*) *Georgic* IV. (*m*) Chiliad. I. Hiſt. 54. He flouriſhed about 1170.

Many

Many ancient writers in ſpeaking of his death, relate, that the Thracian women, enraged at being abandoned by their huſbands, who were diſciples of Orpheus, concealed themſelves in the woods, in order to ſatiate their vengeance; and, notwithſtanding they poſtponed the perpetration of their deſign ſome time through fear, at length, by drinking to a degree of intoxication, they ſo far fortified their courage as to put him to death. And Plutarch (*n*) aſſures us, that the Thracians ſtigmatized their women, even in his time, for the barbarity of this action (*o*).

Our venerable bard is defended by the author of the *Divine Legation*, from ſome inſinuations to his diſadvantage in Diogenes Laertius. "It is true, ſays he, if uncertain report was to be believed, the myſteries were corrupted very early; for Orpheus himſelf is ſaid to have abuſed them. But this was an art the debauched myſtæ of later times employed to varniſh their enormities; as the deteſted pederaſts of after-ages, ſcandalized the blameleſs Socrates. Beſides, the ſtory is ſo ill laid, that it is detected by the ſureſt records of antiquity: for in conſequence of what they fabled of Orpheus in the myſteries, they pretended he was torn in pieces by the women; whereas it appeared from the inſcription on his monument at Dium in Macedonia, that he was ſtruck dead with lightning, the envied death of the reputed favourites of the Gods."

This monument, at Dium, conſiſting of a marble urn on a pillar, was ſtill to be ſeen in the time of Pauſanias. It is ſaid, however, that his ſepulchre was removed from Libethra, upon mount Olympus, where Orpheus was born, and was thence tranſferred to Dium by the Macedonians, after the ruin of Libethra, by a ſudden inundation, which a dreadful ſtorm had occaſioned. This event is very minutely related by Pauſanias (*p*).

(*n*) *De Ser. Num. Vind.*

(*o*) It is related, that after he had been torn to pieces by the Thracian women, his lyre happening to fall into the Hebrus during the ſcuffle, was carried to Leſbos, where it was taken up, and depoſited in the temple of Apollo. But, according to Lucian, Neanthus, the ſon of Pittacus the tyrant, bought it afterwards of the prieſts, imagining, that by merely touching this inſtrument, he ſhould draw after him trees and rocks: it is true he ſucceeded no otherwiſe than by provoking the dogs in the neighbourhood to tear him to pieces. But though he could not ſhare the fame, he ſhared the fate of the unfortunate Orpheus.

(*p*) *Lib.* ix.

Virgil

Virgil beſtows the firſt place in his Elyſium upon the legiſlators, and *thoſe who brought mankind from a ſtate of nature into ſociety:*

Magnanimi heroës, nati melioribus annis.

At the head of theſe is Orpheus, the moſt renowned of the European law-givers; but better known under the character of poet: for the firſt laws being written in meaſure, to allure men to learn them, and, when learnt, to retain them, the fable would have it, that by the force of harmony, Orpheus ſoftened the ſavage inhabitants of Thrace:

——Threïcius longa cum veſte ſacerdos
Obloquitur numeris ſeptem diſcrimina vocum:
Jamque eadem digitis, jam pectine pulſat eburno (q).
Æn. lib. vi. ver. 645.

The ſeven ſtrings given by the poet in this paſſage to the lyre of Orpheus, is a circumſtance ſomewhat hiſtorical. The firſt Mercurian lyre had, at moſt, but four ſtrings. Others were afterwards added to it by the ſecond Mercury, or by Amphion; but, according to ſeveral traditions preſerved by Greek hiſtorians, it was Orpheus

(q) It is curious to obſerve how inaccurately the moſt elegant writers, and ſublime poets, ſpeak of ſubjects for which they have no taſte, and in which they have acquired no knowledge. Our great poet, Dryden, though he has extended Virgil's three lines into four, has but ill expreſſed the original.

The Thracian bard ſurrounded by the reſt,
There ſtands conſpicuous in his flowing veſt;
His flying fingers, and harmonious quill,
Strike ſeven diſtinguiſh'd notes, and ſev'n at once they fill.

The latter part of this laſt verſe ſays nothing to a muſician, and, indeed, but little to any one elſe: the four fingers and thumb of one hand, and the plectrum in the other, could *fill* at moſt but ſix notes. Mr. Pitt is ſtill more unhappy in his verſion;

There Orpheus, graceful in his long attire,
In *ſeven-diviſions* ſtrikes the ſounding lyre.

Now, a *diviſion* is, unluckily, a technical term in muſic, which implies a rapid flight, either with a voice or inſtrument: when applied to ſinging, it tells us that a great number of notes are given to one ſyllable; but we are as certain as we can be about any thing that concerns ancient muſic, that neither the Greeks nor Romans had either the word or thing in the ſenſe which we annex to *diviſion:* and it is but an aukward way of deſcribing an inſtrument with ſeven diſtinct ſtrings, or ſounds, to ſay that it had ſeven diviſions. It ſeems as if the poet meant no more, by the whole paſſage, than that "the Thracian prieſt (Orpheus) ſung to the *ſeven-ſtringed Lyre*, upon which he ſometimes played with his fingers, and ſometimes with the ivory plectrum."

who completed the ſecond tetrachord, which extended the ſcale to a heptachord, or *ſeven ſounds*, implied by the *ſeptem diſcrimina vocum:* for the aſſertion of many writers, that Orpheus added two new ſtrings to the lyre, which before had ſeven, claſhes with the claims of Pythagoras to the invention of the octachord, or addition of an eighth ſound to the heptachord, which made the ſcale conſiſt of two disjunct, inſtead of two conjunct tetrachords, and of which almoſt all antiquity allows him to have been the inventor. Nor is it eaſy to ſuppoſe, that the lyre ſhould have been repreſented in ancient ſculpture with four or five ſtrings only, if it had had nine ſo early as the time of Orpheus, who flouriſhed long before ſculpture was known in Greece (*r*).

Orpheus is mentioned by Pindar in his 4th Pythic. The paſſage is curious: "Orpheus, ſays he, ſpeaking of the Argonauts, "joins theſe heroes; Orpheus father of the lyre and of ſong; "Orpheus whom the whole univerſe celebrates, and whoſe ſire is "Apollo." Herodotus likewiſe ſpeaks of the Orphic myſteries (*s*). His hymns, ſays Pauſanias, were very ſhort, and but few in number; the Lycomides, an Athenian family, knew them by heart, and had an excluſive privilege of ſinging them, and thoſe of their old poets, Muſæus, Onomacritus, Pamphus, and Olen, at the celebration of the Eleuſinian myſteries; that is, the prieſthood was hereditary in this family (*t*).

Iamblicus tells us, that the poems under the name of Orpheus were written in the Doric dialect, but have ſince been trans-dialected, or moderniſed. It was the common opinion in antiquity

(*r*) What is here ſaid concerning the progreſſive improvements of inſtrumental muſic, muſt be wholly confined to Greece; for proofs have already been given of the Egyptians having been in poſſeſſion of more perfect inſtruments than thoſe juſt mentioned, long before the time when Orpheus is ſuppoſed to have flouriſhed.

(*s*) Pindar was born 521 B. C. and Herodotus 484. Euripides and Ariſtophanes both quote Orpheus; the tragedian was born 477 years B. C. and the comic poet was his cotemporary. Beſides theſe, Apollonius Rhodius, Horace, Virgil, Ovid, Valerius Flaccus, among the poets; and Plato, Iſocrates, Diodorus Siculus, Pauſanias, Apollodorus, Hyginus, Plutarch, and many other philoſophers, hiſtorians, and mythologiſts, cite his works, and ſpeak of him, without throwing the leaſt doubt upon his exiſtence.

(*t*) Suidas gives to Orpheus a ſon, of the name of Leos, whom Pauſanias makes the head of one of the great Athenian tribes; who, by the counſel of the oracle, devoted his three daughters, Λευκοφρυς, *Paſithea*, *Theope*, and *Eubule*, to the ſafety of the ſtate.

that

that they were genuine; but even thoſe who doubted of it, gave them to the earlieſt Pythagoreans, and ſome of them to Pythagoras himſelf, who has frequently been called the follower of Orpheus, and been ſuppoſed to have adopted many of his opinions (*u*).

If I have ſelected with too much ſedulity and minuteneſs whatever ancient and modern writers furniſh relative to Orpheus, it has been occaſioned by an involuntary zeal for the fame of this muſical and poetical patriarch; which, warm at firſt, grew more and more heated in the courſe of enquiry; and, ſtimulated by the reſpect and veneration which I found paid to him by antiquity, I became a kind of convert to this myſtagogue, and eagerly aſpired at initiation into his myſteries——in order to reveal them to my readers.

MUSÆUS is more celebrated by ancient writers as a philoſopher, aſtronomer, epic poet, and prieſt of Ceres, than as a muſician; however, he lived in ſo remote a period, and has ſo far ſurvived his cotemporaries, that he is one of the few melancholy remains of his age, of which poſterity has cheriſhed the memory; he therefore cannot, without injuſtice, be omitted: for whoever looks into the ingenious and well-digeſted biographical chart of Dr. Prieſtley, will find Linus, Orpheus, and Muſæus, placed in

(*u*) Of the poems that are ſtill ſubſiſting under the name of Orpheus, which were collected and publiſhed at Nuremberg, 1702, by Andr. Chriſt. Eſchenbach, and which have been ſince reprinted at Leipſic, 1764, under the title of ΟΡΦΕΩΣ ΑΠΑΝΤΑ, ſeveral have been attributed to Onomacritus, an Athenian, who flouriſhed under the *Piſiſtratidæ*, about 500 years B. C. Their titles are

I. The *Argonautics*, an epic poem.

II. Eighty ſix hymns, which are ſo full of incantations, and magical evocation, that Daniel Heinſius has called them *veram ſatanæ liturgiam* the true liturgy of the devil. Pauſanias, who made no doubt that the hymns ſubſiſting in his time were compoſed by Orpheus, tells us, that, though leſs elegant, they had been preferred, for religious purpoſes, to thoſe of Homer.

III. *De Lapidibus*, a poem on precious ſtones.

IV. *Fragments*, collected by Henry Stevens.

Orpheus has been called the inventor, or at leaſt the propagator, of many arts and doctrines among the Greeks.

1. The *combination of letters*, or the art of writing. 2. *Muſic*, the lyre, or cithara, of ſeven ſtrings, adding three to that of Mercury. 3. *Hexameter verſe*. 4. *Myſteries* and *Theology*. 5. *Medicine*. 6. *Magic* and *Divination*. 7. *Aſtrology*. Servius upon the ſixth *Æneid*, p. 450, ſays Orpheus firſt inſtituted *the harmony of the ſpheres*. 8. He is ſaid likewiſe to have been the firſt who imagined *a plurality of worlds*, or that the moon and planets were inhabited.

ſuch barren regions of hiſtory, that, like the once beautiful cities of Palmyra and Balbec, they now ſtand in a deſert; but great and exalted characters are buoyed up by time, and reſiſt the ſtream of oblivion, which ſoon ſweeps away all ſuch as have not eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves.

Muſæus, according to Plato and Diodorus Siculus, was an Athenian, the ſon of Orpheus, and chief of the Eleuſinian myſteries, inſtituted at Athens in honour of Ceres; or, according to others, he was only the diſciple of Orpheus; but from the great reſemblance which there was between his character and talents, and thoſe of his maſter, by giving a ſtronger outline to the figure, he was called his ſon, as thoſe were ſtyled the children of Apollo, who cultivated the arts, of which he was the titular God.

Muſæus is allowed to have been one of the firſt poets who verſified the oracles. He is placed in the Arundelian marbles, Epoch 15, 1426 B. C. at which time his hymns are there ſaid to have been received in the celebration of the Eleuſinian myſteries. Laertius tell us (*x*), that Muſæus not only compoſed a Theogony, but formed a Sphere for the uſe of his companions; yet, as this honour is generally given to Chiron, it is more natural to ſuppoſe, with Sir Iſaac Newton, that he enlarged it with the addition of ſeveral conſtellations after the conqueſt of the Golden Fleece. The ſphere itſelf ſhews that it was delineated after the Argonautic expedition, which is deſcribed in the aſteriſms, together with ſeveral other more ancient hiſtories of the Greeks, and without any thing later: for the ſhip Argo was the firſt long veſſel which they had built; hitherto they had uſed round ſhips of burthen, and kept within ſight of the ſhore: but now, by the dictates of the oracle, and conſent of the princes of Greece, the flower of that country ſail rapidly through the deep, and guide their ſhip by the ſtars (*y*).

Muſæus is celebrated by Virgil in the character of Hierophant, or prieſt of Ceres, among the moſt illuſtrious mortals who have merited a place in Elyſium. Here he is made the con-

(*x*) Proem. *lib.* i.

(*y*) *Chronol. of the Greeks*, p. 84.

ductor

ductor of Æneas to the receſs, where he meets the ſhade of his father, Anchiſes (*z*).

A hill near the citadel of Athens was called Muſæum, according to Pauſanias, from Muſæus, who uſed to retire thither to meditate, and compoſe his religious hymns, and at which place he was afterwards buried. The works which went under his name, like thoſe of Orpheus, were by many attributed to Onomacritus. Nothing remains of this poet now, nor were any of his writings extant in the time of Pauſanias, except a hymn to Ceres, which he made for the Lycomides (*a*). And as theſe hymns were likewiſe ſet to muſic, and ſung in the myſteries by Muſæus himſelf, in the character of a prieſt, he thence, perhaps, acquired from future times the title of muſician, as well as of poet, the performance of ſacred muſic being, probably, at firſt confined to the prieſthood in theſe celebrations, as it had been before in Egypt, whence they originated. However, he is not enumerated among ancient muſicians by Plutarch; nor does it appear that he merited the title of ſon and ſucceſſor to Orpheus for his muſical abilities, ſo much as for his poetry, piety, and profound knowledge in religious myſteries. But notwithſtanding the numberleſs teſtimonies come down to us from the beſt and moſt ancient writers of Greece and Rome, concerning *Linus*, *Orpheus*, and *Muſæus*, Voſſius, in the true ſpirit of ſyſtem, and licentiouſneſs of an etymologiſt, as well as from an ambition of being thought deeply verſed in the Eaſtern languages, particularly the Phœnician, pretends to reſolve thoſe names, which have been known and revered by all antiquity, into words ſignifying *things*, not *perſons*: as Linos, *a Song*; Moſa, *art*, *diſcipline*; Orpheo, *Science*. But if this fancy were generally practiſed upon ancient authors, there would be little chance of one among them eſcaping annihilation (*b*).

(*z*) *Muſæum ante omnes.*—*En.* lib. vi. ver. 667.

(*a*) There were two other poets in antiquity of the name of Muſæus, of which one was a Theban, the ſon of Philammon and Thamyra, who, according to Suidas, flouriſhed before the Trojan war; the other, who was much younger, and an Epheſian, is ſuppoſed by many to have been the author of a poem ſtill extant, called *Hero* and *Leander*, from which Ovid enriched his epiſtle, that bears the ſame title.

(*b*) De Art. Poet. Nat. *cap.* xiii. § 3. *Puto enim, triumviros iſtos poëſeos*, Orphea, Muſæum, Linum, *non fuiſſe: ſed eſſe nomina ab antiqua Phœnicum lingua, qua uſi Cadmus*,

Though *Eumolpus* and *Melampus* are names which frequently occur among thoſe of the firſt poets and muſicians of Greece, it does not appear that they rendered muſic any particular ſervice; they were both, indeed, prieſts of Ceres, and both wrote hymns for the uſe of her worſhip, which, perhaps, they likewiſe ſet to muſic, and ſung themſelves, in the celebration of the myſteries; but there are no memorials of their performance upon the inſtruments then in uſe, or cultivation of muſic, apart from its alliance with poetry and religion.

Eumolpus, according to the Oxford marbles, was the ſon of Muſæus, and, at once, prieſt, poet, and muſician, three characters that were conſtantly united in the ſame perſon, during the firſt ages of the world. He was the publiſher of his father's verſes, and, like him, having travelled into Egypt for the acquiſition of knowledge, afterwards became ſo eminent at Athens, as hierophant in the Eleuſinian myſteries, that, as Diodorus Siculus informs us, the prieſts and ſingers, at Athens, were afterwards called *Eumolpides*, from *Eumolpus*, whom they regarded as the founder of their order.

And we learn from the ſame writer, that *Melampus* was enumerated among thoſe early civilizers of Greece, who thought it neceſſary to travel into Egypt to qualify themſelves for the high employments at which they aſpired in their own country. Orpheus proceeded thence a legiſlator and philoſopher; and *Melampus*, who had different views, commenced, at his return, phyſician and diviner, arts which in Egypt were profeſſed together. Apollodorus ſays, that he was the firſt who cured diſeaſes by medicinal potions. Phyſic had its miraculous powers during the infancy of the art, as well as muſic; and life and health being eſteemed more precious and ſolid bleſſings than the tranſient pleaſures of the ear, bore a much higher price: for though bards

Cadmus, et aliquandiu poſteri. *Sanè* λινὸς carmen, *ſive* canticum, *ac præcipuè lugubre: ut ex Athenæo, Euſtatio, Suida conſtat.* *Nomen, ut puto, non quia Linum eo deplorarent quod grammaticum eſt commentum; ſed ab Hebræo* הלין, helin, murmurare, *unde* תלונה, telounah, querela murmuratio. *Ut Linus nomen poetæ ſit lugubria canentis.* Muſæus *abſque dubio à* Muſa, *ſive* Μωσα, *quod à* מוסר, Moſar, ars, diſciplina. Orpheus *itidem à* ſcientia *nomen habuerit*, à Orfeo.

were

were often diſtinguiſhed by royalty, and their talents recompenſed by gifts and honours, yet we do not find in ancient records that any one of them ever experienced ſuch munificence as Melampus. It is related by Pauſanias, that having cured the daughters of Prætus, king of Argos, of an atrabilarious diſorder, with hellebore, he was rewarded with one of his royal patients for wife, and a third part of her father's kingdom in dowry.

I now come to the TROJAN WAR, the ſecond important epoch in the Grecian Hiſtory (*c*). Antiquity has paid ſuch reſpect to the perſonages mentioned in the poems of Homer, as never to have doubted of the real exiſtence of any one of them. The poets and muſicians, therefore, who have been celebrated by this great ſire of ſong are ranked among the bards of Greece who flouriſhed about the time of the Trojan War, and of whoſe works, though nothing entire remains, yet the names, and even fragments of ſome of them are to be found in ſeveral ancient authors poſterior to Homer (*d*).

Homer was, in general, ſo accurate with reſpect to *coſtume*, that he ſeldom mentioned perſons or things that we may not conclude to have been known during the times of which he writes; and it was Pope's opinion that his account of people, princes, and countries, was purely hiſtorical, founded on the real tranſactions of thoſe times, and by far the moſt valuable piece of hiſtory and geography left us concerning the ſtate of Greece in that early period. His geographical diviſions of that

(*c*) In ſettling the time of this memorable event, though there is a conſiderable diſagreement among the chronologers, yet, by ſtating the difference, and taking the mean, an idea may be formed of the diſtance between that period and the Chriſtian æra, when certain chronology begins, and the diſputes of hiſtorians concerning the dates of great events and tranſactions upon the globe, are terminated.

Dionyſius Hallicarnaſſenſis, book the firſt, tells us, from Cato, that Rome was built 432 years after the taking of Troy, and the interval from the building of Rome to the birth of Chriſt, according to Varro, being 753 years, it places the ſiege of Troy 1185 before the chriſtian æra, which nearly reconciles the chronology of the Oxford marbles, Archbiſhop Uſher, and Dr. Blair. However, Sir Iſaac Newton, who is followed by Dr. Prieſtley, fixes this period only 904 B. C. and the building of Rome 627.

(*d*) Dr. Blair places the time when Homer flouriſhed, about 900 B. C. Dr. Prieſtly 850. The Arundelian marbles 300 after the taking of Troy, and near 1000 B. C. and all agree that he lived above 400 years before Plato and Ariſtotle.

country

country were thought ſo exact, that we are told of many controverſies concerning the boundaries of Grecian cities, which have been decided upon the authority of his poems.

The works of Homer were the bible of the Greeks: and what claſſical reader will be ſo ſceptical now as to doubt of what Homer ſays? Indeed, as the firſt written memorials of human tranſactions were in verſe, *Poetry* muſt be *Hiſtory*, till *Proſe* can be found. I ſhall, therefore, give a ſhort account of each bard that is mentioned in the Iliad and Odyſſey, in order to fill up the interval between the Argonautic expedition, and the regular celebration of the Olympic games. But, previous to this, it may be neceſſary to take a view of the ſtate of Grecian arts and ſciences in general, during this early period, and, afterwards, to conſider the uſe of muſic in particular, as far as it was connected with *Religion*, *War*, *Poetry*, *public Feaſts* and *Banquets*, and *Private Life*.

In the Odyſſey, book the 17th, Homer ſpeaks of arts in ſuch terms of reſpect and enthuſiaſm, as could only flow from a mind truly ſenſible to their charms and utility.

> Round the wide world are ſought thoſe men divine,
> Who public ſtructures raiſe, or who deſign;
> Thoſe to whoſe eyes the gods their ways reveal,
> Or bleſs with ſalutary arts to heal;
> But chief to Poets ſuch reſpect belongs,
> By rival nations courted for their ſongs;
> Theſe ſtates invite, and mighty kings admire,
> Wide as the ſun diſplays his vital fire.

"This is an evidence, ſays Mr. Pope, of the great honour anciently paid to perſons eminent in mechanic arts: the architect and public artiſans, δημιεργοι, are joined with the prophet, phyſician, and poet, who were eſteemed almoſt with a religious veneration, and looked upon as public bleſſings."

Homer certainly gives us higher ideas of the arts than the progreſs which the Greeks had made in them at the time of the Trojan war, or even in his own time, will allow: particularly

cularly *Painting*. Pope, in ſpeaking of the ſhield of Achilles, ſeems to conſider it as a complete *idea* of that art, and a ſketch for what may be called a *univerſal picture*; but he is obliged to confeſs that Homer in this, as in other arts, comprehended whatever was known in his own time, and that it is even highly probable that he extended his ideas yet further, and gave a more enlarged notion of it. For there is ſcarce a ſpecies or branch of this art which is not to be found in the deſcription of this ſhield (*e*).

In ſupport of this reaſoning, Pope was obliged to oppoſe his own opinion to that of all antiquity; forgetting that there was an eaſier ſolution of the difficulties which lay in the way of his hypotheſis: for as Homer had travelled into Egypt, it may be ſuppoſed that he had *there* acquired ideas of the arts in general, far ſuperior to thoſe which his own country furniſhed; particularly of painting, ſculpture, and architecture, which we are certain, from what ſtill remains of them in Egypt, were cultivated, and greatly advanced towards perfection, before the time of Homer, or even the Trojan war; and this author, on another occaſion, allows him to have drawn his knowledge from that ſource. "Magic, ſays he, is ſuppoſed to have been firſt practiſed in Egypt, and to have ſpread afterwards among the Chaldeans: It is very evident that Homer had been in Egypt, where he might hear an account of the wonders performed by it. (*f*)."

With reſpect to muſic, we find it mentioned with a degree of rapture in more than fifty places of the Iliad and Odyſſey. However it is in ſuch cloſe union with poetry, that it is difficult to diſcriminate to which the poet's praiſes belong. The lyre indeed is conſtantly in the hands of the bard, but merely as an inſtrument of accompaniment to the voice. So that I fear, muſic and the lyre were frequently only vehicles through which Homer celebrated the power of poetical numbers. Singing there is without inſtruments, but of inſtrumental muſic

(*e*) See Pope's Obſervations on the Shield of Achilles. *Iliad.* B. 18.

(*f*) Notes to the Odyſſey, b. x.

without vocal, there does not appear the leaſt trace in the writings of Homer. Even dancing was accompanied by the voice, according to the following paſſage:

> Then to the *dance* they form the *vocal* ſtrain,
> Till Heſperus leads forth the ſtarry train (g).

It ſeems as if nothing would convey to the reader a more juſt and clear idea of the ſtate of muſic in the time of the Trojan war, or at leaſt of Homer, than a liſt of the inſtruments mentioned in the original; theſe are the *lyre*, the *flute*, and the *ſyrinx* (*h*). The lyre has been called by tranſlators, lute, harp, cithara, and teſtudo, juſt as the convenience of verſification required; and if theſe and the lyre were not in ancient times one and the ſame inſtrument, they were certainly all of the ſame kind (*i*).

The flute and ſyrinx have already been ſaid to be of Egyptian origin, and of great antiquity. Theſe inſtruments are ſpecified by Homer in a paſſage where they do not appear in Pope's verſion.

> Now o'er the fields, dejected, he ſurveys
> From thouſand Trojan fires the mounting blaze;
> Hears in the paſſing wind the *muſic blow*,
> And marks diſtinct the voices of the foe (*k*).

Under whatever idea or denomination the public worſhip of the Supreme Being has been eſtabliſhed, muſic appears, at all times and in every place, to have been admitted in the celebration of *Religious Rites* and *Ceremonies*. That the Greeks, and before

(*g*) *Odyſſey*, b. xv. See likewiſe b. iv. v. 25.

(*h*) Indeed the word Λυρα, *lyre*, never occurs in the Iliad or Odyſſey. Φορμιγξ, κιθαρα, χελυς, are in Homer the Greek names for ſtringed inſtruments anſwering to *lyre*, *harp*, *cithara*, *chelys*, or *teſtudo*. Λυρα, however occurs in the hymn to Mercury, attributed to Homer.

(*i*) Euſtathius tells us that the appellation of λυρα came from λυτρα, a *payment*, or *indemnification*, alluding to its having been given by Mercury to Apollo, to make him amends for the oxen that he had ſtolen from him. The inſtrument, long before it received this name, was called χιλυς, *chelys*, *teſtudo*. This ſeems to furniſh a fanciful etymology for the *lute*, which is certainly a much more modern inſtrument than the harp or lyre.

(*k*) Αυλων, συριγγων τ'ενοπην, ομαδον τ'ανθρωπων. *Il.* K. 13.

them

them the Egyptians and Hebrews, uſed muſic in ſolemn ſacrifices, as well as in feſtivals of joy, is ſo certain and well known, that proofs are here unneceſſary. A paſſage has already been cited from the Iliad, on another occaſion, page 179, which puts the uſe of hymns and ſongs of piety in ſupplicating Apollo, out of doubt; and, according to a paſſage given from Æſchylus, by Euſtathius, notwithſtanding the multiplicity of the Grecian divinities, "*Death* was the only God who could neither be moved by offerings, nor conquered by ſacrifices and oblations; and therefore he was the only one to whom no altar was erected, and *no hymns were ſung* (*l*)."

With reſpect to *Military Muſic*, the trumpet is mentioned by Homer in a ſimile; yet it is agreed by all the critics, that it was unknown to the Greeks during the Trojan war, though it was in common uſe in the time of the poet. According to archbiſhop Potter (*m*), before the invention of trumpets, the firſt ſignals of battle in primitive wars were lighted torches; to theſe ſucceeded ſhells of fiſhes, which were ſounded like trumpets. "Nothing was more uſeful, ſays Plutarch, than muſic, to ſtimulate mankind to virtuous actions, particularly in exciting that degree of courage, which is neceſſary to brave the dangers of war. To this end ſome have uſed the Flute, and others the Lyre. The Lacedæmonians, in approaching the enemy, played upon the *Flute*, the air or melody that was ſet to the ſong or hymn addreſſed to Caſtor; and the Cretans played their military marches for many ages on the *Lyre*." The Thebans and Lacedæmonians had a Flute upon their enſigns; the Cretans, a Lyre; and many ancient nations and cities have impreſſed the Lyre upon their coins, as their particular ſymbol. The city of Rhegium, for inſtance, had a woman's head on one ſide, and on the reverſe a *Lyre*. In a medal inſcribed *Caleno*, the Minotaur is ſeen, with the addition of the *Lyre*. The Theſpians had one of the Muſes and a *Lyre*; the Lapithæ, a Diana, and on the reverſe a *Lyre*; the iſle of Chios, Homer on one ſide,

(*l*) Μονος θεων θανατος ὐ δωρων ερα,
Ουδ' αν τι θυων, ουδ' επισπενδων λαβοις,
Ουδ' εστι βωμος, ουδε παιωνιζεται.

(*m*) *Archæologia Græca*, vol. II. ch. ix.

and on the other a Sphynx, with a Lyre in its paw. The inhabitants of the iſle of Tenedos had on one ſide of their coins a head with two faces, and on the reverſe an ax with a bunch of grapes, the ſymbol of Bacchus, near it on one ſide; and a Lyre, the ſymbol of Apollo, on the other. The Lyre with thirteen ſtrings is likewiſe to be ſeen on two Roman coins in Montfaucon (*n*). We find, during the ſiege of Troy, that Heralds gave the ſignals of battle. Neſtor ſays to Agamemnon before an engagement:

> Now bid thy Heralds ſound the loud alarms,
> And call the ſquadrons ſheath'd in brazen arms (*o*).

The vociferous Stentor is celebrated by Homer as the moſt illuſtrious Throat-performer, or herald of antiquity:

> Stentor the ſtrong, endued with brazen lungs,
> Whoſe throat ſurpaſs'd the noiſe of fifty tongues (*p*).

Pope obſerves on this paſſage, that "there was a neceſſity for cryers whoſe voices were ſtronger than ordinary, in thoſe ancient times, before the uſe of trumpets was known in their armies. And that they were in eſteem afterwards, may be ſeen from Herodotus, where he takes notice that Darius had in his train an Egyptian, whoſe voice was louder and ſtronger than that of any other man of his age."

That *Poetry* was inſeparable from *Muſic*, has already been frequently obſerved; and in the time of Homer as a *poet* was conſtantly ſtyled a *ſinger*, ſo there was no other appellation for a *poem*, but that of *ſong*. I ſhall only ſelect one paſſage here, from among the many that are to be found in the Iliad and Odyſſey, relative to the union of ſound and ſenſe. Agamemnon meeting with Achilles in the ſhades, relates to him how much his fall had been lamented by the Grecians at Troy:

> Round thee, the Muſes, with alternate ſtrain,
> In ever conſecrating verſe complain.

(*n*) *Suppl.* p. 74. (*o*) *Il.* book ii. (*p*) *Ibid.* book v.

Each

Each warlike Greek the moving muſic hears,
And iron-hearted heroes melt in tears (*q*).

Among the numerous *public feaſts* and *banquets* deſcribed by Homer, there is not one without muſic and a bard. And, according to the ideas of that poet, the Gods themſelves upon ſuch occaſions, receive delight from the voice and lyre of Apollo and the Muſes.

Thus the bleſt Gods the genial day prolong
In feaſts ambroſial, and celeſtial ſong;
Apollo tun'd the lyre (*r*), the Muſes round
With voice alternate aid the ſilver ſound (*s*).

Again, in the laſt book of the Iliad, Juno, ſpeaking of the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, and exerciſing her irraſcible diſpoſition upon almoſt all the celeleſtial ſynod, ſays,

To grace thoſe nuptials, from the bleſt abode
Yourſelves were preſent where this minſtrel God (*t*),
Well pleas'd to ſhare the feaſt, amid the choir
Stood proud to hymn, and tune his youthful lyre.

The banquet, on the arrival of Telemachus at the palace of Menelaus in Sparta, is thus deſcribed.

While this gay friendly troop the king ſurround,
With feſtival and mirth the roofs reſound:
A bard amid the joyous circle ſings
High airs, attemper'd to the vocal ſtrings (*u*),

To theſe I ſhall only add the following comprehenſive panegyric upon poetry and muſic, which Homer has put into the mouth of the wiſe Ulyſſes.

(*q*) *Odyſſ.* book xxiv. ver. 77.

(*r*) It is worthy of remark, that the inſtrument aſſigned by the poet to Apollo, is, in the original, invariably called φορμιγξ, which is the appellation given to it by Pindar. This has been ſuppoſed to be an Egyptian word, and perhaps was that by which the Theban harp, or lyre, was called. See p. 212.

(*s*) *Iliad, lib.* i.

(*t*) Apollo. In modern language ſhe would have called him the *fiddling* God.

(*u*) *Odyſſey*, book iv. ver. 21.

How

How ſweet the products of a peaceful reign!
The heav'n-taught poet, and enchanting ſtrain:
The well fill'd palace, the perpetual feaſt,
A land rejoicing, and a people bleſt.
How goodly ſeems it ever to employ
Man's ſocial days in union and in joy!
The plenteous board, high heap'd with cates divine,
And o'er the foaming bowl, the laughing wine (x).

It is true, that theſe verſes are addreſſed to the voluptuous king of an effeminate people; but Pope has ſo well defended our author from the attacks of four critics, that I ſhall give an extract from his note on this paſſage, as his ſentiments correſpond exactly with my own feelings.

"It is not impoſſible, ſays he, but there may be ſome compliance with the nature and manners of the Phæacians, eſpecially becauſe Ulyſſes is always deſcribed as an artful man, not without ſome mixture of diſſimulation: but it is no difficult matter to take the paſſage literally, and yet give it an irreproachable ſenſe. Ulyſſes had gone through innumerable calamities; he had lived to ſee a great part of Europe and Aſia laid deſolate by a bloody war; and after ſo many troubles, he arrives in a nation that was unacquainted with all the miſeries of war, where all the people were happy, and paſſed their lives in eaſe and pleaſures: this calm life fills him with admiration, and he artfully praiſes what he found praiſe-worthy in it; namely, the entertaintments and muſic, and paſſes over the gallantries of the people, as Dacier obſerves, without any mention. Maximus Tyrius fully vindicates Homer. It is my opinion, ſays that author, that the poet, by repreſenting theſe gueſts in the midſt of their entertainments delighted with the ſong and muſic, intended to recommend a more noble pleaſure than eating and drinking; ſuch a pleaſure as a wiſe man may imitate, by approving the better part, and rejecting the worſe, and chuſing to pleaſe the ear rather than the belly. *Diſſert.* xii. If we underſtand the paſſage otherwiſe, the meaning may be this.

(x) *Odyſſey*, book ix. ver. 3.

I am

I am perſuaded, ſays Ulyſſes, that the moſt agreeable end which a king can propoſe, is to ſee a whole nation in univerſal joy. When muſic and feaſting are in every houſe, when plenty is on every table, and there are wines to entertain every gueſt: this to me appears a ſtate of the greateſt felicity. In this ſenſe Ulyſſes pays Alcinous a very agreeable compliment; as it is certainly the moſt glorious aim of a king to make his ſubjects happy, and diffuſe an univerſal joy through his dominions: he muſt be a rigid cenſor indeed, who blames ſuch pleaſures as theſe, which have nothing contrary in them to virtue and ſtrict morality; eſpecially as they here bear a beautiful oppoſition to all the horrors which Ulyſſes had ſeen in the wars of Troy, and ſhew Phæacia as happy as Troy was miſerable. I will only add, that this agrees with the oriental way of ſpeaking; and in the poetical parts of the Scriptures, the voice of melody, feaſting and dancing, are uſed to expreſs the happineſs of a nation (*y*)."

The uſe of muſic, *in private life*, occurs ſo frequently in Homer, that, beautiful as his deſcriptions of it are, I ſhould fear to tire the reader if I gave them all. However, ſome of them are of too much importance to the ſubject to be paſt unnoticed. Among theſe, for the honour of muſic, it muſt be remarked, that he thought it ſo much an accompliſhment for princes, as to make both Achilles and Paris performers on the lyre.

In the ſolemn embaſſy ſent by Agamemnon to Achilles, during his retirement, after he had quitted the Grecian camp in diſguſt, it is ſaid by Homer of the delegates, that

(*y*) During his younger years, Pope choſe to paſs for a friend and admirer of muſic. He wrote a charming ode on St. Cecilia, becauſe his model, Dryden, had written one before on the ſame ſubject; and he ſpeaks reſpectfully of muſic in his notes on Homer, out of regard and veneration for his author, whom he is to defend on all occaſions. But nothing is more certain than that Pope was by nature wholly inſenſible to the charms of muſic, and took every opportunity of throwing contempt upon thoſe who either cultivated, or liſtened to it with delight. He aſked his friend Dr. Arbuthnot, whoſe nerves were more tuneable than his own, whether at lord Burlington's concerts, the rapture which the company expreſt upon hearing the compoſitions and performance of Handel, did not proceed wholly from affectation? I may therefore apply to Pope in defence of muſic, what this admirable writer himſelf ſays of de la Motte, when he ſpeaks favourably of Homer: that "no praiſe can be more glorious than that which comes from the mouth of an enemy." *Iliad*, book ix. note on verſe 295.

Amus'd

Amus'd at eaſe, the godlike man they found,
Pleas'd with the ſolemn harp's harmonious ſound.
(The well-wrought harp from conquer'd Thebæ came,
Of poliſh'd ſilver was its coſtly frame;)
With this he ſooths his angry ſoul, and ſings
Th' immortal deeds of heroes and of kings (*z*).

Paris when he declined the combat with Menelaus, is upbraided by Hector for his beauty, effeminacy, and fondneſs for dreſs, and *for muſic*.

Thy graceful form inſtilling ſoft deſire,
Thy curling treſſes, and thy ſilver *lyre* (*a*).

"It is ingeniouſly remarked by Dacier, ſays Pope, that Homer, who celebrates the Greeks for their long hair, and Achilles for his ſkill on the harp, makes Hector in this place object them both to Paris. The Greeks nouriſhed their hair to appear more dreadful to the enemy, and Paris to pleaſe the eyes of women. Achilles ſung to his harp the acts of heroes, and Paris the amours of lovers. The ſame reaſon which made Hector here diſpleaſed at them, made Alexander afterwards refuſe to ſee this lyre of Paris, when offered to be ſhewn to him, as Plutarch relates the ſtory in his oration of the fortune of Alexander."

Not only the heroes of Homer are muſical, but ſome of his divinities, particularly Calypſo and Circe; both of whom are found ſinging by Hermes and Ulyſſes (*b*). And a ſtill further confirmation of the importance of muſic in the opinion of Homer is, that it has a place in four of the twelve compartments into which his

(*z*) *Iliad*, book ix.

(*a*) *Ibid.* book iii. I know not whether it has ever been remarked, that in the original the inſtrument uſed by Achilles is called by the ſame name, φορμιγξ, as that which the poet always gives to Apollo; and that with which Hector upbraids Paris, which in the tranſlation is ſtyled the ſilver lyre, is called κιθαρα by Homer. This diſtinction may perhaps be thought of ſmall importance, and yet it ſeems to conſtitute the ſame kind of difference between the two inſtruments, as there was between the two heroes who uſed them; the *cithara* may in ancient times have been thought inferior to the *phorminx*, as the modern guitar is eſteemed at preſent a trivial and effeminate inſtrument, when compared with the double harp.

(*b*) *Odyſſ.* book v. and x.

deſcrip-

deſcription of the ſhield of Achilles has been divided by the critics.

1. A town in peace:

Here ſacred pomp, and genial feaſt delight,
And ſolemn dance, and hymeneal rite:
Along the ſtreet the new made brides are led,
With torches flaming to the nuptial bed;
The youthful dancers in a circle bound
To the ſoft flute, and cittern's ſilver ſound (*c*).

2. Shepherds piping on reeds (*d*):

3. Song and dance accompanied by the lyre, during the time of vintage (*e*).

4. A figur'd dance ſucceeds: ſuch one was ſeen
In lofty Gnoſſus, for the Cretan queen,
Form'd by Dædalean art; a comely band
Of youths and maidens, bounding hand in hand;
The maids in ſoft cymarrs of linen dreſt;
The youths all graceful in the gloſſy veſt;
Of thoſe, the locks with flow'ry wreath enroll'd;
Of theſe, the ſides adorn'd with ſwords of gold,
That, glitt'ring gay, from ſilver belts depend.
Now all at once they riſe, now all deſcend,
With well-taught feet: now ſhape, in oblique ways,
Confus'dly regular the moving maze:
Now forth at once, too ſwift for ſight they ſpring,
And undiſtinguiſh'd blend the flying ring:
So whirls a wheel, in giddy circle toſt,
And rapid as it runs, the ſingle ſpokes are loſt.
The gazing multitudes admire around;
Two active tumblers in the centre bound;
Now high now low, their pliant limbs they bend,
And gen'ral ſongs the ſprightly revel end (*f*).

(*c*) *Iliad*, book xviii.
(*d*) Συριγξι.
(*e*) *Iliad*, book xviii.
(*f*) *Ibid.*

Dancing, like poetry, has been at all times, and in all places, ſo inſeparable from muſic, that the hiſtory of the one neceſſarily involves that of the other. It was this union which tempted me to inſert the whole deſcription of a dance from Homer, as it paints in ſo ample and animated a manner, the ſtate of dancing in Greece during his time.

Pope, in his notes on this paſſage, ſays, that "there were two ſorts of dances, the Pyrrhic, and the common dance: Homer has joined both in this deſcription. We ſee the Pyrrhic, or military, is performed by youths who have ſwords on, the other by virgins crowned with garlands.

"Here the ancient ſcholiaſt ſays, that whereas before it was the cuſtom for men and women to dance ſeparately, the contrary cuſtom was afterwards brought in by ſeven youths, and as many virgins, who were ſaved by Theſeus from the labyrinth; and that this dance was taught them by Dædalus: to which Homer here alludes.

"It is worth obſerving, that the Grecian dance is ſtill performed in this manner in the oriental nations: the youths and maids dance in a ring, beginning ſlowly; by degrees the muſic plays a quicker time, till at laſt they dance with the utmoſt ſwiftneſs: and, towards the concluſion, they ſing, as it is ſaid here, in a general chorus." In this manner, likewiſe, the religious dance of the derviſes is performed in the Turkiſh moſques.

I have now to ſpeak of the Bards, or Rhapſodiſts, whom the writings of Homer have immortalized. Fabricius has given a liſt of more than ſeventy poets, who were ſuppoſed to have flouriſhed before the time of Homer. Of twenty among theſe, fragments of their writings are ſtill to be found diſperſed through Greek literature; and near thirty of them have been celebrated by antiquity as improvers of the art of muſic, and of muſical inſtruments. I ſhould here inſert the names of all theſe ante-Homerian muſicians, and relate what has been recorded concerning them in ancient authors; but as the plan of my work is limited to two volumes, it would be encroaching on that place which muſt be reſerved for perſons and tranſactions of more modern times, and of greater certitude.

certitude. Indeed ſeveral of them have been mentioned already, and as the reſt may force themſelves in my way during the courſe of my narrative, I ſhall here confine myſelf to the bards of the Iliad and Odyſſey.

Among theſe, the ſeer TIRESIAS ſeems the moſt ancient, though he is only mentioned in the Odyſſey, which relates no events but ſuch as happened to Ulyſſes after the Trojan war. Muſic, Poetry, Prophecy, and the Prieſthood, ſeem inſeparable employments in high antiquity (*g*). The Egyptians, Hebrews, and early Greeks certainly united them: and, among the laſt, Orpheus, Muſæus, Eumolpus, and Melampus, have been inſtanced already. Tireſias was the moſt celebrated prophet in the Grecian annals. Ulyſſes is ordered by Circe to conſult him in the ſhades.

> There ſeek the Theban bard depriv'd of ſight,
> Within irradiate with prophetic light (*h*).

But, beſides the honour done to him by Homer, Sophocles makes him act a venerable and capital part in his tragedy of Oedipus. Callimachus aſcribes to Minerva the gift of his ſuperior endowments; the pre-eminence of his knowledge is likewiſe mentioned by Tully, in his firſt book of *Divination* (*i*). And not only Tireſias is celebrated by Diodorus Siculus (*k*), but his daughter Daphne, who, like her father, was gifted with a prophetic ſpirit, and was appointed prieſteſs at Delphos. She wrote many oracles in verſe, whence Homer was reported to have taken ſeveral lines, which he interwove in his poems. As ſhe was often ſeized with a divine fury, ſhe acquired the title of *Sibyl*, which ſignifies enthuſiaſt. She is the firſt on whom it was beſtowed: in after-times this denomination was given to ſeveral other fe-

(*g*) The prieſts in Roman catholic countries are ſtill obliged by their function to cultivate muſic as well as theology; and moſt of the numerous muſical treatiſes that have been printed in Italy, have been compoſed by churchmen; as thoſe of Franchinus, Pietro Aaron, Zarlino, and Kircher.

(*h*) *Odyſſ.* book ii.

(*i*) Ovid, in his *Metamorphoſes*, gives a very jocular reaſon for the blindneſs and prophetic knowledge of Tireſias, deriving them from a matrimonial conteſt between Jupiter and Juno.

(*k*) *Lib.* iv.

males, that were ſuppoſed to be inſpired, and who uttered and wrote their predictions in verſe, which verſe being ſung, their function may be juſtly ſaid to unite the prieſthood with prophecy, poetry, and muſic.

THAMYRIS is called by Homer Κιθαριςης, *one who plays on the Cithara.* Plutarch, in his *Dialogue on Muſic*, tells us, that he was born in Thrace, the country of Orpheus, and had the ſweeteſt and moſt ſonorous voice of any bard of his time. He was the ſon of Philammon, of whom mention has already been made. Homer, in his Catalogue of Ships, where he ſpeaks of the cities under the dominion of Neſtor, mentions Dorion as the place where Thamyris contended with the Muſes, whom he had the arrogance to challenge to a trial of ſkill in poetry and muſic. The conditions and conſequences of this contention are fully deſcribed by the poet.

> And Dorion, fam'd for Thamyris' diſgrace,
> Superior once of all the tuneful race,
> Till, vain of mortals empty praiſe, he ſtrove
> To match the ſeed of cloud-compelling Jove!
> Too daring bard! whoſe unſucceſsful pride
> Th' immortal Muſes in their art defy'd:
> Th' avenging Muſes of the light of day
> Depriv'd his eyes, and ſnatch'd his voice away;
> No more his heav'nly voice was heard to ſing,
> His hand no more awak'd the ſilver ſtring (*l*).

Homer availed himſelf of the popular ſtory concerning the blindneſs of Thamyris, and embelliſhed it by his verſification. Probably the whole allegory of this blindneſs had its riſe from his having injured the organ of ſight by too intenſe an application to the ſtudy of muſic and poetry. And it is the opinion of Pauſanias, that there was no other difference between his misfortune and that of Homer, than that Thamyris was wholly ſilenced by it, and Homer, without being diſcouraged, continued his poetical and muſical occupation long after his blindneſs.

(*l*) *Iliad*, book ii.

The

The ſame writer, however, informs us, that the painter Polygnotus, in his celebrated picture of Ulyſſes' deſcent into hell, which was preſerved in the temple of Delphos, had repreſented the wretched Thamyris with his eyes put out, his hair and beard long and diſhevelled, and his lyre broken and unſtrung, lying at his feet. It is certain too, according to Pauſanias, that this bard was not only the ſubject of painting and poetry, but of ſculpture; for he tells us, that among the ſtatues with which mount Helicon was decorated, he ſaw one of Thamyris, repreſented blind, and holding a broken lyre in his hand.

According to Diodorus Siculus, he learnt muſic at the ſchool of Linus. Pliny tells us that he was the firſt who performed on an inſtrument without the voice, or the firſt *Solo* player (*m*); and, if we may credit Suidas, he was generally regarded as the eighth among the epic poets who preceded Homer.

As to his works, which are wholly loſt, antiquity has preſerved the names of ſeveral. Tzetzes mentions a *Coſmogony*, or creation of the world, in 500 verſes, and Suidas a *Theogony* in 3000; perhaps both theſe writers ſpeak of one and the ſame poem. He was ſaid chiefly to have excelled in the compoſition of hymns; on which account the fanciful philoſopher, Plato, compares him with Orpheus; and as he makes the ſoul of this bard, after death, paſs into that of a ſwan, he fixes the reſidence of that of Thamyris in a nightingale.

We only know his poem upon the War of the Titans by what Plutarch tells us of it from Heraclides of Pontus. Clemens Alexandrinus attributes to him the invention of the Dorian mode or melody, which, if it could be proved, would be of more importance to the preſent enquiries than the aſcertaining his poetical works. But this mode, it has been ſuggeſted already, was ſo ancient, that it may well be imagined to have been brought out of Egypt by the firſt invaders of Greece, who ſettled in that part of it which was called Doria.

(*m*) *Citharâ* ſine voce *cecinit primus*. *Canére* with the Romans, applied to inſtruments, implied only *to play*. To ſay, however, that a performer makes his inſtrument *ſing*, is at preſent the higheſt encomium that can be beſtowed upon him.

In

In ſpeaking of DEMODOCUS, Homer has taken occaſion to exalt the character of poet and bard to the ſummit of human glory. The hoſpitable king of the Phæacians, in order to entertain Ulyſſes, ſays,

Let none to ſtrangers, honours due diſclaim;
Be there Demodocus, the bard of fame,
Taught by the Gods to pleaſe, when high he ſings
The vocal lay reſponſive to the ſtrings (*n*).

Pope obſerves upon this paſſage, that Homer ſhews in how great requeſt muſic was held in the courts of all the eaſtern princes: he gives a muſician to Ithaca, another to Menelaus at Lacedæmon, and Demodocus to Alcinous.

The herald now arrives, and guides along
The ſacred maſter of celeſtial ſong:
Dear to the Muſe! who gave his days to flow
With mighty bleſſings, mix'd with mighty woe:
With clouds of darkneſs quench'd his viſual ray,
But gave him ſkill to raiſe the lofty lay.
High on a radiant throne, ſublime in ſtate,
Encircled by high multitudes he ſate:
With ſilver ſhone the throne; his lyre well ſtrung
To rapturous ſounds, at hand Pontonous hung.
Before his ſeat a poliſh'd table ſhines,
And a full goblet foams with gen'rous wines:
His food a herald bore (*o*).

It has been generally thought, ſays Pope, that Homer repreſents himſelf in the perſon of Demodocus. It is remarkable, at leaſt, that he takes very extraordinary care of his brother poet, and introduces him as a perſon of great diſtinction. He calls him in his book, the hero Demodocus: he places him on a throne ſtudded with ſilver, and gives him an herald for his attendant:

(*n*) *Odyſſey*, book viii. (*o*) *Ibid.*

nor

nor is he leſs careful to provide for his entertainment; he has a particular table, and a capacious bowl ſet before him to drink from, as often as he had a mind, as the original expreſſes it. Some merry wits have turned the laſt circumſtance into raillery, and inſinuate that Homer in this place, as well as in the former, means himſelf in the perſon of Demodocus; an intimation that he would not be diſpleaſed to meet with the like hoſpitality.

Then fir'd by all the Muſe, aloud he ſings
The mighty deeds of demi-gods and kings—
Touch'd at the ſong, Ulyſſes ſtrait reſign'd
To ſoft affliction all his manly mind (*p*).

Homer ſeveral times in this book aſcribes the ſong of Demodocus to immediate inſpiration; and this ſupernatural aſſiſtance reconciles it to human probability, ſays Pope, and the ſtory becomes credible, when it is ſuppoſed to be related by a Deity. Ariſtotle, in his Poetics, commends this conduct as artful and judicious; Alcinous, ſays he, invites Ulyſſes to an entertainment, in order to amuſe him, where Demodocus ſings his actions, at which he cannot refrain from tears, which Alcinous perceives, and this brings about the diſcovery of Ulyſſes.

To cite all the praiſe which Homer in his Odyſſey has beſtowed upon Demodocus, would be to tranſcribe the whole eighth book. It may be worth obſerving that he ſung and played extempore.

The bard, advancing, meditates the lay (*q*).

And again:

O more than man! thy ſoul the Muſe inſpires,
And Phœbus animates with all his fires:
For who by Phœbus uninform'd, could know
The woe of Greece, and ſing ſo well the woe?

(*p*) *Odyſſey*, book viii. (*q*) *Ibid.*

Juſt

Juſt to the tale, as preſent at the fray,
Or taught the labours of the dreadful day:
The ſong recalls paſt horrors to my eyes,
And bids proud Ilion from her aſhes riſe (*r*).

Here Ulyſſes himſelf aſcribes the ſongs of Demodocus to immediate inſpiration; and Apollo is made the patron of the poets, Euſtathius obſerves, becauſe he is the God of prophecy. He adds, that Homer in this paſſage, likewiſe, repreſents himſelf in the perſon of Demodocus: it is he who wrote the war of Troy, with as much faithfulneſs, as if he had been preſent at it; it is he who had little or no aſſiſtance from former relations of that ſtory, and conſequently receives it from Apollo and the Muſes. This is a ſecret, but artful inſinuation, that we are not to look upon the Iliad as all fiction and fable, but in general as a real hiſtory, related with as much certainty as if the poet had been preſent at thoſe memorable actions.

Homer, it is certain, has neglected nothing which can give dignity and importance to this Bard. He never moves without a herald; he has a diſtinguiſhed place at the king's table; is helped by Ulyſſes to the firſt cut; and

For him the goblet flows wih wines unmixt.

The following lines are ſo beautiful, and applicable to the preſent ſubject, that I cannot help inſerting them, though I have already, perhaps, been too profuſe of quotations; not with the deſign of ſwelling the volume, or from a ſcarcity of other materials, but becauſe the paſſages intereſted me, and inclined me to hope, that they would be equally ſtriking to the reader (*s*).

(*r*) *Odyſſey*, book viii.

(*s*) Hiſtory can only conſiſt of quotations, when we write of times anterior to our own, or concerning things of which we have not been eye-witneſſes. In treating, therefore, every ſubject which relates to antiquity, it is neceſſary to give the ſentiments of thoſe who have written upon it before, either in ſupport of our own aſſertions, or to confute thoſe of others. And indeed all that is left for an hiſtorian of ancient muſic, is to collect the ſcattered fragments, hints, and alluſions, relative to it, which occur in old authors; to arrange them in chronological order, and to connect and explain them by reflection and conjecture.

The

The Bard a herald guides: the gazing throng
Pay low obeyſance as he moves along:
Beneath a ſculptur'd arch he ſits enthron'd,
The peers encircling form an awful round.
Then from the chine, Ulyſſes carves with art
Delicious food, an honorary part;
This, let the maſter of the lyre receive,
A pledge of love! 'tis all a wretch can give.
Lives there a man beneath the ſpacious ſkies,
Who ſacred honours to the Bard denies?
The Muſe the Bard inſpires, exalts his mind;
The Muſe indulgent loves th' harmonious kind.

If muſic be degenerated in theſe times, the honours conferred upon muſicians are likewiſe diminiſhed: for though a vocal performer may acquire the *trifling* reward of fifty guineas a ſong, yet we never hear of one being ſeated at a king's table, or even that any modern Hero, or General, however inferior in fame and merit to Ulyſſes, condeſcends to carve for him.

Indeed Homer, through the whole Odyſſey, ſpeaks with the higheſt reſpect of the art which he himſelf loved, and in which he ſo eminently excelled. Poets, ſays Euſtathius, were ranked in the claſs of philoſophers; and the ancients made uſe of them as preceptors in muſic and morality (*s*).

Demodocus is ſuppoſed by the ſame critic, and by others, to have been the Bard, already mentioned (*t*), with whom Agamemnon left Clytemneſtra in charge. He was blind, as well as Tireſias, Thamyris, and Homer. The inſtrument he played upon is called in the Odyſſey *Phorminx*. Plutarch (*u*) ſays, that he wrote the deſtruction of Troy in verſe, and the nuptials of Vulcan

(*s*) But he tells us likewiſe, that theſe ἀοιδοὶ were ſaid by ſome writers to have had their names from this circumſtance; ὡς ἀιδοῖα μὴ ἐχοντες; exactly reſembling the Italian ſingers. "If this be true, ſays Pope, it makes a great difference between the ancient and modern poets, and is the only advantage that I know of which we have over them." This idea ſufficiently qualifies a Bard for the office of guardian to the chaſtity of a frail princeſs, and puts him upon a footing with the Chamberlains, the Εὐνοῦχοι of ancient Perſia, and other eaſtern countries.

(*t*) See page 170.

(*u*) *De Muſica.*

and Venus. And Ulyſſes is ſaid, by Ptolemy Hephæſtion, to have gained the prize at the Tyrrhene games, by ſinging the verſes of Demodocus.

The laſt Bard of whom I ſhall give any account, among the muſicians that are celebrated by Homer, is PHEMIUS, whom Euſtathius calls a philoſopher; a title laviſhed on the poets and muſicians of antiquity. The ſame ſcholiaſt calls him brother of Demodocus, and ſays that he accompanied Penelope into Ithaca, when ſhe went thither to eſpouſe Ulyſſes, in the ſame character of Bard, as that in which his brother attended Clytemneſtra. He was the father-in-law of Homer, having married his mother Crytheis, after the illegitimate birth of the great poet. This ſtory is circumſtantially related by the author of the Life of Homer, aſcribed to Herodotus by Plutarch and others: though unjuſtly, according to the opinion of Fabricius, and the beſt modern critics. But Euſtathius informs us, that under the name of Phemius, Homer meant to celebrate one of his friends who was ſo called, and who had been his preceptor; thence, figuratively, ſtyled his father.

What kind of poets Homer ſaw in his own time, ſays Pope (*x*), may be gathered from his deſcription of Demodocus and Phemius, whom he has introduced to celebrate his profeſſion. Homer ſeems particularly ſolicitous to preſerve the honour of Phemius, by informing us that he was preſſed into the ſervice of the ſuitors of Penelope, for the amuſement of whom he was obliged to exerciſe his talents in the midſt of riot and debauchery.

> To Phemius was conſign'd the chorded lyre,
> Whoſe hand reluctant touch'd the warbling wire:
> Phemius, whoſe voice divine could ſweeteſt ſing
> High ſtrains reſponſive to the vocal ſtring (*y*).

From the inſtructions which Penelope gives to the Bard, we may, however, form ſome idea of the kind of ſongs that were uſually performed at the banquet of princes.

(*x*) *Eſſay on Homer*, ſect. ii. (*y*) *Odyſſey*, book i.

Phemius!

Phemius! let acts of Gods, and heroes old,
What ancient Bards in hall and bow'r have told,
Attemper'd to the lyre, your voice employ;
Such the pleas'd ear will drink with silent joy (*z*).

That poetry was regarded, during the time of Homer, as immediate inspiration from the Gods, has been already remarked in the preceding article: and it is evident that his bards sung *extempore*, either upon a given subject, or one of their own choice; nor does it ever appear that any of the poets or musicians, mentioned by Homer, sung verses which had been previously written or composed. And yet Homer makes Ulysses himself inform us, that there was no convivial assembly without a Bard:

I see the smokes of sacrifice aspire,
And hear, *what graces every feast*, the *lyre* (*a*).

And in the twenty-second book of the Odyssey,

Phemius alone the hand of vengeance spar'd,
Phemius the sweet, the heav'n-instructed Bard.

The speech which he makes to the avenging Ulysses, in order to deprecate his wrath, is so fine an eulogium upon poetry and music in general, that I cannot better close this chapter than by transcribing it entire.

O king! to mercy be thy soul inclin'd,
And spare the Poet's ever gentle kind.
A deed like this thy future fame would wrong,
For dear to Gods and men is sacred song.
Self-taught I sing, by Heav'n, and Heav'n alone
The genuine seeds of poesy are sown;
And, what the Gods bestow, the lofty lay
To Gods alone, and God-like worth, we pay.
Save then the *Poet*, and thyself reward,
'Tis thine to merit, mine is to record (*b*)

(*z*) *Odyss.* book i.
(*a*) *Ibid.* book xvii.

(*b*) It may be of some importance to music to remark here, that Pope, in his

CHAP. IV.

Of the State of Muſic in Greece, from the Time of Homer, till it was ſubdued by the Romans, including the Muſical Contests at the Public Games.

IT has been imagined, with great appearance of truth, that the occupation of the firſt *Poets* and *Muſicians* of Greece, very much reſembled that of the *Bards* among the Celts and Germans, and the *Scalds* in Iceland and Scandinavia; Chanters, who ſung their works in great cities, and in the palaces of princes, where they were treated with much reſpect, and regarded as inſpired perſons. Such, at firſt, were likewiſe the *Troubadours* of Provence and Languedoc, and the *Minſtrels* of other countries, till they became too numerous and licentious to create wonder or eſteem. However, it is well known that a great number of hiſtorical events are preſerved in the writings of theſe ancient poets; and that the pictures they have left of the times when they flouriſhed, are ſimple and genuine. If the writings of the ancient *Romancers*, or *Troubadours* of Greece, poſſeſſed the ſame merit, which we have great reaſon to believe they did, the hiſtorians of after-times, who had no other ſource to draw information from than their ſongs, did well to avail themſelves of ſuch materials.

Unfortunately, for my preſent enquiries, from the time of Homer till that of Sappho, there is almoſt a total blank in literature; for though ſeveral names of poets and muſicians are recorded between thoſe periods, yet, of their works, only a few fragments remain. Nor are any literary productions preſerved entire, between the time of Sappho and Anacreon, who flouriſhed at the diſtance of near a hundred years from each other; and between the poems of Anacreon and Pindar, there is another chaſm of

Life of Homer, informs us, "The word "*Poet* does not occur in all the writings of "this author, nor was it known during his "time." We ſee it however very frequently in the *tranſlation*, where the original only has ἀοιδὸς, *Bard*, *Minſtrel*, *Singer*.

near

near a century. After this, the works which ſtill ſubſiſt of the three great tragic poets, Æſchylus, Sophocles, and Euripides; and of the hiſtorians, Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon; together with thoſe of Plato, Ariſtotle, Ariſtoxenus, Euclid, Theocritus, Callimachus, Polybius, and many others, all produced within the ſpace of leſs than three hundred years; mark this as one of thoſe illuſtrious and uncommon periods, in which all the powers of human nature and genius ſeem to have been called forth and exerted, in order to furniſh light and inſtruction to mankind, in intermediate ages of darkneſs, indolence, calamity, and barbariſm.

With reſpect to the arts, we learn from Pauſanias, that ſculpture was brought to the higheſt perfection between the fifty-ſecond or fifty-third Olympiad, and the eighty-third; that is, in about a hundred and twenty years, from Dædalus to Phidias, in which ſtate it continued till the time of Alexander the Great, the celebrated epoch of perfection in all the arts and ſciences; after which they began to decline (*c*). It was then that Eloquence, Poetry, Hiſtory, Muſic, Architecture, Painting, and Sculpture, like flowers of the climate, ſprung up, and bloomed at once, ſeemingly without labour and without attention, till the artiſts were no more; after which the whole univerſe agreed in admiring their productions, and deploring their loſs.

As poetry and muſic, in the early ages of thoſe arts, were ſo much united, that all the lyric, elegiac, and even epic Bards, were neceſſarily and profeſſedly muſicians, I ſhall give an account of the principal of them, in chronological order. Indeed, the diligence of editors and commentators has made the literary world, in general, ſo well acquainted with the moſt intereſting circumſtances relative to the lives and writings of every poet whoſe works are preſerved, that I ſhall have little occaſion to ſwell the biographical part of my Hiſtory with further particulars concerning them. But there are other illuſtrious names upon record, of Bards, who,

(*c*) Phidias died 432 years B. C. and Alexander 323. So that the whole period of perfection in the arts was but of 109 years duration.

though

though dear to their cotemporaries, and long reſpected by ſucceeding ages, have ſurvived the ravages of time, only in a few ſcattered fragments. And as antiquity has preſerved ſeveral incidents relative to the lives, talents, and productions of theſe, I ſhall endeavour to collect them; and from the ſcanty materials to be gathered in ancient authors, aſſign to each the inventions and improvements attributed to him, in Poetry and Muſic, while thoſe two arts continued ſo inſeparable, as to conſtitute one and the ſame profeſſion.

THALETAS of Crete is the next *Poet-muſician* upon record, after Heſiod and Homer. This Bard has been confounded by ſome writers with *Thales*, the celebrated Mileſian philoſopher; but, according to Plutarch (*d*), he was cotemporary with Lycurgus, the Spartan legiſlator, and lived about three hundred years after the Trojan war. Plutarch alſo informs us, that though *Thaletas* was only ſtyled a lyric poet and muſician, he was likewiſe a great philoſopher and politician; in ſo much that Lycurgus brought him from Crete, when he returned from his travels, to Sparta, in order to have aſſiſtance from him, in eſtabliſhing his new form of government. His Odes, continues Plutarch, were ſo many exhortations to obedience and concord, which he enforced by the ſweetneſs of his voice and melody. Plato, likewiſe, deſcribes his captivating manner of ſinging; and Plutarch, in his Dialogue on Muſic, aſcribes to *Thaletas* many muſical compoſitions and inventions: ſuch as *Pæans*, and *new* Meaſures in verſe, as well as *Rhythms* in muſic, which he had acquired from the flute-playing of Olympus, whom he at firſt had imitated. Porphyry, in his Life of Pythagoras, ſays, that this philoſopher uſed to amuſe himſelf with ſinging the old *Pæans* of *Thaletas*; and Athenæus likewiſe tells us (*e*), that the Spartans long continued to ſing his Airs; and, according to the Scholiaſt on Pindar, this poet-muſician was the firſt who compoſed the *Hyporchemes* for the armed, or military dance (*f*).

(*d*) *In Lycurg.*
(*e*) *Lib.* xv.
(*f*) The Greeks called ὑπορχημα, a kind of poetry compoſed, not only to be *ſung* to the ſound of flutes and citharas, but to be *danced*, at the ſame time. The Italian term

There was another poet and muſician of the name of *Thaletas*, who was likewiſe a Cretan, that flouriſhed much later than the cotemporary and friend of Lycurgus. Sir Iſaac Newton has named him among the early victors at the Pythic games, and Dr. Blair places him 673 years B. C. This is the Thaletas whom Plutarch makes cotemporary with Solon, and of whom it is related, that he delivered the Lacedæmonians from the peſtilence, by the ſweetneſs of his lyre (*g*).

The name of EUMELUS occurs next among the early poets of Greece, though but little is known concerning his talents or productions. He is quoted, indeed, both by Pauſanias and Athenæus; by the former, to ſhew the great antiquity of muſical conteſts among the Meſſenians, and, by both, as an *Hiſtorian*. But if he was author of a hiſtory of his own country, Corinth, as theſe writers have ſaid, it muſt have been compoſed in Verſe, an *hiſtorical Ballad*; proſe-writing having been unknown in Greece, ſo early as 744 years B. C. the time when he is ſaid, by G. Voſſius, to have flouriſhed. Philoſophy and hiſtory had no other language than poetry, till the time of Cadmus Mileſius, and Pherecydes of Scyros, who were cotemporaries, and the firſt who wrote concerning either hiſtory or philoſophy, in *Proſe*. Epimenides of Crete, Abaris the philoſopher, and Anacharſis the legiſlator, both Scythians, as well as *Eumelus* of Corinth, and innumerable others, are ſaid to have made verſe the vehicle of their inſtructions and records. Theſe all acquired the title of *Sage* (*h*), which, originally, was beſtowed not only on the wiſe and learned, who held commerce with the Muſes, but on all thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their abilities in any art or ſcience.

ARCHILOCHUS has been already mentioned (*i*), as the inventor of *Dramatic Melody*, or the melody uſed in *Declamation*;

term *Ballata*, the French *Ballade*, and the Engliſh word *Ballad*, had formerly the ſame import; implying, ſeverally, a ſong, the melody of which was to regulate the time of a dance. And the different meaſures of poetry being called *feet*, both in ancient and modern languages, ſuggeſts an idea that *dancing*, if not anterior to *Poetry* and *Muſic*, had a very early and intimate connection with them both. The poet Simonides defined Poetry *an eloquent Dance*: and Dancing, a *ſilent Poetry*.

(*g*) See p. 178.

(*h*) Σοφος.

(*i*) P. 151.

which,

which, in modern language, might be termed *Recitative to ſtrict meaſure*, ſuch as the voice-part obſerves in many modern pieces of accompanied recitative. Herodotus makes him cotemporary with Candaules and Gyges, kings of Lydia, who flouriſhed about the fourteenth Olympiad, 724 years B. C. But modern chronology places him much later (*k*). According to Plutarch, there is no Bard of antiquity, by whom the two arts of Poetry and Muſic have been ſo much advanced, as by *Archilochus*. He was born at Paros, one of the Cyclades. His father Teleſicles was of ſo high a rank, that he was choſen by his countrymen to conſult the oracle at Delphos, concerning the ſending a colony to Thaſos: a proof that he was of one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed families upon the iſland. However, he is ſaid to have ſullied his birth by an ignoble marriage with a ſlave called Enipo, of which alliance our poet-muſician was the fruit.

Though *Archilochus* ſhewed an early genius and attachment to poetry and muſic, theſe arts did not prevent his going into the army, like other young men of his birth; but in the firſt engagement at which he was preſent, the young poet, like Horace, and like our own Suckling, *loſt* his buckler, though he *ſaved* his life by the help of his heels; neither of which, luckily, had fared ſo ill in the battle, as that of Achilles at Troy. *It is much eaſier*, ſaid he, *to get a new buckler, than a new exiſtence.* This pleaſantry, however, did not ſave his reputation; nor could his poetry or prayers prevail upon Lycambes, the father of his miſtreſs, to let him marry his daughter, though ſhe had been long promiſed to him. After theſe mortifications, his life ſeems to have been one continued tiſſue of diſgrace and reſentment (*l*). There is a great reſemblance between the incidents of his life, and thoſe of the poet Rouſſeau: both were equally unfortunate in love, friendſhip, and in death; both were at war with the world, and the world

(*k*) Blair 686; Prieſtley 660 B. C.

(*l*) *Archilochum proprio rabies armavit Iambo.* HOR.

The *rage of Archilochus* was proverbial in antiquity; which compared the provoking this ſatyriſt, to the treading upon a ſerpent. A compariſon not very ſevere, if it be true that Lycambes, and, as ſome ſay, his three daughters, were ſo mortified by his ſatire, as to be driven to the conſolation of a halter.

with

with them; nor was either admired, till he ceaſed to be feared. A peeviſh, ſatirical, and iraſcible diſpoſition, ſoured the public, and embittered their own exiſtence. A *general* ſatiriſt, like Cocles on the bridge, ſtands alone, againſt a whole army of foes.

All the particular circumſtances of this Greek ſatiriſt, which cannot with propriety have admiſſion here, have been carefully collected in the courſe of the preſent century by three able biographers (*m*). His muſical and poetical diſcoveries are what chiefly concern this Hiſtory; and among theſe, Plutarch (*n*) attributes to him the *Rhythmopœia* of Trimeter Iambics; the ſudden tranſition from one rhythm to another of a different kind (*o*); and the manner of accompanying thoſe irregular meaſures upon the lyre; with ſeveral other inventions of the ſame kind, which, to tranſcribe, would only be giving the reader words without ideas, or ideas which it is not certain the words were intended to convey. Now, as the meaſure of verſe rigorouſly governed the melody to which it was ſet and ſung, *new Numbers* in poetry muſt have generated *new Airs* in muſic. Heroic poetry, in hexameter verſe, ſeems to have been ſolely in uſe among the more ancient poets and muſicians; and the tranſition from one rhythm to another, which lyric poetry required, was unknown to them; ſo that if Archilochus was the firſt author of this mixture, he might with propriety be ſtyled the *Inventor of Lyric Poetry*, which, after his time, became a ſpecies of verſification wholly diſtinct from heroic (*p*).

To Archilochus is likewiſe aſcribed the invention of *Epodes*: the word, in its moſt common acceptation, implies a number of lyric verſes of different conſtruction, compriſed in a ſingle ſtanza, which, in odes, were ſung immediately after the two other ſtanzas, called *Strophe* and *Antiſtrophe* (*q*). But the name of *Epode* was likewiſe given to a ſmall lyric poem, compoſed of *Trimeter-Iambics*, of ſix feet, and *Dimeters* of four feet, alternately. Of this

(*m*) Bayle, in his Dictionary; the Abbé Sevin; and M. Burette, in *Mem. de Litt. t.* x.

(*n*) *De Muſica.*

(*o*) That is of a different *time*; as from Iambic rhythm, or triple time, to Dactylic, or common time.

(*p*) See Diſſert. p. 77, note (*n*).

(*q*) *Idem, ibidem*, p. 160.

laſt kind were the *Epodes* of *Archilochus*, mentioned by Plutarch; and thoſe of the fifth book of the Odes of Horace. And, in after-times, the ſignification of the word *Epode* was extended to every poem which had a ſhort verſe placed at the end of ſeveral longer verſes (*r*).

Our poet-muſician is generally ranked among the firſt victors at the Pythic games; and we learn from Pindar (*s*), that his Muſe was not always a *Termagant*: for though no *mortal* eſcaped her rage, yet ſhe was, at times, ſufficiently tranquil and pious to dictate hymns in praiſe of the *Gods*, and *Heroes*. One, in particular, written in honour of Hercules, acquired him the acclamations of all Greece; for he ſung it in full aſſembly at the Olympic games, and had the ſatisfaction of receiving from the judges the crown of victory, conſecrated to real merit. This hymn, or ode, was afterwards ſung in honour of every victor at Olympia, who had no poet to celebrate his particular exploits.

The names of Homer and *Archilochus* were equally revered and celebrated in Greece, as the two moſt excellent poets which the nation had ever produced. This appears from an epigram in the *Anthologia*, and from Cicero, who ranks him with the poets of the firſt claſs, and in his Epiſtles tells us, that the grammarian Ariſtophanes, the moſt rigid and ſcrupulous critic of his time, uſed to ſay, the longeſt poem of *Archilochus* always appeared, to him, the moſt excellent.

The Lacedæmonians, though a military people, of auſtere manners, appear at all times, notwithſtanding their inhoſpitable law againſt the admiſſion of ſtrangers (*t*), to have invited eminent muſicians into their country, and to have encouraged muſic; not only in order to regulate the ſteps, and animate the courage of their troops, but to grace their feſtivals, and fill their hours of leiſure in private life (*u*). TYRTÆUS, an Athenian General, and Muſician, is celebrated by all antiquity for the compoſition of

(*r*) *Recherches ſur la Vie et ſur les Ouvrages d'Archiloque. Par* l'Abbé Sevin.
(*s*) *Olimp.* 9.
(*t*) Ξενηλασια.
(*u*) Athenæus, *lib.* xiv. tells us, that they had a Flute upon their Enſigns and Standards.

military

military ſongs and airs, as well as the performance of them. He was called to the aſſiſtance of the Lacedæmonians, in the ſecond war with the Meſſenians, about 685 B. C. and a memorable victory which they obtained over that people, is attributed by the ancient ſcholiaſts upon Horace, to the animating ſound of a new military Flute, or Clarion, invented and played upon by *Tyrtæus*. Plutarch tells us that they gave him the freedom of their city; and that his military airs were conſtantly ſung and played in the Spartan army, to the laſt hour of the republic. And Lycurgus, the orator, in his oration againſt Leocrates, ſays, "The Spartans made a *law*, that whenever they were in arms, and going out upon any military expedition, they ſhould all be firſt ſummoned to the king's tent, to *hear* the *ſongs* of Tyrtæus;" thinking it the beſt means of ſending them forth with a diſpoſition to die with pleaſure for their country (*x*). He was likewiſe the author of a celebrated ſong and dance performed at feſtivals by *three choirs*; the firſt of which was compoſed of *old men*, the ſecond of ſuch as were arrived at *maturity*, and the third of *boys*. The firſt chorus began by this verſe:

In *youth* our ſouls with martial ardor *glow'd*.
The 2d. We *preſent* glory ſeek—point out the road.
The 3d. Though now with children we can only claſs,
We hope our *future* deeds will your's ſurpaſs (*y*).

All ancient writers who mention the progreſſive ſtate of muſic in Greece, are unanimous in celebrating the talents of TERPANDER; but though there is ſuch an entire agreement among them concerning the obligations which the art was under to this muſician in its infant ſtate, yet it is difficult to find any two accounts of him which accord in adjuſting the time and place of his

(*x*) Fragments of this poetry, in elegiac verſe, are preſerved in *Stobæus*, *Lycurgus Orat.* In *Fulvius Urſinus*, at the end of *Poems by illuſtrious Women*; and in the Oxford Edition of *Eleg. & Lyric. Frag. & Scolia*, printed 1759. Τα Σωζομενα, &c.

(*y*) The abbé Sevin has likewiſe collected all the moſt intereſting particulars to be found in ancient authors, relative to the life and writings of *Tyrtæus*. See *Mem. de Litt. tom.* viii.

birth. It does not, however, ſeem neceſſary to lead the reader over hedge and ditch with chronologers, after a truth, of which the ſcent has ſo long been loſt. The Oxford Marbles, which appear to me the beſt authority to follow, tell us, in expreſs terms, that he was the ſon of Derdeneus of Leſbos, and that he flouriſhed in the 381ſt year of theſe records (*z*); which nearly anſwers to the twenty-ſeventh Olympiad, and 671ſt year B. C. The Marbles inform us likewiſe, that *he taught the Nomes, or Airs, of the Lyre and Flute, which he performed himſelf upon this laſt inſtrument, in concert with other players on the Flute* (*a*). Several writers tell us that he added three ſtrings to the lyre, which before his time had but four; and in confirmation of this, Euclid (*b*) and Strabo (*c*) quote two verſes, which they attribute to *Terpander* himſelf (*d*).

The *Tetrachord*'s reſtraint we now deſpiſe,
The *ſeven-ſtringed Lyre* a nobler ſtrain ſupplies.

If the hymn to Mercury, which is aſcribed to Homer, and in which the *ſeven-ſtringed Lyre* is mentioned, be genuine, it robs *Terpander* of this glory. The learned, however, have great doubts concerning its authenticity (*e*). But if the lyre had been before his time furniſhed with ſeven ſtrings, in other parts of Greece, it ſeems as if Terpander was the firſt who played upon

(*z*) *Marm. Oxon. Epoch.* 35, p. 166.

(*a*) ΤΟΥΣ ΝΟΜΟΥΣ ΤΟΥΣ ΑΥΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΛΩΝ ΕΔΙΔΑΞΕΝ, ΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΛΗΤΑΙΣ ΣΥΝΗΥΛΗΣΕ.

(*b*) *Introd. Harm.* p. 19. *Edit. Meibom.*

(*c*) *Lib.* xiii.

(*d*) Ἡμεις τοι τετραχηρυν αποστρεψαντες αοιδην,
Ἑπτατονῳ φορμιγγι νεος κελαδησομεν ὑμνους.

(*e*) See Clarke's notes on Homer. The Hymn to Apollo has indeed better authority; for it is quoted by Thucydides, whoſe teſtimony is of great weight; but as neither the word χελυς, nor λυρα, are to be found in the Iliad, Odyſſey, or in this Hymn, and as both occur in that to Mercury, it ſeems to furniſh a proof of its being ſpurious, which has hitherto eſcaped the commentators. The mention of *ſeven concordant ſtrings*—Ἑπτα δε συμφωνες οἱων ἱτανυσσατο χορδας, v. 51, in this laſt Hymn, is a curious circumſtance; but unleſs the time when it was written could be aſcertained, no concluſions can be drawn from it. It may be worth obſerving, however, that the words οἱων χορδας, in this verſe, tell us, that the ſtrings of the Mercurian lyre were *ſheep ſtrings*, that is, made of *ſheep's bowels*, as violin ſtrings are at preſent, and not of *cat-gut*, as is generally imagined. It is ſaid v. 49, of this Hymn, that the Tortoiſe-ſhell was *covered with Leather*: ἀμφι δε δερμα τανυσσε βοος; and it is frequently mentioned that it was held in the *left Hand*: επ' αριστερα χειρος.

them

them at Lacedæmon. The Marbles tell us that the people were offended by his innovations. The Spartan diſcipline had deprived them of all their natural feelings; they were rendered machines; and whether Terpander diſturbed the ſprings by which they uſed to be governed, or tried to work upon them by new ones, there was an equal chance of giving offence. The *new ſtrings*, or *new melodies*, and *new rhythms*, upon the old ſtrings, muſt have been as intolerable to a Lacedæmonian audience, at firſt hearing, as an Organ, and chearful muſic would have been, to a Scots congregation ſome years ago, or would be at a Quaker's meeting now. "It is not at all ſurpriſing, ſays Alcibiades, that the Lacedæmonians ſeem fearleſs of death in the day of battle, ſince death would free them from thoſe laws which make them ſo wretched *(f)*."

Plutarch, in his Laconic Inſtitutions, informs us, that Terpander was fined by the Ephori for his innovations. However, in his Dialogue on Muſic, he likewiſe tells us, that the ſame muſician appeaſed a ſedition at Sparta, among the ſame people, by the perſuaſive ſtrains which he ſung and played to them on that occaſion. There ſeems no other way of reconciling theſe two accounts, than by ſuppoſing that he had, by degrees, refined the public taſte, or depraved his own to the level of his hearers.

Among the many ſignal ſervices which *Terpander* is ſaid to have done to muſic, none was of more importance than the *Notation* that is aſcribed to him for aſcertaining and preſerving

(f) Ælian, *lib.* xiii. *c.* 38. Theſe people ſeem to have made life one continued penance, from the beginning to the end of it, by conſtantly counteracting nature in all her operations. They were inveterate Fanatics, equally enemies to comfort and elegance in their way of living, with the moſt gloomy Methodiſts of modern times. It is given by Plutarch, as a *bon mot* of one of their kings, that when a muſician was highly extolled for his ſkill, he ſaid, "how much you muſt admire a *brave man*, who can beſtow ſuch praiſe upon a *harper?*" And when a muſician was recommended to the ſame prince, as a man who compoſed excellent muſic, he ſaid, turning to his cook, "and this man can make good *broth*." The particular kind of merit in which perſons of narrow minds excel, is, with them, the firſt of all qualifications. The Spartans had brought the art of killing their neighbours, and of defending themſelves, to great perfection, and they were unwilling to allow that any other accompliſhment was neceſſary. Plutarch, in his Life of Lycurgus, tells us, however, that they would not ſuffer their ſlaves to ſing either the ſongs of Terpander or Alcman. And that ſome of the Helots, or ſlaves, being taken priſoners by the Thebans, and aſked to ſing them, ſaid, *they are the ſongs of our maſters, we dare not ſing them.*

melody,

melody, which was before traditional, and wholly dependent on memory (*g*). The invention, however, of *Muſical Characters* has been attributed by Alypius and Gaudentius, two Greeks writers on muſic, and, upon their authority, by Boethius, to Pythagoras, who flouriſhed full two centuries after *Terpander*. It will be neceſſary therefore to tell the reader upon what grounds this uſeful diſcovery has been beſtowed upon him.

Plutarch (*h*), from Heraclides of Pontus (*i*), aſſures us that Terpander, the inventor of Nomes for the Cithara, in Hexameter verſe, *ſet them to muſic* (*k*), as well as the verſes of Homer, in order to ſing them at the public Games. And Clemens Alexandrinus (*l*), in telling us that this muſician wrote the laws of Lycurgus in verſe, and *ſet them to muſic*, makes uſe of the ſame expreſſion as Plutarch, which ſeems clearly to imply a *written melody* (*m*).

After enumerating the *Airs* which *Terpander* had compoſed, and to which he had given names, Plutarch (*n*) continues to ſpeak of his other Compoſitions, among which, he deſcribes the *Proems* (*o*), or Hymns for the Cithara, in *heroic verſe*. Theſe were uſed in after-times, by the Rhapſodiſts, as prologues, or introductions to the poems of Homer, and other ancient writers. But *Terpander* rendered his name illuſtrious, no leſs by his *Performance*, both upon the Flute and Cithara, than by his Compoſitions. This appears by the Marbles, already mentioned; by a paſſage in Athenæus, from the hiſtorian Hellanicus, which informs us that he obtained the firſt prize in the Muſical Conteſts at the *Carnean* Games (*p*); and by the teſtimony of Plutarch, who

(*g*) What this Notation was, has been already explained in the *Diſſertation, ſect.* I.

(*h*) *De Muſica.*

(*i*) See Note (*a*) page 53.

(*k*) Μελη περιτιθεντα, literally, *cloathed them* in melody.

(*l*) *Strom. lib.* i.

(*m*) Μελος τε αυ πρωτῳ περιεθηκε τοις ποιημασι: *firſt ſet melody to poems.* Athenæus tells us, however, *lib.* viii. *cap.* 12, that Stratonicus, a muſician, whom he frequently celebrates for his wit and humour, invented *Diagrams*, or *Gamuts*, and gives for his authority Ereſius Phanias, the Peripatetic; but the invention of muſical characters ſeems to include the formation of a ſcale, and Stratonicus flouriſhed long after both Terpander and Pythagoras, to whom different writers have aſcribed the firſt uſe of alphabetic characters, as types of muſical ſounds.

(*n*) *Ubi ſupra.*

(*o*) Προσιμια κιθαρῳδικα.

(*p*) Theſe were inſtituted at Sparta about the 26th Olympiad, 676 B. C. in order to avert the anger of Apollo for the death of *Carnus*, one of his prieſts, murdered by the Dorians.

ſays, that "no other proof need be urged of the excellence of *Terpander*, in the art of playing upon the Cithara, than what is given by the Regiſter of the Pythic Games, from which it appears that he gained four prizes, ſucceſſively, at thoſe ſolemnities (*q*)."

After ſpeaking of the victories obtained by this venerable Bard, at the *Public Games*, it ſeems neceſſary to be ſomewhat minute in deſcribing theſe memorable inſtitutions, as far as they concern Muſic. And, in order to convey to the reader as clear an idea as I am able, of the rank which Muſic and Muſicians held at theſe aſſemblies, I ſhall give ſome account of each of the four principal, or *Sacred Games*, ſeparately: and firſt,

Of the Olmypic Games.

Though it is not my deſign to inſert all the irreconcileable accounts of ancient authors, concerning the origin of theſe inſtitutions, yet I ſhall be the more particular in tracing them, not only as many Poets and Muſicians diſplayed their ſkill and abilities at them, but as they conſtitute the moſt memorable Æra of Pagan antiquity, upon which all Chronology and Hiſtory depend. Hiſtorians have, indeed, the greateſt obligations to theſe Epochs, which have thrown a light upon the chaos of remote events, and enabled them to diſtinguiſh and aſcertain them.

All the Grecian Games ſeem to have originated from the honours paid to deceaſed heroes, by their ſurviving friends at their Obſequies. Homer, who mentions not the *Olympics*, is very minute in deſcribing the Funeral Games, celebrated in honour of Patroclus and Achilles (*r*). They are likewiſe to be found in the

Dorians. Athenæus, *lib.* xiv. tells us, that Hellanicus, in his *Treatiſe upon Verſification*, had inſerted an exact liſt of the ſeveral victors at the *Carnia*, from the firſt celebration of thoſe feſtivals, to his own time; and that Terpander was at the head of them. Hellanicus died 411 B. C. He was a Leſbian, and the firſt Hiſtorian who computed time according to the *years of the prieſteſſes of Argos*; as Timæus was the firſt who reckoned by *Olympiads*.

(*q*) *Ibid.* Theſe muſt have been obtained at the *caſual* celebration of the Pythic games, long before their regular eſtabliſhment.

(*r*) *Il.* book xxiii. and *Odyſſ.* book xxiv.

Argo-

Argonautics, attributed to Orpheus; and in Apollonius Rhodius Games of a different kind are, however, deſcribed by Homer, no only ſuch as were exhibited for the amuſement of Ulyſſes at th court of Alcinous (*s*), but others at Delos, that were connected with religion, in which it ſeems as if Homer himſelf had performed. Thucydides (*t*) tells us, that in very remote antiquity, there were "Games of bodily exerciſe, and of *Muſic*, in which cities exhibited their reſpective *Choruſes*;" and, in teſtimony of this, he quotes the following verſes from Homer's Hymn to Apollo:

"To thee, O Phœbus, moſt the Delian iſle
Gives cordial joy, excites the pleaſing ſmile;
When gay Ionians flock around thy fane;
Men, women, children, a reſplendent train,
Whoſe flowing garments ſweep the ſacred pile,
Whoſe grateful concourſe gladdens all the iſle,
Where champions fight, where dancers beat the ground,
Where *chearful Muſic* echoes all around,
Thy feaſt to honour and thy praiſe to ſound."

"That there was alſo, continues Thucydides, a *Muſical Game*, to which artiſts reſorted to make *Trials of ſkill*, Homer fully ſhows in other verſes to be found in the ſame Hymn: for having ſung the Delian chorus of females, he cloſes their praiſe with theſe lines, in which he makes ſome mention of himſelf;

"Hail! great Apollo, radiant God of day!
Hail Cynthia, Goddeſs of the lunar ſway!
Henceforth on me propitious ſmile! and you,
Ye blooming beauties of the iſle, adieu!
When future gueſts ſhall reach your happy ſhore,
And refug'd here from toils, lament no more;
When ſocial talk the mind unbending chears,
And this demand ſhall greet your friendly ears—

(*s*) *Odyſſ.* book viii. (*t*) *Lib.* iii. *cap.* 104.

Who

Who was the Bard, e'er landed on your coaſt,
That ſung the ſweeteſt, and that pleaſed you moſt?—
With voice united, all ye blooming fair,
Join in your anſwer, and for me declare;
Say—*The blind Bard the ſweeteſt notes may boaſt,*
He lives at Chios, and he pleas'd us moſt."

SMITH's Thucydides.

I cannot help pointing out another circumſtance in this Hymn, which is really curious, as it implies the cultivation of a talent for *imitation*, at a time when ſimplicity and original genius ſeem moſt likely to have ſubſiſted, pure and untainted, by ludicrous ſimilitudes.

Homer, in verſe 162, deſcribing the employment of the Delian prieſteſſes, or *Nuns* of the order of *Saint Apollo* of Delos, tells us, that they were great adepts in the art of *Mimickry*; and that part of the entertainment which they afforded to the numerous people of different nations, who formed their congregation, was, as the poet expreſſes it, from their *being ſkilled to imitate the voices and the pulſation* (*u*), *or meaſure of all nations: and ſo exactly was their ſong adapted, that every man would think he himſelf was ſinging* (*x*).

Homer ſeems to ſketch out the order of the performance in theſe old Pagan *Conſervatorios*, v. 158: firſt they ſung a hymn in praiſe of Apollo: then another in praiſe of Latona and Diana: then they deſcended to the celebration of *human* Heroes and Heroines of ancient times; and it ſeems to have been in this part of their performance that they exerted their mimetic powers, and *charmed the nations* (*y*).

It appears, even from the diſcordant accounts of chronologers, that the *Olympic Games* had at firſt been only celebrated occa-

(*u*) Κρεμβαλιαγυν, *Strepitum.*

(*x*) By the expreſſion παντων ἀνθρωπων φωνας, literally, *the voices of all men*, is hardly meant that theſe ladies were in poſſeſſion of Mr. Foote's talent, and *took off* individuals. Φωνας ſeems only to imply *national melody*, or, at moſt, *national* dialects, and inflexions of ſpeech; and κρεμβαλιαγυς, *National Rhythm*, which, in all probability, was the moſt ſtriking characteriſtic in thoſe early ages of muſic.

(*y*) Θελγουσι δε φυλ' ἀνθρωπων.

ſionally, at very diſtant and irregular periods, in order to ſolemnize ſome great events; but as no two writers are agreed concerning either the times or occaſions of theſe early exhibitions, I ſhall enter upon no diſcuſſion concerning them, anterior to the year 776, before Chriſt, at which time they firſt began to be *regularly* celebrated once in fifty months, or the ſecond month after the expiration of four years, and to ſerve as epochas to all Greece. Coræbus, the Elean, was the victor in this Olympiad, which chronologers have unanimouſly agreed to call the *firſt*. Theſe Games were particularly dedicated to *Olympian Jupiter*, and had their name either from that circumſtance, or from the city *Olympia*, near which they were celebrated.

With whatever deſign they were at firſt inſtituted, whether for religious or civil purpoſes, in proceſs of time they became of ſuch general importance to all the ſtates and cities of Greece, that there was no one of them which did not think itſelf deeply intereſted in their celebration; and which, as each of them furniſhed combatants of one kind or other, did not eventually participate of the honour they acquired, when victorious, or the diſgrace, when vanquiſhed.

Mr. Weſt, in his *Diſſertation on the Olympic Games*, publiſhed with his tranſlation of ſome of the Odes of Pindar, has deſcribed moſt of the gymnaſtic exerciſes there, and clearly demonſtrated that theſe inſtitutions were at once religious and political; in both which ſenſes they were productive of much public benefit. Reſpect and veneration for the Gods, but particularly for Jupiter, he obſerves, were impreſſed by the noble and magnificent temple and ſtatues erected to him at Olympia, as well as by religious rites and ceremonies. By the *Horſe-race*, the breed and management of that uſeful animal was promoted; in the *Foot-race*, manly ſpeed and activity. In other athletic and gymnaſtic exerciſes, a noble ambition of excelling in feats of manhood and dexterity, before all the princes and people of Greece, was ſtimulated by every incitement that was likely to operate upon the paſſions of men. But though Mr. Weſt tells us, that "theſe aſſemblies were frequented by perſons of the greateſt eminence in all the arts of peace,

peace, ſuch as Hiſtorians, Orators, Philoſophers, Poets, and Painters; who perceiving that the moſt compendious way to fame lay through Olympia, were there induced to exhibit their beſt performances, at the time of the celebration of the Olympic games; yet, he has wholly omitted to mention *Poetical* and *Muſical Conteſts*, though both can be proved to have had frequent admiſſion there. Indeed theſe were not the principal contentions at Olympia, as they were at Delphos, and in ſome other public Games; being ſubordinate to the athletic and gymnaſtic exerciſes, and no part of the *Pentathlon*, or five bodily exerciſes, of leaping, running, throwing the quoit or dart, boxing and wreſtling; though even theſe were accompanied by the Flute; for Pauſanias (*z*) ſays that Pythocritus of Sicyon played ſix times upon the Flute during the exerciſe of the *Pentathlon*, at Olympia; and in teſtimony of the ſkill and abilities which he manifeſted in his art, a pillar and ſtatue were erected to him with this inſcription:

ΠΥΘΟΚΡΙΤΟΥ
ΚΑΛΛΙΝΙΚΟΥ
ΜΝΑΜΑΤΑ
ΑΥΛΗΤΑ.

To the Memory of Pythocritus, Victor upon the Flute. We have the ſame authority for the horſe-race being accompanied by the Trumpet (*a*); and many ancient writers tell us that the chariot-race was likewiſe accompanied by the Flute.

Pauſanias alſo remarks, that there was a *Gymnaſium* near Olympia, called *Lolichmium*, which was open at all times to thoſe who were deſirous of trying their powers in literary combats of every kind, where Muſic, as the conſtant companion of Poetry, could not have been excluded.

Ælian (*b*) tells us likewiſe, that in the 91ſt Olympiad (*c*), Xenocles and Euripides diſputed the prize of Dramatic Poetry at the Olympic games. Now Dramatic Poetry was at this time always

(*z*) *Lib.* vi.
(*a*) *Ibid.*
(*b*) *Lib.* ii. *cap.* 8.
(*c*) 416 B. C.

ſet to muſic, ſung, and accompanied by inſtruments, when performed on the ſtage; it is probable, therefore, that the caſe was the ſame at a public recital; at leaſt with reſpect to the *lyric* part of the Drama.

In the 96th Olympiad, 396 B. C. a prize was inſtituted at the Olympic games for the beſt performer on the Trumpet. It has been already obſerved (*d*), that the Trumpet was not in uſe among the Greeks at the time of the Trojan war; and when it became common, it may well be imagined to have ſerved at firſt only as a rough and noiſy ſignal of battle, like that at preſent in Abyſſinia, and New Zealand, and, perhaps, with only *one ſound*. But when even more notes were produced from it, ſo noiſy an inſtrument muſt have been an unfit accompaniment for the voice and for poetry: ſo that it is probable the Trumpet was the firſt *ſolo* inſtrument in uſe among the ancients.

The firſt performer upon this inſtrument, who gained the prize at the Olympic games, was Timæus of Elis (*e*). His countryman, Crates, obtained one there the ſame year, on the Cornet, or Horn (*f*). Archias of Hybla, in Sicily, was victor on the Trumpet at three ſeveral Olympiads, after this period (*g*). Theſe premiums ſeem not to have been temporary, but to have been continued long after their firſt eſtabliſhment; for Athenæus informs us, that the famous Trumpeter, Herodorus of Megara, already mentioned in this work (*h*), was victor at the Olympic games ten ſeveral times. Jul. Pollux ſays fifteen. Theſe writers muſt mean that he obtained ſo many prizes at the *different* games of Greece; as Athenæus informs us, that he was victor in *the whole circle of ſacred games*, having been crowned at the Olympian, Pythian, Nemean, and Iſthmian, by turns (*i*).

Theſe performers on the Trumpet appear to have been Heralds and public cryers; who not only gave the ſignals at the games

(*d*) P. 337.

(*e*) Ἀναγεγρ. *Olymp. ad Calc. Chron. Euſeb.*

(*f*) *Jul. Pollux Onomaſtic. lib.* iv. *cap.* xii. *ſegm.* 92.

(*g*) *P. Corſini Faſti Attic. Olymp.* 96.

(*h*) Page 175.

(*i*) Caſaub. *Animad. in Athen.* lib. x. cap. 3. *eſt igitur* περιοδος νικαν, *orbem implere ludorum ſacrorum: qui in Græcia erant quatuor.*

for

for the combatants to engage, and announced their ſucceſs, but proclaimed peace and war, and ſounded ſignals of ſacrifice and ſilence, at religious ceremonies (*k*).

As Herodorus is allowed to have been cotemporary with Demetrius Poliorcetes, he may be placed about the 120 Olymp. 300 B. C. According to the authors already cited, he was as remarkable for his gigantic figure and enormous appetite, as for the ſtrength of his lungs, which were ſo powerful in blowing the trumpet, that he could not be heard with ſafety, unleſs at a great diſtance. But, upon theſe occaſions, the danger was not always confined to the *Hearers*; the Performers themſelves, ſometimes, ſeem to have exulted, and to have been very thankful that they found themſelves alive and well, when their *Solos* were ended. An epigram of Archias, the Hyblæan trumpeter, mentioned above, is preſerved in Jul. Pollux, in which he dedicates a ſtatue to Apollo, in gratitude for his having been enabled to proclaim the Olympic games with his trumpet, *three times*, without burſting his cheeks, or a blood-veſſel, though he ſounded with all his force, and without a *Capiſtrum*, or *Muzzle* (*l*).

Even the Flute had its dangers, if Lucian may be credited, who relates, with the appearance of great gravity, that Harmonides, a young Flute-player, and ſcholar of Timotheus, at his firſt public performance, in order to aſtoniſh his hearers, began his ſolo with ſo violent a blaſt, that *he breathed his laſt breath into his flute*, and died upon the ſpot (*m*).

Plutarch, and ſeveral ancient writers, ſpeak of a kind of *Paſticcio* performance at the public games, among the *Rhapſodiſts*, who uſed to collect together favourite paſſages of poetry and muſic of different Styles and Maſters, and ſing them to the Cithara. Cleo-

(*k*) Jul. Pollux. *loc. cit. ſeg.* 91.

(*l*) See p. 281. I ſhall inſert here, for the ſatisfaction of the learned reader, the original epigram from the *Onomaſticon* of Julius Pollux, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 12. as it is not, I believe, in the Anthologia of Stephens, nor has it been cited by any modern author that I know of, except Iſaac Voſſius.

Τελαιῳ κηρυκι τοδ' Αρχια Ευκλεος υἱῳ
Δεξαι αγαλμ' ευφρων Φοιβ' επ' απημοσυνῃ,
Ος τρις εκαρυξεν τον Ολυμπιας αυτος αγωνας,
Ουθ' ὑποσαλπιτ[illegible]ων, ατ' αναδειγματ' εχων.

(*m*) This account is ſo extraordinary, that it ſeems to require the teſtimony of the author's own words: εναπεπνευσετῳ αυλῳ, *breathed his laſt breath into the Flute*; and εν τῃ σκηνῃ απεθανε, he died *upon the ſtage*.

menes

menes the *Rhapſodiſt*, however, according to Athenæus (*n*), ſung, by memory, at the Olympic Games, an *entire* poem, called *the Expiations*, compoſed by Empedocles (*o*).

As a further proof of muſical conteſts forming a part of the exhibitions at the *Olympic Games*, I ſhall only obſerve that the emperor Nero, who regarded every great muſician as his rival, diſputed the prize in muſic there, in all its forms (*p*): firſt, entering his name with the common candidates, and ſubmitting to all the uſual preparatory diſcipline, as well as to the rigour of the theatrical laws, during performance; and, afterwards, ſupplicating the favour of the *Nomodictai* (*q*), or umpires, by all the ſeeming ſubmiſſion and anxiety of a profeſſed muſician; as if an emperor, and *ſuch* an emperor, had any thing to fear from the ſeverity of his judges!

But, beſides the conteſts, in which Poetry and Muſic were the *principal* objects of attention, at theſe numerous and ſplendid aſſemblies, thoſe arts muſt have been cultivated and practiſed there, with equal zeal and ſucceſs, in the *ſecondary* employment of celebrating the achievements of others. Honour was the chief incitement to the candidates in all the Sacred Games. Indeed, though the victors in the Pentathlon were entitled to a reward of about 500 *Drachmæ*, 16*l.* 2*s.* 11*d.* yet it does not appear, that in the horſe, or chariot-race, any other prize was beſtowed on the conqueror than an *olive-crown*; for as kings and princes were frequently the combatants, what lucre, but that of glory, could tempt them to enter the liſts?

(*n*) *Lib.* xiv. p. 620.

(*o*) The import of the word *Rhapſodiſt* underwent ſeveral changes in antiquity: it was firſt appropriated to *Bards*, who ſung their own verſes from town to town, or at the tables of the great; in this ſenſe Homer was called *a Rhapſodiſt*. It was next beſtowed on thoſe who ſung the *verſes of Homer* on the ſtage, uſually for a prize, allotted to the beſt performer of them; and, laſtly, to ſuch ſingers of *Centos*, as have been juſt deſcribed. A *Rhapſody*, in modern language, conveys no other meaning than that of an incoherent jumble of ideas. This ſenſe of the word, undoubtedly, took its riſe from the notorious folly and abſurdity of the *Rhapſodiſts*, in their rapturous comments upon their favourite poets; for they undertook to *explain* as well as to *recite*. Hence it is that in Suidas, the word ῥαψῳδια, is defined by φλυαρια, *nonſenſe*.

(*p*) Suet. *in Nerone*, *cap.* xxi. and Dio Caſſius, tell us, that this prince wore the *Olympic Crown*, after his return into Italy; and entered every great city in his way home, by a breach in the walls, according to the ancient cuſtom of a conqueror at Olympia.

(*q*) Νομοδικται.

The

The *victors*, in every ſpecies of combat, were, however, diſtinguiſhed upon all occaſions, and had every where the moſt honourable reception: Poets and Muſicians of the greateſt eminence, were ambitious of celebrating their praiſe; and it is to their triumphs that we owe the Odes of Pindar. Other panegyrics of this kind have not come down to us, though every ſucceſsful hero had a bard to record his victory, and to chant his virtues. Both Simonides and Bacchylides compoſed Hymns in honour of king Hiero, as well as Pindar; but I ſhall give ſufficient teſtimony hereafter of innumerable compoſitions of the like ſpecies having been produced, and ſung upon ſimilar occaſions, by the greateſt Poets and Muſicians of antiquity.

Mr. Weſt, in his Diſſertation, has enumerated, among the honours conferred on Olympic victors, the Odes that were compoſed for them, and performed in proceſſions and temples, with a religious zeal and ſolemnity. Indeed, theſe happy mortals were exalted above humanity; they had nothing to fear from the humiliating viciſſitudes of fortune; the public provided for their ſubſiſtence, and immortalized their fame, by monuments which ſeemed to brave the injuries of time. The moſt celebrated ſtatuaries were ambitious of repreſenting their figures in braſs and marble, and binding their brows with the emblems of victory, in the ſacred Grove of Olympia: a place which alone, in the time of Pauſanias, contained more than five hundred ſtatues of Gods and Heroes of the firſt claſs, without including thoſe that had been placed there in honour of leſs important perſonages. How rapid muſt have been the progreſs of ſtatuary, in conſequence of emulation, and the public judgment, rendered faſtidious by the variety of compariſon! And what an admirable ſchool muſt theſe exquiſite works have been, both for the hiſtory and practice of that art!

The *Olympic Games*, according to St. Chryſoſtom, continued to be celebrated with ſplendor till the end of the fourth century; and it may be ſaid, that though the chief attention and honours in theſe aſſemblies were beſtowed on feats of activity and bodily exerciſes;

exerciſes; yet literature, and the fine arts, were virtually encouraged, cultivated, and refined, in conſequence of the victories obtained in the *Stadium* by mere athletics, who, themſelves, muſt frequently be ſuppoſed to have had neither ſkill nor taſte, in works of fancy and imitation, or in any thing that depended on the operations of the mind (*r*).

Of the Pythic Games.

The event upon which theſe Games, the *ſecond* in rank, among the four called *Sacred*, were founded, has been already related in the Hiſtory of Apollo (*s*); and I find no account of their progreſs in remote antiquity, previous to their regular eſtabliſhment at ſtated intervals, more full and ſatisfactory than that given by Pauſanias (*t*). "The *Pythic Games*, ſays this writer, conſiſted, in ancient times, of only Poetical and Muſical Conteſts; and the prize was given to him who had written and ſung the beſt hymn in honour of Apollo. At their firſt celebration, Chryſothemis of Crete, the ſon of Carmanor, who purified Apollo, after he had killed the Python, was victor. After him Philammon, the ſon of Chryſothemis, won the prize; and the next who was crowned, was Thamyris, the ſon of Philammon. Eleutherus is recorded to have gained the prize there, by the power and ſweetneſs of his voice; though the hymn which he ſung was the compoſition of another. It is ſaid, likewiſe, that Heſiod was refuſed admiſſion

(*r*) Hiero of Syracuſe, whoſe achievements Pindar has ſo much extolled, was in his youth, according to Ælian, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 15, the moſt ignorant of mankind, his brother Gelo excepted. But want of health obliging him to remain inactive, he began to think, and to acquire information from the learned. As for his brother, he remained in ignorance to the end of his life. Of this prince, Plutarch tells us, in his *Apophthegms*, that he devoted his whole time to athletic exerciſes. One day, at a feſtival, in which all the gueſts ſung and accompanied themſelves on the lyre, Gelo, to diſplay likewiſe his talents, called for a horſe, in order to ſhew with what addreſs he could vault upon his back. An Engliſh athletic, ſome years ago, upon hearing the late Mr. Miller much applauded at Vauxhall, for his performance on the Baſſoon, cried out, "What ſignifies his Baſſoon? Why I could break it with my oaken ſtick."

(*s*) P. 282.

(*t*) *Lib.* x. *cap.* 7.

among

among the candidates, on account of his not having been able to accompany himſelf upon the lyre; and that Homer, though he went to Delphos to conſult the Oracle, yet, on account of his blindneſs and infirmities, he made but little uſe of his talent of ſinging and playing upon the lyre at the ſame time."

Hence it appears, that though Muſical Conteſts were, perhaps, not ranked among the regular and eſtabliſhed exerciſes of the Olympic Games, yet all antiquity agrees, that no others were admitted into the *Pythic*, during the firſt ages of their celebration.

The Temple of Apollo, at Delphos, a city placed at the foot of mount Parnaſſus, in Phocis, where the famous oracle was founded, and where theſe games were celebrated, had, on account of the great treaſures it contained, been long the object of deſire, to ambition and rapacity; and had frequently been attempted with ſucceſs. However, the moſt remarkable ſacrilege upon record, was committed by the inhabitants of Criſſa, or Cirrha, a ſmall republic in the neighbourhood, who, grown already rich, inſolent and licentious, by a proſperous commerce, ſeized upon the Temple of Apollo, and not only ſtripped it of all its treaſures, but robbed and plundered all thoſe who were occupied in the ſervice of religion, in the Sacred Grove; pilgrims from all parts of Greece, prieſts, prieſteſſes, and virgins, committing every kind of outrage, both upon their property and perſons. Such crimes as theſe could not long remain unnoticed, or unpuniſhed; and the Amphictyonic council, the *Parliament* and *Synod* of Greece, ſhuddering at theſe impieties, reſolved, unanimouſly, to revenge the cauſe of religion by making war upon the Criſſæans. Plutarch, in his life of Solon, tells us, that this legiſlator, who had already acquired great reputation for wiſdom, rendered his name ſtill more illuſtrious and reſpected, by exciting the Amphictyonic aſſembly to make this decree. The Criſſæan war, which was called *Sacred*, and which laſted as many years as that of Troy, ended by the utter extirpation of the Criſſæans; and it was at the cloſe of this long and bloody war, 591 years B. C. that Eurylochus, the general of the Amphictyons, who from his valour, and the length of the ſiege of Criſſa, was called the *New Achilles*, inſtituted the ſeveral kinds of Pythic com-

bats at Delphos, which were afterwards conſtantly repeated, on the ſecond year of each Olympiad (*u*).

Pauſanias, in his enumeration of the Muſical Conteſts that were added to the ancient Pythic Games, at the cloſe of the Criſſæan war, tells us, that the Amphictyons propoſed prizes, not only for thoſe Muſicians who ſung beſt to the accompaniment of the *Cithara*, the only combat at the firſt inſtitution of theſe Games, but others, both to ſuch as ſhould *ſing beſt* to the accompaniment of the *Flute*, and to thoſe who, with the greateſt preciſion and taſte, *played* on that inſtrument *alone, without Singing* (*x*).——Here began *the ſeparation of Muſic* and *Poetry*. All the Trials of ſkill, all the performances at banquets, feſtivals, and ſacrifices, have hitherto been confined to *Vocal Muſic*, accompanied by inſtruments indeed, but where *Poetry* had an important concern; at leaſt, no inſtrumental Muſic, without vocal, ſince the conteſt between Apollo and Marſyas, is mentioned in ancient authors, before this time, except that of the Trumpet (*y*); the Lyre and Flute having, in public exhibitions, been mere attendants on the voice, and on Poetry.

This was ſoon after the time when Sacadas is recorded to have played his *Pythic Air*, on the Flute, at Delphos, which reconciled Apollo (or his prieſt), to that inſtrument; who, till then, was ſaid to have had it in abhorrence ever ſince the conteſt with Marſyas. This Muſician was not crowned the firſt time he played at the Pythic Games, but in the two ſubſequent Pythiads he obtained the prize, which furniſhes a proof that inſtrumental Muſic, ſeparated

(*u*) According to Diodorus Siculus, the ſecond *ſacred* war was declared by the Amphictyonic council, againſt the Phocians themſelves, for cultivating the forfeited lands of the ſacrilegious Criſſæans, which had been decreed, by the Oracle of Apollo, to lie eternally waſte. In this war the Phocians took from the temple of Delphos, the *Loretto* of ancient times, more ſpoils than Alexander the Great did afterwards from Darius, at Suſa and Perſepolis, amounting, by the wonderful computation of Quintus Curtius, to 150,000 talents, or, according to Arbuthnot, twenty-nine millions ſterling! This war was begun 355 years B. C. and, after continuing nine years, ended in the ruin of the Phocians, though they had the Athenians and Lacedæmonians for their allies.

(*x*) Pauſanias, in purſuing his account of the renewal of theſe games, tells us, that Cephallen, the ſon of Lampus, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by ſinging to his own accompaniment on the lyre: the Arcadian Echembrotus, *by accompanying* upon the flute; and Sacadas of Argos, by playing upon that inſtrument, *alone*.

(*y*) *Ubi ſupra*.

from

from vocal, began now to be ſucceſsfully cultivated among the Greeks.

After this, the ſame Games and Combats were eſtabliſhed at Delphos, as at Olympia. The Amphictyons retrenched the Flute accompaniment, on account of that inſtrument being too plaintive, and fit only for lamentations and elegies, to which it was chiefly appropriated. A proof of this, ſays Pauſanias, is given in the offering which Echembrotus made to Hercules of a bronze Tripod, with this inſcription:

"Echembrotus, the Arcadian, dedicated this Tripod to Hercules, after obtaining the prize at the Games of the Amphictyons, where he accompanied the elegies that were ſung in the aſſembly of the Greeks, with the Flute."

At the 8th Pythiad, 559 years B. C. a crown was given to players upon *ſtringed Inſtruments, without ſinging*, which was won by Agelaus of Tegea.

The prize given to the victors at the Pythic Games, conſiſted either of Apples, conſecrated to Apollo, or, as Pindar informs us, of Laurel Crowns, which, according to Pauſanias, were peculiar to the Pythic Games, in alluſion to Apollo's paſſion for Daphne.

Strabo, ſpeaking of the different kinds of conteſts eſtabliſhed by the Amphictyons, at the firſt Pythic Games, after the Criſſæans were ſubdued, mentions a particular ſpecies of Compoſition, which was ſung to the Hymn in praiſe of Apollo, and accompanied by inſtruments. It was called the *Pythian Nome* (z); and was a kind of long *Cantata*, conſiſting of five parts, or *Movements*, all alluding to the victory obtained by the God over the ſerpent Python. The firſt part was called the *Prelude*, or preparation for the fight; the ſecond, *the Onſet*, or beginning of the combat; the third, *the Heat of the Battle*; the fourth, *the Song of Victory*, or the inſults of Apollo over the ſerpent *Python*, compoſed of Iambics and Dactyls; and the fifth, *the hiſſing of the dying monſter*.

(z) Νομος Πυθικος· πεντε δ' αυτου μερη εστιν, ακακρουσις, αμπειρα, κατακελευσμος, ενοπαι και δακτυλοι, συριγγες. Strab. *Geog. lib.* ix. p. 421.

This Air, Pauſanias tells us, was compoſed, and firſt played at Delphos, by Sacadas, who, according to Plutarch (*a*), was an excellent Poet, as well as Muſician, and author of Lyric Poems, of Elegies, and of a Compoſition conſiſting of three Strophes or Couplets, performed ſucceſſively in the three Modes chiefly uſed in his time, the Dorian, Phrygian, and Lydian; and this air was called *Trimeles*, on account of its changes of modulation (*b*). Both Plutarch and Pauſanias mention his having been celebrated by Pindar; but as we are not in poſſeſſion of all that poet's works, this honourable teſtimony cannot be found at preſent. The reputation of Sacadas muſt doubtleſs have been very great, for Plutarch ſays, that his name was inſerted in the Pythic liſt of good Poets, and Pauſanias, that he found his ſtatue, with a Flute in his hand, on Mount Helicon, and his tomb at Argos.

I am the more particular in ſpeaking of this perſonage, as he is the firſt upon record who detached Muſic from Poetry, and who, though a good Poet himſelf, engaged the public attention in favour of *mere inſtrumental Muſic*; a *Schiſm* that has been as ſeverely cenſured as any one in the church. The cenſurers, however, have forgotten that ſuch *Schiſms*, in the *Arts*, are as much to be deſired, as thoſe of religion are to be avoided; ſince it is by ſuch *ſeparations* only, that the different Arts, and different branches of the *ſame* Art, becoming the objects of *ſeparate* and excluſive cultivation, are brought to their laſt refinement and perfection.

After Sacadas had pointed out the road to fame, by means of inſtrumental Muſic, it was ſo ſucceſsfully purſued by Pythocritus, of Sicyon, whoſe ſtatue was erected at Olympia, that he gained the prize at Delphos, as a *Solo* player on the Flute, ſix different times (*c*).

Sir Iſaac Newton (*d*) obſerves, that by the encouragement of the Pythic Games, after their regular celebration was eſtabliſhed, ſeve-

(*a*) *De Muſica.*

(*b*) See Diſſert. p. 57.

(*c*) This Muſician muſt have been near thirty years in collecting theſe honours, and conſequently as long ſuperior to all his competitors; let any one figure to himſelf ſuch an inſtitution in England, and he will recollect the names of Muſicians whoſe talents ſo clearly ſurpaſſed thoſe of all their cotemporaries, that they muſt have merited the prize for nearly an equal number of years.

(*d*) Chronol. p. 60.

ral

ral eminent Muſicians and Poets flouriſhed in Greece, and gives a catalogue of more than twenty, concerning ſeveral of whom particular mention has been made already, in the courſe of this work: of others, whoſe names are familiar to the eyes and ears of claſſical readers, I ſhall give ſuch information as ancient authors, and their commentators, furniſh; confining my biographical reſearches, however, chiefly to ſuch heroes of the Pipe and String as ſeem in a particular manner to belong to the Pythic Games, or to have merited notice from their early cultivation of *Lyric Poetry*.

ALCMAN, the firſt of theſe ancient Bards, was a native of Sardis, and flouriſhed about 670 years B. C. Heraclides of Pontus aſſures us, that he was a ſlave in his youth at Sparta; but that by his good qualities and genius, he acquired his freedom, and a conſiderable reputation in Lyric Poetry. He was conſequently an excellent performer on the Cithara; and, if he was not a Flute player, he at leaſt ſung verſes to that inſtrument. Clemens Alexandrinus makes him author of Muſic for choral dances (*e*); and, according to Archytas Harmoniacus, quoted by Athenæus (*f*), Alcman was one of the firſt and moſt eminent compoſers of ſongs upon love and gallantry. If we may credit Suidas, he was the firſt who excluded Hexameters from verſes that were to be ſung to the Lyre, which afterwards obtained the title of *Lyric Poems*. And Ælian tells us, that he was one of the great Muſicians who were called to Lacedæmon, by the exigencies of the ſtate, and that he ſung his airs to the ſound of the Flute. All the evolutions in the Spartan army were made to the ſound of that inſtrument; and as patriotic Songs accompanied by it were found to be excellent incentives to public virtue, Alcman ſeems to have been invited to Sparta in order to furniſh the troops with ſuch compoſitions.

Cicero ſays that a Lacedæmonian Orator was never heard of (*g*): And Ælian tells us (*h*) that the Lacedæmonians had no idea of literature; applying themſelves merely to gymnaſtic exerciſes, and to the art of war: whenever they wanted the aſſiſtance of the Muſes

(*e*) Χορειας.
(*f*) *Lib* xiii. *cap.* 8. p. 600.
(*g*) *Lacedæmonium verò uſque ad hoc tempus audivi fuiſſe neminem.* In Brutum.
(*h*) *Var. Hiſt.* lib. xii. cap. 50.

they

they called in ſtrangers. Thus they had recourſe to Thaletas, Tyrtæus, Terpander, Alcman, and others.

Plutarch (*i*) likewiſe tells us, that though they baniſhed Science, as inconſiſtent with their military polity, yet they were much addicted to *Poetry* and *Muſic*, ſuch as raiſed their minds above the ordinary level, and inſpired them with a generous ardour and reſolution for action. Their compoſitions, conſiſting only of grave and moral ſubjects, were eaſy and natural, in a plain dreſs, and without embelliſhment, containing nothing but the juſt commendations of thoſe great perſonages, whoſe ſingular wiſdom and virtue had made their lives famous and exemplary, and whoſe courage in defence of their country had rendered their deaths honourable and happy.—They made uſe of a peculiar meaſure in theſe ſongs, when their army was in march towards an enemy, which being ſung in a full chorus to their Flutes, ſeemed proper to excite in them a generous courage and contempt of death. Lycurgus was the firſt who brought this military Muſic into the field.

This agrees with what has already been related of the Lacedæmonians and Arcadians in general, from Polybius (*k*); and though there can be no doubt remaining of their uſe of Muſic in military diſcipline (*l*), in religious ceremonies, and at public feſtivals, yet it ſeems inconſiſtent that a people ſo ſelfiſh, and abounding ſo much in national prejudices as the Spartans, ſhould *encourage* Muſic and Poetry in *other countries*, by being at the expence of tempting ſuch ſtrangers as had cultivated thoſe arts with the moſt ſucceſs, to come and practiſe them in their *own* (*m*).

The Muſician Alcman, according to Athenæus, was not more remarkable for a muſical genius, than for a voracious appetite;

(*i*) Laconic Inſtit.

(*k*) P. 167 of this vol.

(*l*) Ageſilaus, being aſked why the Spartans marched and fought to the ſound of Flutes? anſwered, that when all moved regularly to Muſic, it was eaſy to diſtinguiſh a brave man from a coward.

Plut. *Lac. Apoph.*

(*m*) Indeed, this is the caſe with reſpect to *Singers* in England: we love good ſinging, but will not be at the trouble or expence of eſtabliſhing a ſchool where our natives might be taught; which a little reſembles the conduct of thoſe men of pleaſure, who, not having time or patience to *make love*, ſeek it where it can be purchaſed *ready made*.

and

and Ælian numbers him among the greateſt gluttons of antiquity (*n*). The ſame author tells us of Aglaïs, a muſical lady, who had no other talent or occupation than that of ſounding the Trumpet, and of *eating*; however, the account of her uſual repaſt is too marvellous to be related, even after Ælian.

But theſe are not the only muſical perſonages in antiquity, whoſe inſatiable appetite is recorded by Athenæus and Ælian.

The diſeaſe called *Bulimia* (*o*), has not been confined to ancient Muſicians; it is not uncommon among the modern: but why a ſedentary employment, in which neither air, nor exerciſe, contributes to ſharpen the appetite of its profeſſors, ſhould be remarkable for producing great hunger, and precipitating digeſtion, is not eaſy to comprehend.

The tomb of *Alcman* was ſtill ſubſiſting at Lacedæmon, in the time of Pauſanias. But nothing, except a few fragments, are now remaining of the many poems attributed to him by antiquity.

The celebrated Bard ALCÆUS was born at Mitylene, the capital of Leſbos. He flouriſhed, according to the Chronicle of Euſebius, in the 44th Olympiad, that is to ſay, about 604 years B. C. and was conſequently the countryman and cotemporary of Sappho, with whom, it is pretended, he was violently enamoured (*p*).

Alcæus was no more a hero than his predeceſſor Archilochus: like him, he was a votary of Mars before he entered into the ſer-

(*n*) Perhaps he foreſaw how great a family he ſhould have to feed in future, for he is ſaid to have died like Pherecydes the philoſopher, and preceptor of Pythagoras, of the *pedicular* diſeaſe.

(*o*) Βελιμια *vel* βελιμος, the appetite of one that could eat as much as an ox.

(*p*) A verſe of Alcæus, in which he inſinuated to her his paſſion, is preſerved in Ariſtotle, *Rhet. lib.* i. *cap.* 9. together with the fair damſel's anſwer.

ALCÆUS.

I fain to Sappho would a wiſh impart,
But fear locks up the ſecret in my heart.

SAPPHO.

Thy down-caſt looks, reſpect, and timid air,
Too plain the nature of thy wiſh declare;
If lawleſs, wild, inordinate deſire,
Did not with thoughts impure thy boſom fire,
Thy tongue and eyes, by innocence made bold,
Ere now the ſecret of thy ſoul had told.

M. le Fevre obſerves, that Sappho was not in her uſual good humour, when ſhe gave ſo cold an anſwer to a requeſt, for which, at another time, perhaps, ſhe would not have waited.

vice

vice of the Muſes; and, like him, he loſt both his buckler and his honour in the firſt engagement. He is much commended by Horace, not the leſs, perhaps, from their ſimilarity of genius, purſuits, and military achievements (*q*). If all his adventures had come down to us, they muſt have been curious. After playing the lover, he became a patriot; caballed with diſcontented citizens; ſubverted the government; contributed to place Pittacus, one of the ſeven ſages, at the head of it (*r*); then, regarding him as a rival, with ſtill more zeal and activity, joined the adverſe party; compoſed ſatires and libels againſt him, filled with the moſt bitter invectives, and abuſive language (*s*); attacked him in a pitched battle, in which, his party being defeated, he became the priſoner of Pittacus, who made no other uſe of the power which fortune had given him over his life and liberty, than generouſly to reſtore to him both. Alcæus, in ſetting up for a reformer of the ſtate, undertook the redreſs of grievances, not becauſe they were grievances, but becauſe he himſelf was not the author of them. He ſeems to have been poſſeſſed of a perturbed ſpirit; how ſuch a ſpirit could be united with the tranquil pleaſures attending the ſtudy of Poetry and Muſic, is difficult to ſay (*t*). After the failure of his political enterpriſes he travelled into Egypt; but where his terreſtrial troubles and travels ended, is uncertain. With reſpect to thoſe talents, which entitle him to a place in this work, they have never been diſputed; for he is generally allowed to have been one of the greateſt *lyric poets* in antiquity; and as he lived before the ſeparation of the twin-ſiſters, Poetry and Muſic, this character muſt imply that he was the friend and favourite of both. His numerous poems, on different ſubjects, were written in the

(*q*) —*Relictâ, nòn bene, parmulâ.*
Hor. Od. ii. vii. x.

(*r*) In ancient times, philoſophers did not diſdain to undertake the cauſe of the people, in pulling down tyrants—nor did they forget their own, ſo far as to refuſe taking their place, when opportunity offered; for it appears, that, however, even a primitive patriot may have had the intereſt of the public at heart, he ſeldom was unmindful of his own.

(*s*) Diog. Laert. *lib.* i. *ſect.* 76. Val. Max. *lib.* iv. *cap.* i. *ex.* 6.

(*t*) There is an inſtance, however, in our own times, of one of the moſt military and tyrannical characters in Europe, not only cultivating both thoſe arts, but extending his wiſh for univerſal monarchy, to every thing whence power, profit, or fame can be acquired.

Æolian

Æolian dialect, and chiefly in a meaſure of his own invention, which has, ever ſince, been diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Alcaic*. Of theſe only a few fragments remain. He compoſed Hymns, Odes, and Epigrams, upon very different ſubjects; ſometimes railing at tyrants, and ſinging their downfall; ſometimes his own military exploits; his misfortunes; his ſufferings at ſea; his exile; and all, according to Quintilian, in a manner ſo chaſte, conciſe, magnificent, and ſententious, and ſo nearly approaching to that of Homer, that he well merited the *Golden Plectrum* beſtowed upon him by Horace. Sometimes he deſcended to leſs ſerious ſubjects, ſinging chearfully the praiſes of Bacchus, Venus, Cupid, and the Muſes. But however pleaſing his pieces of the lighter kind were thought, they were inferior to his other poems, in the opinion of Quintilian (*u*).

The adventures of SAPPHO, and the remains of her poetical works, are too well known to require recital here. A *muſical* invention has, however, been attributed to her, of which it ſeems neceſſary to take ſome notice.

This celebrated poeteſs is ſaid by Plutarch, from Ariſtoxenus, to have invented the *Mixolydian Mode*. It has already been ſhewn in the Diſſertation (*x*), that the Lydian mode was the higheſt of the five original modes, having its loweſt ſound, *Proſlambanomenos*, upon F♯, the fourth line in the baſe. The *Mixolydian* was ſtill higher, by half a tone; the *Hypermixolydian* a minor third higher, and the *Hyperlydian* a fourth higher. Plato, deſirous of ſimplifying muſic, and of keeping the ſcale within moderate bounds, complains, in the third book of his Republic, of the licentiouſneſs of theſe acute modes. Now if the only difference in the modes was the place they occupied in the great ſyſtem, with reſpect to *gravity* or *acuteneſs*, the *invention*, as it was called, of this Mixolydian mode, may have been ſuggeſted to Sappho, by her having a voice of higher pitch than her predeceſſors; ſhe was, perhaps, the Agujari of her time, and could tranſcend the limits of all former

(*u*) Inſtit. *lib.* x. (*x*) P. 48.

ſcales with equal facility (*y*). But though nature may have enabled this exquiſite poeteſs to ſing her verſes in a higher key than any one had done before, yet as it is allowed but to few to ſurpaſs the common boundaries of human faculties and talents, it is probable that her ſucceſſors, by attempting, with inferior organs, to aſcend thoſe heights, had given offence to Plato, and determined him to prohibit the uſe of this mode in his Republic, as indecorous, and too effeminate even for women. If, however, it be true, that the characteriſtic of the modes depended partly, if not principally, upon the *Rhythm* or *Cadence* (*z*), it ſeems not an improbable conjecture, that beſides the difference of pitch, the novelty of Sappho's *Mixolydian* mode might, in a great meaſure, conſiſt in her firſt applying to melody the meaſure called *Sapphic*, from her invention of it (*a*).

This mode, as Plutarch informs us, was adopted by the tragic poets, as proper for *pathos*, and lamentation (*b*); a character for which it is not eaſy to account, without ſuppoſing *other* differences beſides thoſe of mere *Rhythm*, or *Pitch*; though both Plato and Plutarch evidently aſcribe this character, in part, at leaſt, to the circumſtance of acuteneſs (*c*).

(*y*) Here the reader will probably reflect, how much curious information, and how many intereſting gratifications of curioſity are, and ever have been, loſt to poſterity, from the unwillingneſs of authors to inform the preſent generation of what it is ſuppoſed to know already, or to write as if they expected their books would ever become obſcure. It is from this cauſe that we are now in ſuch doubt concerning the Enharmonic Genus, Muſic in Parts, Modes, &c. which a word or two might have cleared up: and if this Hiſtory ſhould reach a diſtant period, will not its readers wiſh to know ſome particulars concerning Agujari? how high ſhe went? and what were the other peculiarities of her talents? an opportunity will, perhaps, offer itſelf in the ſecond volume, of gratifying curioſity with reſpect to the powers of this particular performer; I wiſh it were as eaſy to ſatisfy it in other inſtances where the ſcantineſs of information may awaken it in vain!

(*z*) See Diſſertation.

(*a*) *Intĕgĕr vītæ ſcĕlĕrīſquĕ pūrŭs.* Hor. Three verſes of this kind, cloſed with an Adonic verſe, conſiſting of a Dactyl and Spondee, form the *Sapphic* ſtanza.

(*b*) Θρηνωδης. Plut. and Plato *Rep.* lib. iii.

(*c*) —οξεια και επιτηδειος προς θρηνον. Plut. *de Muſ.* That is, *acute, and fit for funeral dirges.* That the idea of grief ſhould be connected with that of high and ſhrieking tones, will not appear ſtrange, when we recollect the ancient cuſtom of *hiring women* to lament at funerals. Feigned grief is ever louder than real; but grief, both feigned and *paid for*, may eaſily be ſuppoſed to have forced its powers of *execution* and *compaſs*, beyond all the common boundaries of ſcales and modes.

About

About the beginning of the ſixth century, before the Chriſtian æra, MIMNERMUS, according to Plutarch, had rendered himſelf remarkable, by playing upon the Flute a *Nome* called *Cradias*, which, Heſychius tells us, was an air for that inſtrument, uſually performed at Athens, during the march, or proceſſion, of the victims of expiation. Mimnermus was a lyric poet, and conſequently a muſician, of Smyrna, cotemporary with Solon. Athenæus gives to him the invention of *Pentameter verſe*. His Elegies, of which only a few fragments are preſerved, were ſo much admired in antiquity, that Horace preferred them to thoſe of Callimachus (*d*). He compoſed a poem of this kind, as we learn from Pauſanias, upon the battle fought between the people of Smyrna, and the Lydians, under Gyges. He likewiſe was author of a poem in elegiac verſe, quoted by Strabo (*e*), which he entitled *Nanno*, and in which we may ſuppoſe he chiefly celebrated a young and beautiful girl of that name, who, according to Athenæus, was a player on the Flute, with whom he was enamoured in his old age. With reſpect to love matters, according to Propertius, his verſes were more valuable than all the writings of Homer (*f*). And Horace bears teſtimony to his abilities, in deſcribing that ſeducing paſſion (*g*); alluding to ſome much admired lines of this Greek poet, which have been preſerved by Stobæus (*h*).

Poetry, and ſuch muſic as the Greeks thought would moſt contribute to its embelliſhment, muſt now, from all the improvements which theſe arts had received ſince the time of Homer, a period of more than two hundred years, have been arrived at a

(*d*) *Epiſt.* lib. ii. *Ep.* 2. v. 101.

(*e*) *Lib.* xiv. p. 633, 634. *Ed. Par.*

(*f*) *Plus in amore valet Mimnermi verſus Homero.* Lib. i. Eleg. 9. v. 11.

(*g*) *Si Mimnermus uti cenſet, ſine amore jociſque,*
Nil eſt jucundum, vivas in amore jociſque.
Epiſt. vi. lib. i. v. 65.

If, as wiſe Mimnermus ſaid,
Life unbleſt with love and joy,
Ranks us with the ſenſeleſs dead,
Let theſe gifts each hour employ.

(*h*) Τις δε βιος, τι δε τερπον ατερ χρυσης Αφροδιτης, &c.
What is life and all its pride,
If love and pleaſure be denied?
Snatch, ſnatch me hence, ye Fates, whene'er
The am'rous bliſs I ceaſe to ſhare.
Oh let us crop each fragrant flow'r,
While youth and vigour give us pow'r;
For frozen age will ſoon deſtroy
The force to give or take a joy;
And then, a prey to pain and care,
Deteſted by the young and fair,
The ſun's bleſt beams will hateful grow,
And only ſhine on ſcenes of woe!

great degree of perfection; and yet we find no *lyric poets*, whoſe works, or names, have ſurvived, between Mimnermus and STESICHORUS, a much reſpected Bard, who, according to Athenæus, was born at Himera in Sicily. His firſt name was Tiſias; but he acquired the title of Steſichorus (*i*) from the changes he made in the manner of performing the Dithyrambic chorus, which was *ſung* and *danced* round the altar or ſtatue of Bacchus, during the worſhip of that God. In what theſe changes conſiſted, it is difficult to diſcover; luckily, it is a piece of knowledge of which we ſtand in no great need at preſent (*k*).

Our lateſt chronologers agree in fixing the time of his death to have been 556 B. C. A character of his numerous poems may be ſeen in Quintilian (*l*), who ſpeaks of them as ſubſiſting in his time. At preſent, only a few fragments of them remain. Among his muſical improvements, Plutarch enumerates the changes which he made in the *Harmatian*, or *chariot air*, compoſed by Olympus (*m*).

SIMONIDES, who flouriſhed about this time, is ſo frequently celebrated by ancient writers, that it ſeems neceſſary to be ſomewhat particular in my account of him. There were in antiquity many poets of that name; but by the Marbles it appears, that the eldeſt and moſt illuſtrious of them was born in the 55th Olympiad, 538 years B. C. and that he died in his ninetieth year; which nearly agrees with the chronology of Euſebius. He was a native of Ceos, one of the Cyclades, in the neighbourhood of Attica, and the preceptor of Pindar. Both Plato and Cicero give him the character not only of a good poet and muſician, but ſpeak of him as a perſon of great virtue and wiſdom. Such longevity gave

(*i*) Indeed Suidas ſays that he was ſo called, from being the firſt who accompanied a chorus with κιθαρῳδια—*ſinging to the Lyre*: or, for inſtituting a chorus that danced to the Lyre, accompanied by ſinging. But whether the novelty was in the ſinging, or in the lyre, or both, is ſtill to be inquired.

(*k*) Several of the epiſtles which go under the name of Phalaris, tyrant of Agrigentum, which occaſioned the well known diſpute between Boyle and Bentley, in the beginning of the preſent century, are addreſſed to Steſichorus.

(*l*) Inſtit. *lib.* x. *cap.* 1.

(*m*) Ἁρματιος νομος, ſo called, according to Heſychius, for its imitating the rapid motion of a *chariot* wheel; or, as being, from its fire and ſpirit, proper to animate the horſes that draw the chariot, during battle.

him

him an opportunity of knowing a great number of the firſt characters in antiquity, with whom he was in ſome meaſure connected (*n*). He is mentioned by Herodotus; and Xenophon, in his Dialogue upon Tyranny, makes him one of the interlocutors with Hiero king of Syracuſe. Cicero (*o*) alleges, what has often been quoted in proof of the modeſty and wiſdom of Simonides, that when Hiero aſked of him a definition of God, the poet required a whole day to meditate on ſo important a queſtion; at the end of which, upon the prince putting the ſame queſtion to him a ſecond time, he aſked *two* days reſpite; and, in this manner, always doubled the delay, each time he was required to anſwer it; till, at length, to avoid offending his patron by more diſappointments, he frankly confeſſed he found the queſtion ſo difficult, that the more he meditated upon it, the leſs was his hope of being able to ſolve it.

In his old age, perhaps from ſeeing the reſpect which money procured to ſuch as had loſt the charms of youth, and power of attaching mankind by other means, he became ſomewhat mercenary and avaricious. He was frequently employed by the victors at the Games to write Panegyrics and Odes in their praiſe, before his pupil Pindar had exerciſed his talents in their behalf; but Simonides would never gratify their vanity in this particular, till he had firſt tied them down to a ſtipulated ſum for his trouble; and, upon being upbraided for his meanneſs, he ſaid that he had two coffers, in one of which he had, for many years, put his pecuniary rewards; the other was for honours, verbal thanks, and promiſes; that the firſt was pretty well filled, but the laſt remained always empty. And he made no ſcruple to confeſs, in his old age, that of all the enjoyments of life, the love of money was the only one of which time had not deprived him.

He was frequently reproached for this vice; however, he always defended himſelf with good humour. Upon being aſked by

(*n*) This may want explanation: And it appears in Fabricius, from ancient authority, (*Bib. Græc.* vol. i. p. 591.) that Simonides was cotemporary, and in friendſhip with Pittacus of Mitylene; Hipparchus, tyrant of Athens; Pauſanias, king of Sparta; Hiero, tyrant of Syracuſe; with Themiſtocles; and with Aleuades, king of Theſſaly.

(*o*) *De Nat. Deor.*

Hiero's

Hiero's queen, whether it was moſt deſirable to be Learned or Rich, he anſwered, that it was far better to be rich; for the learned were always dependent on the rich, and waiting at their doors; whereas he never ſaw rich men at the doors of the learned. When he was accuſed of being ſo fordid, as to ſell part of the proviſions with which his table was furniſhed by Hiero, he ſaid he had done it, in order "to diſplay to the world the magnificence of that prince, and his own frugality." To others he ſaid, that his reaſon for accumulating wealth was, that "he would rather leave money to his enemies, after death, than be troubleſome to his friends, while living."

He obtained the prize in poetry at the Public Games when he was fourſcore years of age. According to Suidas, he added four letters to the Greek alphabet; and Pliny aſſigns to him the eighth ſtring of the lyre; but theſe claims are diſputed by the learned.

Among the numerous poetical productions, of which, according to Fabricius, antiquity has made him the author, are many ſongs of victory and triumph, for athletic conquerors at the Public Games. He is likewiſe ſaid to have gained there, himſelf, the prize in elegiac poetry, when Æſchylus was his competitor.

His poetry was ſo tender and plaintive, that he acquired the cognomen of *Melicertes, ſweet as honey* (*p*); and the *tearful* eye of his Muſe was proverbial.

"Simonides, ſays an elegant modern writer, and excellent judge of every ſpecies of literary merit, was celebrated by the ancients for the ſweetneſs, correctneſs, and purity of his ſtyle, and his irreſiſtible ſkill in moving the paſſions.—Dionyſius places him among thoſe poliſhed writers, who excel in a ſmooth volubility, and flow on, like plenteous and perennial rivers, in a courſe of even and uninterrupted harmony (*q*)."

It is to Dionyſius that we are indebted for the preſervation of the following fragment of this poet. Danaë being, by her merci-

(*p*) *Mœſtius lacrimis Simonides.* CATULLUS.

(*q*) See the Adventurer, No. 89.

leſs

leſs father, incloſed in a cheſt, and thrown into the ſea with her child, when night comes on, and a ſtorm ariſes, which threatens to overſet the cheſt, weeping, and embracing the young Perſeus, ſhe cries out:

Sweet child! what anguiſh does thy mother know,
Ere cruel grief has taught thy tears to flow!
Amidſt the roaring wind's tremendous ſound,
Which threats deſtruction, as it howls around,
In balmy ſleep thou lieſt, as at the breaſt,
Without one bitter thought to break thy reſt.——
While in pale, glimmering, interrupted light
The moon but ſhews the horrors of the night.
Didſt thou but know, ſweet innocent! our woes,
Not opiate's pow'r thy eye-lids now could cloſe.
Sleep on, ſweet babe! ye waves in ſilence roll,
And lull, O lull to reſt! my tortur'd ſoul.

There is a ſecond great poet of the name of *Simonides*, recorded on the Marbles, ſuppoſed to have been his grandſon, and who gained in 478 B. C. the prize in the Games at Athens.

BACCHYLIDES was the nephew of Simonides, and the cotemporary and rival of Pindar. Both ſung the victories of Hiero at the Public Games. Beſides Odes to athletic victors, he was author of *Love Verſes*; *Proſodies*; *Dithyrambics*; *Hymns*; *Pæans*; *Hyporchemes*, and *Parthenia*, or ſongs to be ſung by a chorus of virgins at feſtivals. The chronology of Euſebius places the birth of Bacchylides in the 82d Olympiad, about 450 B. C.

We are now arrived at that period of the Grecian muſical hiſtory, when PINDAR became the poetical hiſtoriographer of the champions at the Sacred Games; and his records of their achievements are more durable, than if they had been inſcribed upon Adamantine tables. The marble ſtatues, towering columns, and maſſive monuments, erected to the honour of theſe heroes, have periſhed; and oblivion has ſwept away all memorials of them, except thoſe contained in the ſongs of this great poet.

Pindar

Pindar was born at Thebes in Bæotia, about 520 years B. C. He received his firſt muſical inſtructions from his father, who was a Flute-player by profeſſion; after which, according to Suſidas, he was placed under Myrtis, a lady of diſtinguiſhed abilities in lyric poetry. It was during this period, that he became acquainted with the poeteſs Corinna, who was likewiſe a ſtudent under Myrtis. Plutarch tells us, that Pindar profited from the leſſons which Corinna, more advanced in her ſtudies, gave him at this ſchool. It is very natural to ſuppoſe, that the firſt poetical effuſions of a genius ſo full of fire and imagination as that of Pindar, would be wild and luxuriant; and Lucian has preſerved ſix verſes, ſaid to have been the exordium of his firſt eſſay, in which he crowded almoſt all the ſubjects for ſong, which ancient hiſtory and mythology then furniſhed. Upon communicating this attempt to Corinna, ſhe told him, ſmiling, that he ſhould ſow with the hand, and not empty his whole ſack at once. Pindar, however, ſoon quitted the leading-ſtrings of theſe ladies, his poetical nurſes, and became the diſciple of Simonides, now arrived at extreme old age; after which he ſoon ſurpaſſed all his maſters, and acquired great reputation throughout Greece; but, like a true *prophet*, was leſs honoured in his own country, than elſewhere; for at Thebes he was frequently pronounced to be vanquiſhed, in the muſical and poetical conteſts, by candidates of inferior merit.

The cuſtom of having theſe public Trials of ſkill, in all the great cities of Greece, was now ſo prevalent, that but little fame was to be acquired by a Muſician or Poet, any other way than by entering the liſts; and we find that both Myrtis and Corinna publicly diſputed the prize with him at Thebes (*r*). The love of fame produces more rancorous rivalry, than the love of money, or even of woman. A public contention with Myrtis, his *alma mater*, and with his *ſiſter ſtudent*, Corinna, ſeems unnatural; but there are few ties which can keep ambition within due bounds. He obtained a victory over Myrtis, but was vanquiſhed five different times by Corinna (*s*). The judges, upon occaſions like

(*r*) Apollon. Alexan. *Lib. de Pronomin.* MS. *ex Bib. Reg. Pariſ.* No. 3243. *à Fabric. Laud.* Bib. Græc. *tom.* i. p. 578.

(*s*) Ælian. Var. Hiſt. *lib.* xxiii. *cap.* 25.

theſe,

theſe, have been frequently accuſed of partiality or ignorance, not only by the vanquiſhed, but by poſterity: and if the merit of Pindar was pronounced inferior to that of Corinna five ſeveral times, it was, ſays Pauſanias, becauſe the judges were more ſenſible to the charms of beauty, than to thoſe of Muſic and Poetry (*t*). Was it not ſtrange, ſaid the Scythian Anacharſis, that the Grecian artiſts were never judged by artiſts, their peers?

Mortifications are at leaſt as neceſſary to a young poet, as to a young ſinner. Pindar, before he quitted Thebes, had the vexation to ſee his Dithyrambics traduced, abuſed, and turned into ridicule, by the comic poets of his time; and Athenæus tells us that he was ſeverely cenſured by his brother Lyrics, for being a Lipogrammatiſt, and compoſing an ode from which he had excommunicated the letter S. Whether theſe cenſures proceeded from envy, or contempt, cannot now be determined; but they were certainly uſeful to Pindar, and it was neceſſary that he ſhould be laſhed for ſuch puerilities. Thebes ſeems to have been the *purgatory* of our young Bard; when he quitted that city, as his judgment was matured, he avoided moſt of the errors for which he had been chaſtiſed, and ſuddenly became the wonder and delight of all Greece. Every hero, prince, and potentate, deſirous of laſting fame, courted the Muſe of Pindar.

He ſeems frequently to have been preſent at the four great feſtivals of the Olympian, Pythian, Nemean, and Iſthmian Games, as may be inferred from ſeveral circumſtances and expreſſions in the odes, which he compoſed for the victors in them all. Thoſe at Olympia, who were ambitious of having their achievements celebrated by Pindar, applied to him for an ode, which was firſt ſung in the *Prytaneum*, or town-hall of Olympia, where there was a banquetting-room, ſet apart for the entertainment of the conquerors. Here the ode was rehearſed by a chorus, accompanied by inſtruments. It was afterwards performed in the ſame manner

(*t*) *Lib.* ix. *cap.* 22. Pauſanias ſays, that Corinna was one of the moſt beautiful women of her time, as he judged by a picture of her, which he ſaw at Tanagris, in the place where the public exerciſes were performed. She was repreſented with her head ornamented by a riband, as a memorial of the victories ſhe had obtained over Pindar at Thebes.

at the triumphal entry of the victor into his own country, in proceſſions, or at the ſacrifices that were made with great pomp and ſolemnity on the occaſion (*u*).

But, as ſome conquerors were not ſo fortunate as to have Poets for their friends, or ſo rich as to be able to purchaſe odes on their particular victories, which were rated very high by Bards of the firſt claſs; in honour of ſuch, the old Hymn to Hercules, of Archilochus, was ſung by the friends of the conquerors only, if they could not afford to engage a band of profeſſed muſicians. The ſcholiaſt on Pindar's 9th Olympic tells us, that to ſupply the want of a Citharœdiſt, Archilochus framed a word in imitation of the ſound of a Cithara, which word (*Tenella*, Τηνέλλα), when there happened to be no Muſician preſent, the leader of the chorus chanted forth, and was anſwered by the reſt of the chorus, in the words of the Hymn, Ω Καλλίνικε, χαιρε, *O glorious Victor, hail!* at every comma, or pauſe of which, this burden was again repeated (*x*).

Pindar, in his ſecond Iſthmian Ode, has apologized for the mercenary cuſtom among Poets, of receiving money for their Compoſitions. "The world, ſays he, is grown intereſted, and thinks in general with the Spartan philoſopher Ariſtodemus, that *money* only *makes the man:* a truth which this ſage himſelf experienced,

(*u*) Weſt's *Diſ. on the Olymp. Games*, § 16.

(*x*) *Ibid.* Are we to ſuppoſe from this *Triſyllable* ſerving as a repreſentation of the twang of a lyre, that the inſtrument had only *three ſtrings* in the time of Archilochus? Indeed, as this poet lived before either Terpander or Pythagoras had loaded it with ſeven or eight ſtrings, a Tetrachord, or four ſounds, were its utmoſt extent in his time. Now it would be a reſearch truly worthy the curioſity of ſome profound muſical antiquary, to try to diſcover *which* three ſounds of the Tetrachord were imitated, and by what intervals, and tone of voice, the word *Tenella* could have been made a *true Arpeggiatura?* Suidas tells us that this word had no ſignification, but was uſed as an imitation of a particular way of ſtriking the lyre, (a kind of *tol-de-rol* flouriſh), when a victor was declared at the Games; and the words τηελλα, καλλινικε, ſeem to have become, from this Hymn of Archilochus, a common form of congratulation, or rather acclamation; the *braviſſimo!* of the Greeks. Schmidt, in a note upon the 9 Olymp. of Pindar, ſays the word τηελλα, after ſo many ages, is come down to his countrymen the Germans, and is ſtill in common uſe among muſicians. Walthern in his Muſical Dictionary ſays the ſame, with this addition, that the ancient Germans made the ſame uſe of the word Rondatinella as the Romans did of *io Triumphe:* ſinging it as a burden to ſongs of victory and praiſe, and beating upon their ſhields. If the Germans uſe ſuch a term in the ſame way as the ancients in the time of Archilochus, the coincidence is curious, though no derivation be allowed.

having

having with his riches loſt all his friends." It is ſuppoſed that Pindar here alludes to the avarice of Simonides, who firſt allowed his Muſe to ſell her favours to the beſt bidder. But if the rich want wit and fame, and the Poet wants money, the commutation ſeems as fair as any that is carried on upon the Exchange of London or Amſterdam. It is in the true ſpirit of commerce to barter ſuperfluities for things of which we ſtand moſt in need; and it can never be called a ruinous or loſing trade, but when the rich, for want of judgment or taſte, purchaſe *bad Poetry*, or the Poet is *ill paid, for good.* Gratian, among his maxims for raiſing a man to the moſt conſummate greatneſs, adviſes him to perform extraordinary actions, and to ſecure a good Poet.

There is no great Poet or Muſician in antiquity, whoſe moral character has been leſs cenſured than that of Pindar. Plutarch has preſerved a ſingle verſe of his *Epicedium*, or *Dirge*, that was ſung at his funeral, which, ſhort and ſimple as it is, implies great praiſe. *This man was pleaſing to ſtrangers, and dear to his fellow citizens (y).* His works abound with precepts of the pureſt morality; and it does not appear that he ever traduced even his enemies; comforting himſelf, for their malignity, by a maxim which he inſerted in his firſt Pythic, and which afterwards became proverbial, *That it is better to be envied than pitied* (z).

Pauſanias ſays, that the character of Poet was truly conſecrated, in the perſon of Pindar, by the God of verſe himſelf, who was pleaſed, by an expreſs oracle, to order the inhabitants of Delphos to ſet apart, for Pindar, one half of the firſt-fruit offerings, brought by the religious to his ſhrine, and to allow him a conſpicuous place in his Temple; where, in an iron chair, he uſed to ſit and ſing his Hymns in honour of that God. This chair was remaining in the time of Pauſanias, ſeveral centuries after, and ſhewn to him as a relic, not unworthy of the ſanctity and magnificence of that place.

(y) Αρμενος ην ξεινοισιν αινῃ ὁδε, και φιλος αστοις. *De Anim. Proc.*

(z) Κρεσσων γαρ οικτιρμων φθονος.

Such a *Singer* as Pindar would be heard with the ſame rapture in a pagan Temple, as a Farinelli in an Italian church: and as both would draw together crowded congregations, both would be equally careſſed and encouraged by the prieſts.

But though Pindar's Muſe was penſioned at Delphos, and well paid by princes and potentates elſewhere, ſhe ſeems, however, ſometimes to have ſung the ſpontaneous ſtrains of pure friendſhip. Of this kind were, probably, the verſes beſtowed upon the Muſician Midas, of Agrigentum, in Sicily, who had twice obtained the palm of victory, by his performance on the Flute, at the Pythic Games (*a*). It is in his 12th Pythic Ode, that Pindar celebrates the victory of Midas *over all Greece, upon that inſtrument which Minerva herſelf had invented* (*b*).

Fabricius tells us that Pindar lived to the age of ninety; and, according to the chronology of Dr. Blair, he died 435 years B. C. aged eighty-ſix. His fellow-citizens erected a monument to him, in the Hippodrome at Thebes, which was ſtill ſubſiſting in the time of Pauſanias; and his renown was ſo great after his death, that his poſterity derived very conſiderable honours and privileges from it. When Alexander the Great attacked the city of Thebes, he gave expreſs orders to his ſoldiers to ſpare the houſe and family of Pindar. The Lacedæmonians had done the ſame before this period; for when they ravaged Bæotia, and burned the capital, the following words were written upon the door of the Poet: *forbear to burn this houſe, it was the dwelling of Pindar.* Reſpect for the memory of this great Poet continued ſo long, that

(*a*) This Midas is a very different perſonage from his long-eared majeſty of Phrygia, whoſe deciſion in favour of Pan had given ſuch offence to Apollo, (ſee p. 274 of this vol.) as is manifeſt, indeed, from his having been cotemporary with Pindar.

(*b*) The moſt extraordinary part of this Muſician's performance, that can be gathered from the ſcholiaſt upon Pindar, was his finiſhing the *Solo*, without a *Reed*, or *Mouth-piece*, which broke accidentally while he was playing. The legendary account given by the Poet in this Ode, of the occaſion upon which the Flute was invented by Minerva, is diverting; "it was, ſays he, to *imitate* the *howling* of the Gorgons, and the hiſſing of their ſnakes, which the Goddeſs had heard when the head of Meduſa, (one of theſe three *Anti-Graces*) was cut off by Perſeus."

even

even in Plutarch's time, the beſt part of the ſacred victim, at the Theoxenian feſtival, was appropriated to his deſcendants.

All the regiſters, in which the names and victories of the ſucceſsful candidates at the ſacred Games were recorded, have been ſo long loſt, that no regular ſeries of events at theſe ſolemnities can be now expected: I ſhall, however, reſume the ſubject, and give the reader ſuch farther information concerning them, as I have been able to glean from ancient authors. Indeed the names and feats of Muſicians, that have been crowned at the public Games, are not ſo difficult to find, as the time when they flouriſhed; and an event without a date to hang it upon, does but litter the mind of the reader; it is a kind of vagabond, without a ſettlement, which no one is willing to take in.

Plutarch, who on many occaſions ſeems to have conſulted the regiſters of the ſacred Games, tells us, in his life of Lyſander the Spartan general, that the Muſician Ariſtonoüs, who had *ſix times* obtained the prize for ſinging to the *Cithara* (*c*), in the *Pythic Games*, flattered Lyſander ſo far as tell him, that if ever he gained another victory, he would be publicly proclaimed his diſciple and ſervant. This was after the Spartan had taken the city of Athens, beaten down the walls, and burned all the ſhips in the harbour, *to the ſound of Flutes*; an event which happened in the 94th Olympiad, 404 years B. C.

Indiſputable teſtimonies are to be found in ancient authors, of the continuation of Muſical Conteſts at theſe Games, till their final abolition after the eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian religion. I ſhall only mention the victory which Pauſanias (*d*) informs us was gained there by Pylades, upon the Cithara, about the 94th Pythiad, 211 years before Chriſt: the *Pythic Laurel*, which both Suetonius and Dio Caſſius inform us, Nero, as a *Citharœdiſt*, who had been victor at thoſe Games, brought out of Greece, 66 years after the ſame Æra: and the two *Pythic* victories, recorded in the Oxford Marbles, among innumerable others, which C. Ant. Septimius Publius, the Citharœdiſt, obtained during the reign of

(*c*) Κιθαρῳδος. (*d*) *In Arcad.* lib. viii.

the

the emperor Septimius Severus, about the end of the ſecond century.

To the muſical premiums given at Delphos, according to Plutarch (*e*), was added, in later times, one for Tragedy; and, by degrees, various other conteſts were admitted; among which, an *exhibition* for Painters appears to have had a place (*f*): and if no premium was given to be diſputed by Sculptors, the great number of victors, whoſe ſtatues they had to erect at the public coſt, muſt have been a ſufficient incitement to them to aim at excellence in their profeſſion (*g*). But an account of any other art or artiſts, than Muſic and Muſicians, would lead me far beyond the limits of my plan.

I ſhall cloſe this article, therefore, by obſerving, that *Games* in honour of Apollo, and called *Pythic*, were inſtituted, not only at Delphos, but at Miletus in Ionia, at Magneſia, Sida, Perga, and Theſſalonica; and in all theſe, *Muſic* and *Poetry* were the chief ſubjects of conteſt (*h*).

Of the Nemean Games.

Theſe Games, which had their name from *Nemea*, a village and grove in Arcadia, were of ſuch high antiquity, that the ancients themſelves, in the time of Pauſanias, were not agreed concerning the origin of their inſtitution. Some aſſert them to have been a funeral ſolemnity, inſtituted in honour of Archemorus, by the ſeven champions who led the army to Thebes: others, that they were founded by Hercules, in honour of Jupiter, after he had ſlain the *Nemean* lion. The exerciſes were nearly the ſame as at Olympia, as appears from the ſubjects of the Nemean Odes of Pindar. However, that *Muſical Performances* uſually conſtituted a part of the exerciſes and amuſements at this ſolemnity, is a fact

(*e*) *Sympoſ.*

(*f*) *Plin* 35. 9.

(*g*) Nero took thence five hundred bronze ſtatues of Gods and illuſtrious perſonages; and yet, after this robbery, in the time of Pauſanias, the number ſtill remaining was prodigious, without enumerating thoſe which had been placed there to commemorate the merit of Athletics, Muſicians, and Poets, in their particular profeſſions.

(*h*) Meurſius, *Græcia feriata*.

To

ſo fully aſcertained by a paſſage in Plutarch's life of Philopœmen, and corroborated by Pauſanias, that I ſhall give the narration entire, and leave it to ſpeak for itſelf.

"Philopœmen being elected a ſecond time general of the Achæans, ſoon after he had gained the celebrated battle of Mantinea, entered the theatre at the Nemean Games, *while the Muſicians were diſputing the Muſical Prize.* At the moment that Philopœmen entered, the Muſician Pylades, of Megalopolis, happened to be ſinging to the Lyre, the beginning of a ſong compoſed by Timotheus, called *the Perſians:*

> Behold the hero, from whoſe glorious deeds
> Our greateſt bleſſing, liberty, proceeds (*i*)!

The ſubject of the verſe, the energy with which it was uttered, and the beauty of the ſinger's voice, ſtruck the whole aſſembly. They inſtantly caſt their eyes on Philopœmen, and, with the moſt violent applauſe and acclamation, animated with the hopes of recovering their former dignity, they aſſumed their ancient ſpirit and confidence of victory. Pauſanias adds, that they unanimouſly cried out, that nothing could be more applicable than this poem was to the brave general, who had undertaken to command their army (*k*)."

Though no other particulars are preſerved concerning the Muſician Pylades, than what Plutarch and Pauſanias furniſh, in relating this circumſtance, yet concerning Timotheus, whoſe verſes

(*i*) It is remarkable, that the original of theſe lines is an *Hexameter*.

Κλεινον ελευθεριας τευχω μεγαν Ελλαδι κοσμον.

which confirms what has been advanced (p. 359.) concerning the priority of this verſe, and, conſequently, of regular and unmixed Muſical Rhythms, to metres of unequal feet, and Muſic of unequal bars. Indeed, Plutarch aſſerts, expreſly, *(de Muſ.)* that the Nomes made to be ſung to the Cithara, were originally compoſed entirely of Hexameters; and he alleges, Timotheus, the very author of the verſe in queſtion, as a proof of it; who, though he was an innovator, yet did not venture to compoſe his firſt Nomes entirely in Dithyrambic, or irregular meaſures, but *mixed* them with Hexameters, hoping to take, as it were *by ſap*, the ears of old connoiſſeurs, ſo vigilant and well fortified againſt the irruption of *new* pleaſures.

(*k*) This event happened in the third year of the 143d Olympiad, 206 years B. C.

he

he ſung, many incidents are come down to us, to ſome of which I ſhall give a place here.

TIMOTHEUS, one of the moſt celebrated Poet-Muſicians of antiquity, was born at Miletus, an Ionian city of Caria, 346 years B. C. He was cotemporary with Philip of Macedon, and Euripides, and not only excelled in Lyric and Dithyrambic Poetry, but in his performance upon the Cithara. According to Pauſanias (*l*), he perfected that inſtrument, by the addition of four new ſtrings to the ſeven which it had before; though Suidas ſays it had nine before, and that Timotheus only added two, the tenth and eleventh to that number.

The hiſtorical part of this work has hitherto conſiſted more of biographical anecdotes, than dry diſcuſſions concerning the dark and diſputable points of ancient Muſic, which were purpoſely thrown into the Diſſertation, to keep off, as much as poſſible, that laſſitude and diſguſt which minute enquiries into matters, uſually thought more abſtruſe than intereſting, produce in the generality of readers. I muſt, however, now beg leave to ſtop the narrative a little, in order to ſtate the ſeveral claims made in favour of different perſons, who have been ſaid to have extended the limits of the Greek Muſical Scale.

Many ancient and reſpectable writers tell us, that before the time of Terpander, the Grecian Lyre had only four ſtrings; and, if we may believe Suidas, it remained in this ſtate 856 years, from the time of Amphion, till Terpander added to it three new ſtrings, which extended the Muſical Scale to a *Heptachord*, or ſeventh, and ſupplied the player with *two conjoint Tetrachords*.

It was about 150 years after this period, that Pythagoras is ſaid to have added an eighth ſtring to the Lyre, in order to complete the octave, which conſiſted of *two disjunct Tetrachords*.

Theſe dates of the ſeveral additions to the Scale, at ſuch diſtant periods, though perhaps not exact, may, however, if near the truth, ſhow the ſlow progreſs of human knowledge, and the contented ignorance of barbarous times. But if we wonder at the

(*l*) *Lib.* iii. *cap.* 12.

Muſic

Muſic of Greece remaining ſo many ages in this circumſcribed ſtate, it may be aſked, why that of China and Perſia is not better now, though the inhabitants of thoſe countries have long been civilized, and accuſtomed to luxuries and refinements.

Boethius gives a different hiſtory of the ſcale, and tells us, that the ſyſtem did not long remain in ſuch narrow limits as a *Tetrachord*. Chorœbus, the ſon of Athis, or Atys, king of Lydia, added a fifth ſtring, Hyagnis a ſixth, Terpander a ſeventh, and, at length, Lychaon of Samos, an eighth. But all theſe accounts are irreconcileable with Homer's Hymn to Mercury, where the Chelys, or Teſtudo, the invention of which he aſcribes to that God, is ſaid to have had ſeven ſtrings (*m*). There are many claimants among the muſicians of ancient Greece, to the ſtrings that were afterwards added to theſe, by which the ſcale, in the time of Ariſtoxenus, was extended to two octaves. Athenæus, more than once, ſpeaks of the *nine-ſtringed-inſtrument* (*n*); and Ion of Chios, a tragic and lyric poet, and philoſopher, who firſt recited his pieces in the 82d Olympiad, 452 B. C. mentions, in ſome verſes quoted by Euclid, the *ten-ſtringed Lyre* (*o*); a proof that the third conjoint tetrachord was added to the ſcale in his time, which was about fifty years after Pythagoras is ſuppoſed to have conſtructed the octachord (*p*).

The different claimants among the Greeks to the ſame muſical diſcoveries, only prove that muſic was cultivated in different countries; and that the inhabitants of each country invented and improved their own inſtruments, ſome of which happening to reſemble thoſe of other parts of Greece, rendered it difficult for hiſtorians to avoid attributing the ſame invention to different perſons. Thus the ſingle Flute was given to Minerva, and to Marſyas; the Syrinx, or Fiſtula, to Pan, and to Cybele; and the Lyre, or Ci-

(*m*) See p. 362.

(*n*) Ενναχορδον οργανον. *Lib.* iv. & xiv. Theocritus, *Id.* viii. ſpeaks of a Syrinx with nine notes, συριγξα ἐνεαφωνον; but conſidering the extenſion of the Scale in his time, 262 B. C. it is no great wonder if the ſimpleſt of inſtruments had a compaſs of nine ſounds.

(*o*) Δεκαχορδῳ λυρᾳ.

(*p*) Ion died, according to Fabricius, vol. i. p. 681, 419 years B. C. and 78 after Pythagoras. Beſides Tragedies and Dithyrambics, Ion compoſed *Odes*, *Pæans*, *Hymns*, and *Scolia*, or convivial ſongs. The *three conjoint Tetrachords*, *Meſ. Synem.* and *Diez.* with which the *Decachordon* was furniſhed, conſiſted, perhaps, of theſe ſounds: BCDE, EFGA, A Bb c d.

thara, to Mercury, Apollo, Amphion, Linus, and Orpheus. Indeed, the mere addition of a ſtring or two to an inſtrument without a neck, was ſo obvious and eaſy, that it is ſcarce poſſible not to conceive many people to have done it at the ſame time.

With reſpect to the number of ſtrings upon the lyre of Timotheus, the account of Pauſanias and Suidas is confirmed in the famous *Senatus-Conſultum* againſt him, already ſlightly mentioned in the Diſſertation, but of which I ſhall here give a more particular account.

This curious piece of antiquity is preſerved at full length in Boethius (*q*). Mr. Stillingfleet (*r*) has lately given an extract from it, in proof of the ſimplicity of the ancient Spartan muſic. The fact is mentioned in Athenæus; and Caſaubon, in his notes upon that author (*s*), has inſerted the whole original text from Boethius, with corrections, to which I refer the learned reader. I ſhall here, however, give a faithful tranſlation of this extraordinary Spartan *Act of Parliament*.

"*Whereas* Timotheus *the Mileſian, coming to our city, has diſhonoured our ancient muſic, and, deſpiſing the Lyre of ſeven ſtrings, has, by the introduction of a greater variety of notes, corrupted the ears of our youth; and by the number of his ſtrings, and the novelty of his melody, has given to our muſic an effeminate and artificial dreſs, inſtead of the plain and orderly one in which it has hitherto appeared; rendering melody infamous, by compoſing in the Chromatic, inſtead of the Enharmonic* (*t*);——————————*The Kings and the Ephori have, therefore, reſolved to paſs cenſure upon* Timotheus *for theſe things: and, farther, to oblige him to cut all the ſuperfluous ſtrings of his* eleven, *leaving only* the ſeven tones; *and to baniſh him from our city; that men may be warned for the future, not to introduce into Sparta any unbecoming cuſtoms.*"——]

The ſame ſtory, as related in Athenæus, has this additional circumſtance, that when the public executioner was on the point of

(*q*) *De Muſica, cap.* i.
(*r*) *Prin. and Power of Harm.* § 185.
(*s*) *Animad. in Athen.* p. 386.
(*t*) This part of the original is very corrupt: the meaning, however, appears to be, that in a conteſt at the Carnean feſtival, he had ſung a poem upon the labour of Semele at the birth of Bacchus, in which he had not ſufficiently attended to decency and decorum.

fulfilling

fulfilling the ſentence, by cutting off the new ſtrings, Timotheus, perceiving a little ſtatue in the ſame place, with a lyre in its hand, of as many ſtrings as that which had given the offence, and ſhewing it to the judges, was acquitted.

Indeed the decree only informs us, that the uſe of a lyre, with more than ſeven ſtrings, was not allowed at this time by the Lacedæmonians; but does not prove that the reſt of Greece had confined their muſic within the compaſs of *ſeven* notes; nor, conſequently, aſcertain how many of the *eleven* ſtrings were additions *peculiar* to Timotheus. That the outcry againſt the novelties of this muſician was, however, not confined to Sparta, appears from a paſſage in Plutarch's Dialogue, where he gives a liſt of the innovators, who had corrupted and enervated the good old melody, by additional notes both upon the Flute and Lyre (*u*).

"Laſus of Hermione, ſays he, by changing muſical Rhythms to the Dithyrambic irregularity of movement, and, at the ſame time, emulating the compaſs and variety of the Flute, occaſioned a great revolution in the ancient muſic. Melanippides, who ſucceeded him, in like manner, would not confine himſelf to the old muſic, any more than his ſcholar Philoxenus, or Timotheus."

The ſame thing alſo appears from the bitter invectives to which the comic poets at Athens, eſpecially Pherecrates and Ariſtophanes, gave a looſe; not, perhaps, from underſtanding muſic, or being at all ſenſible of its effects, but from that envy, which the great reputation of the muſician had excited. An exalted character is a ſhooting butt, at which ſatiriſts, and wicked wits, conſtantly point their arrows; and the ſtage at all times wages war againſt whatever calls off the public attention from itſelf.

The abuſe, therefore, of this muſician, which abounds in ancient authors, is, perhaps, as great a proof of his ſuperiority, as the praiſe. A Greek epigram, preſerved in Macrobius, informs us, that the Epheſians gave him a thouſand pieces of gold for com-

(*u*) Plutarch accuſes Laſus of imitating the many ſounds, the πολυφωνια of Flutes. And Plato, in his *Rep. lib.* iii. inveighing againſt inſtruments of *many ſtrings*, calls them imitations of the Flute: αυλε μιμηματα; and in his third book, *De Leg.* he complains of the Lyre *imitating* the Flute.

poſing a poem in honour of Diana, at the dedication of the temple of that Goddeſs; and was not that a ſufficient reaſon for *hungry* authors to rail?

Plutarch tells us, that the comic poet Pherecrates introduced *Muſic* on the ſtage, under the figure of a woman, whoſe body was terribly torn and mangled. She is aſked by *Juſtice*, under the figure of another woman, the cauſe of her ill-treatment? when ſhe relates her ſtory in the following words: "The firſt ſource of all my misfortunes was Melanippides, who began to enervate and debilitate me by his *twelve ſtrings*. However, this would not have reduced me to the deplorable condition in which I now appear, if Cineſias, that curſed Athenian, had not contributed to ruin and disfigure me in his Dithyrambic Strophes, by his falſe and untuneable inflexions of voice. In ſhort, his cruelty to me was beyond all deſcription; and next to him, Phrynis took it into his head to abuſe me by ſuch diviſions and flouriſhes, as no one ever thought of before, making me ſubſervient to all his whims, twiſting and twirling me a thouſand ways, in order to produce from *five ſtrings*, the *twelve* different *modes* (*x*). But ſtill, the freaks of ſuch a man would not have been ſufficient to complete my ruin, for he was able to make me ſome amends. Nothing now was wanting but the cruelty of one Timotheus to ſend me to the grave, after maiming and mangling me in the moſt inhuman manner." "Who is this Timotheus?" ſays Juſtice.

MUSIC.

"O 'tis that vile Mileſian blade,
Who treats me like an arrant jade;
Robs me of all my former fame;
And loads me with contempt and ſhame:
Contriving ſtill, where'er he goes,
New ways to multiply my woes:

(*x*) This paſſage ſeems manifeſtly to imply an inſtrument with a *neck*, by which the ſounds of *five ſtrings* only, were multiplied to thoſe of all the twelve modes; and this was, probably, the firſt attempt of the kind in Greece; at leaſt it is the firſt that I have ſeen upon record.

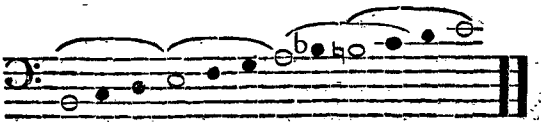
Nay

Nay more, the wretch I never meet,
Be it in palace, houſe, or ſtreet,
But ſtrait he ſtrips off all my things,
And *ties* me with a *dozen ſtrings* (*y*)."

It has already been remarked, that the word *Enharmonic* appears in the copy of the *Senatus-Conſultum*, inſerted in the Oxford Edition of Aratus, though no notice is taken of it by ſome tranſlators. It is likewiſe to be found, not only in the copy of this decree, which Caſaubon has given in his notes upon Athenæus, but in a beautiful MS. of the eleventh century, in the Britiſh Muſeum (*z*). If then it is certain that the Lacedæmonians admired the Enharmonic Genus for its *ſimplicity*, and yet reprobated the Chromatic for its *difficulty* and effeminacy, does it not fortify the hypotheſis hazarded in the Diſſertation, concerning the plainneſs and dignity of the ancient Enharmonic?

It appears from Suidas, that the poetical and muſical compoſitions of Timotheus were very numerous, and of various kinds. He attributes to him nineteen *Nomes*, or Canticles, in *Hexameters*; thirty-ſix *Proems*, or Preludes; eighteen *Dithyrambics*; twenty-one *Hymns*; the poem in praiſe of Diana; one Panegyric; three Tragedies, the *Perſians*, *Phinidas*, and *Laertes*; to which muſt be

(*y*) This is a fragment from a comedy written by Pherecrates, called Chiron, and the only remains of that poet; and as Timotheus is accuſed by him of multiplying the ſtrings of the lyre to *twelve*, as that inſtrument had *ten* before his time, it is probable that the two ſounds he added were B♮ for the *Chromatic Genus*, which he ſtands accuſed, by the *Senatus-Conſultum*, of having introduced at Sparta; and the *Nete Diezeugmenon*, or ſound E, upon the firſt line in the treble, which, though ſuppoſed to have been added to the Scale by Pythagoras, may, perhaps, never have been heard by the Spartans, before the arrival of Timotheus among them. If this conjecture be right, his Scale muſt have been the following:



It appears from the above fragment, that Timotheus was not the firſt who uſed *eleven* ſtrings, ſince the Lyre of Melanippides was furniſhed with *twelve*, before his time. There were two Poet-muſicians of the name of Melanippides, both anterior to the *elder* Timotheus.

(*z*) *Bib. Reg.* 15 B. IX.

added

added a fourth, mentioned by ſeveral ancient authors, called *Niobe*, without forgetting the poem on *the birth of Bacchus*. Stephen of Byzantium makes him author of eighteen books of *Nomes*, or airs, for the *Cithara*, to eight thouſand verſes, and of a thouſand Προοιμια, or *Preludes*, for the *Nomes* of the Flute.

A muſician ſo long eminent as Timotheus, muſt have excited great deſire in young ſtudents to become his pupils; but, according to Bartholinus, he uſed to exact a *double Price* from all ſuch as had previouſly received inſtructions from any other maſter; ſaying, that he would rather inſtruct thoſe who *knew nothing*, for *half price*, than have the trouble of *un*teaching ſuch as had already acquired bad habits, and an incorrect and vicious manner of playing.

Timotheus died in Macedonia, according to Suidas, at the age of ninety-ſeven; though the Marbles, much better authority, ſay at ninety; and Stephen of Byzantium fixes his death in the fourth year of the 105th Olympiad, two years before the birth of Alexander the Great; whence it appears, that this Timotheus was not the famous player on the Flute, ſo much eſteemed by that prince, who was animated to ſuch a degree by his performance, as to ſeize his arms; and who employed him, as Athenæus informs us (*a*), together with the other great muſicians of his time, at his nuptials. However, by an inattention to dates, and by forgetting that of theſe two muſicians of the ſame name, the one was a Mileſian, and the other a Theban (*b*), they have been hitherto almoſt always confounded.

Of the Iſthmian Games.

Theſe Games were ſo called from the Iſthmus of Corinth, where they were celebrated. In their firſt inſtitution, according to Pauſanias (*c*), they conſiſted only of funeral rites and ceremonies, in honour of Melicertes; but Theſeus afterwards, as Plutarch informs

(*a*) *Lib.* xii. p. 538. (*b*) Lucian *Harmonid.* (*c*) *Initio Corinthiac.*

us,

us (*d*), in emulation of Hercules, who had appointed Games at Olympia, in honour of Jupiter, dedicated theſe to Neptune, his reputed father, who was regarded as the particular protector of the Iſthmus, and commerce, of Corinth. The ſame trials of ſkill were exhibited here, as at the other three Sacred Games, and particularly thoſe of Muſic and Poetry (*e*).

Livy relates a very intereſting event, which happened during the celebration of theſe Games, after the Romans had defeated Philip king of Macedon, one of the ſucceſſors of Alexander the Great, who had been in poſſeſſion of the chief part of Greece.

The time, ſays this author, for celebrating the Iſthmian Games was now come. There was always a great concourſe of people at them, from the natural curioſity of the Greeks, who delighted in ſeeing all kinds of combats and bodily exerciſes, as well as from the convenience of the ſituation, between two ſeas, for the inhabitants of different provinces to aſſemble. But being at this time anxious to know their own fate, and that of their country, all Greece flocked thither, the greater part ſilently foreboding the worſt, and ſome not ſcrupling openly to expreſs their fears. At length the Romans took their places at the Games, and a herald, with a trumpet, in the uſual manner, advanced into the middle of the Arena, as if to pronounce the common form of words; but, when ſilence was ordered, he proclaimed, "that the Roman ſenate and people, and T. Quinctius Flamininus their general, after vanquiſhing Philip and his Macedonians, declared the Corinthians, Phocæans, all the Locrians, the iſland Eubœa, the Magneſians, Theſſalonians, Perrhæbi, Achæans, and Phthiotes, all which ſtates had been poſſeſſed by Philip, free, independent, and ſubject only to their own laws." The joy which this proclamation occaſioned in the aſſembly was, at firſt, too great to be expreſſed. The ſpectators could ſcarce credit what they heard; they regarded each other with aſtoniſhment, as if they had waked out of a dream. Each, diffident of his own ears, with reſpect to what particularly

(*d*) *In Theſeo.*
(*e*) Plutarch, *Sympoſ.* lib. v. *Quæſt.* 2. Julian. *Epiſt. pro Argiv.* p. 408 D. *Edit. Lipſ.*

con-

concerned himſelf and his own country, aſked his neighbour what had been ſaid. The herald was even called again, ſo ſtrong a deſire had they all, not only to hear, but to ſee the meſſenger of their liberty, and they had the ſatisfaction of hearing him repeat the decree. When their joy was fully confirmed, they expreſſed it in ſuch loud and reiterated ſhouts of applauſe, that it was evident liberty was dearer to them than all the other advantages of life *(f)*. After this the Games were celebrated, but with the greateſt hurry and confuſion; no one had eyes or attention for the ſpectacle; every avenue of inferior pleaſure was obſtructed by joy (*g*).

Theſe Games, in which the victors were only rewarded with garlands of pine-leaves, were celebrated with great magnificence and ſplendor, as long as paganiſm continued to be the eſtabliſhed religion of Greece; nor were they omitted even when Corinth was ſacked and burned by Mummius, the Roman general, at which time the care of them was transferred to the Sicyonians, but was reſtored again to the inhabitants of Corinth, when that city was rebuilt.

Though every Grecian province had its peculiar Games, and every great city its feſtivals, in many of which Poets and Muſicians contended for pre-eminence; yet, after beſtowing ſo many pages upon the four *Sacred Games*, I ſhould extend my enquiries concerning theſe inſtitutions no farther, if a celebrated eſtabliſhment of this kind, among the Athenians, the moſt elegant, refined, ingenious, and voluptuous people of Greece, did not, from the frequent mention that is made of it in ancient authors, and the renown of the combatants, ſeem to require particular notice.

Of the Panathenæan Games.

There were two ſolemn feſtivals under this denomination at Athens, the greater and the leſs; both of which were celebrated there in honour of Minerva, the patroneſs of that city. They

(f) Plut. Vit. Flamin. ſays, the ſhouts of the people were ſo loud, that ſome crows which happened to be flying over their heads, *fell dead* into the Stadium.

(g) Dec. 4. *lib.* xxxiii. cap. 32.

muſt

muſt have been of very high antiquity, as their firſt inſtitution was aſcribed to Orpheus (*h*), and to king Erichthonius (*i*); and their renewal and augmentation to Theſeus (*k*). The greater *Panathenæa* were exhibited every five years, the leſs every three, or, according to ſome writers, annually (*l*). Though the celebration of neither, at firſt, employed more than one day, yet in after-times they were protracted for the ſpace of many days, and ſolemnized with greater preparations and magnificence than at their firſt inſtitution.

Prizes were eſtabliſhed there for three different kinds of combat: the firſt conſiſted of Foot and Horſe races; the ſecond, of Athletic exerciſes; and the third of Poetical and Muſical conteſts. Theſe laſt are ſaid to have been inſtituted by Pericles: and that great patron of arts and literature may have been the firſt who excited emulation in Poets and Muſicians, at this feſtival, by beſtowing rewards upon the moſt excellent; but, according to Plutarch (*m*), who had conſulted the Panathenæan Regiſter, Muſical Performances were of much earlier date there than the time of Pericles. Rhapſodiſts were appointed to ſing the verſes of Homer at theſe Games, by Hipparchus, the ſon of Piſiſtratus.

Singers of the firſt claſs, accompanied by performers on the Flute and Cithara, exerciſed their talents here, upon ſubjects preſcribed by the directors of theſe exhibitions. And while the Athenian ſtate was free and independent, the noble and generous actions of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, who had oppoſed the power of the Piſiſtratidæ, and of Ariſtobulus, who had delivered the Athenians from the oppreſſion of the thirty tyrants, impoſed upon them by the Lacedæmonians, were celebrated in theſe ſongs.

The firſt who obtained the prize here, on the Cithara, according to the Marbles, was Phrynis, of Mitylene, about 457 years B. C. But this Muſician was not equally ſucceſsful when he contended in theſe Games with Timotheus, who boaſts, himſelf,

(*h*) *Theodoret, Therapeut.* lib. i.
(*i*) *Suidas, voc.* Παναθηναια.
(*k*) *Suid. ibid.*
(*l*) *Thucydid.* lib. vi.
(*m*) *De Muſica.*

of a victory he had obtained over him, in ſome verſes preſerved by Plutarch (*n*).

There were premiums likewiſe given to players on the Flute, an inſtrument long in the higheſt eſtimation throughout all Greece, but in particular requeſt at Athens; perhaps from the legendary account of its invention by Minerva, the protectreſs of that city. For though the pagan religion ſeems to have had but little effect in reſtraining vice, and held out but few allurements to virtue, yet it furniſhed its votaries with reaſons for innumerable follies.

Ariſtotle (*o*) tells us, that the Flute, after its firſt invention, was uſed by mean people, and thought an ignoble inſtrument, unworthy of a free man, till after the invaſion and defeat of the Perſians (*p*); when eaſe, affluence, and luxury ſoon rendered its uſe ſo common, that it was a diſgrace to a perſon of birth not to know how to play upon it. Callias and Critias, celebrated Athenians, Archytas of Tarentum, Philolaüs, and Epaminondas, were able performers on the Flute. Indeed Muſic, in general, was in ſuch favour, and the ſtudy of it was thought ſo eſſential a part of education, at Athens, in the time of Pericles and Socrates, that Plato (*q*) and Plutarch (*r*) have thought it neceſſary to inform us of whom thoſe two great perſonages received inſtructions in that art. DAMON, the Athenian, was the muſic maſter of both. The philoſopher calls him his friend, in a Dialogue of Plato, where Nicias, one of the interlocutors, informs the company, that Socrates had recommended, as a muſic maſter to his ſon, Damon, the diſciple of Agathocles, who not only excelled in his own profeſſion, but poſſeſſed every quality that could be wiſhed in a man to whom the care of youth was to be confided (*s*).

(*n*) *De Laud. Sui.*

(*o*) *De Repub.* cap. vi.

(*p*) Strabo ſays, it was the general opinion, that the Greeks had the chief part of their Muſic, and Muſical Inſtruments, from Aſia and Thrace. And, according to Athenæus, *lib.* xiii. p. 607, Muſic was thought a neceſſary female accompliſhment in the time of Darius; for this author tells us, that Parmenio wrote Alexander word, he had taken at Damaſcus three hundred and twenty-nine of the Perſian monarch's concubines, who were all ſkilled in Muſic, and performers on the Flute, and other inſtruments.

(*q*) *In primo Alcibiad.*

(*r*) *In Pericl.*

(*s*) *Lach.* It was thought diſgraceful for a gentleman not to be able to play upon the Flute. Cornelius Nepos ranks it among the accompliſhments of Epaminondas, that he could dance well, and play on the Flute. But he was a *Theban*. It ſeems that *Theban Flute-players*, and *Leſbian Lyriſts*, were always the moſt celebrated throughout Greece.

Damon

Damon had chiefly cultivated that part of Muſic, which concerns *Time* or *Cadence*; for which he is highly commended by Platō (*t*), who ſeems to have regarded *Rhythm* as the moſt eſſential part of Muſic, and that upon which the morals of a people depended, more than upon Melody, or, as the ancients called it, *Harmony*. He is alſo mentioned by Ariſtides Quintilianus, as having excelled in characterizing his Melodies, by a judicious choice of ſuch ſounds and intervals as were beſt adapted to the effects he intended to produce (*u*).

Pericles, the moſt accompliſhed character in antiquity, was not only a conſummate judge, but a great encourager of all the arts. And in his life, written by Plutarch, we are told that the Muſes bore a principal ſhare in all the public ſpectacles with which he entertained the people. He not only regulated and augmented the Poetical and Muſical conteſts at the Panathenæan feſtivals, but built the *Odeum* (*x*), or Muſic-Room, in which Poets and Muſicians daily exerciſed themſelves in their art, and rehearſed new compoſitions, before they were exhibited in the theatre.

It was Pericles, likewiſe, who invited to Athens ANTIGENIDES, one of the moſt renowned Muſicians of antiquity; of whoſe life and talents ſuch honourable mention is made in ancient authors, that it ſeems neceſſary to give the reader ſome account of them. According to Suidas, he was a native of Thebes, in Bœotia, and the ſon of Satyrus, a celebrated Flute-player, who, as Ælian tells us, was ſo charmed with the lectures of the philoſopher Ariſton, that upon quitting them, he ſaid, "If I do not break my Flute, I hope I ſhall have my head cut off." Antigenides was not the only one of his country whoſe abilities upon that inſtrument had rendered famous. The Thebans in general piqued themſelves much upon being great performers on the Flute. This is manifeſt from a paſſage in Dion Chryſoſtom. "The pre-emi-

(*t*) *De Repub.* lib. iii.

(*u*) Damon, according to Plutarch, was a profound politician, and, under the maſk of a Muſician, he tried to conceal from the multitude this talent. He was, however, involved with his patron Pericles, in the political diſputes of his time, and baniſhed as a favourer of tyranny. The period when he flouriſhed, may be gathered from his connections.

(*x*) Plut. *in Pericl.*

nence, ſays he, which all Greece unanimouſly allows to the Thebans, in this particular, has been conſtantly regarded by them as a point of great importance, of which I ſhall give an inſtance. After the total ruin of their city, which has never yet been rebuilt, no part of it being now inhabited but the ſmall quarter, called *Cadmea*, they gave themſelves but little trouble in reſtoring any of the public monuments that had been thrown down or deſtroyed, one ſtatue only of Mercury excepted, which they took great pains to dig out from among the rubbiſh, and to erect again, on account of the following inſcription: Ἑλλας μεν Θηβας νικαν πρεκρινεν αυλοις.—*Greece has declared that Thebes wins the prize upon the Flute.* So that this ſtatue is ſtill ſtanding in the old public ſquare, among the ruins *(y)*."

Pronomus, mentioned already (z), as the inventor of a Flute, upon which he could play in three different Modes, was a Theban. Before his time, there was a particular Flute for every Mode or Key: and ſo *out of tune* are the generality of modern Flutes, it were almoſt to be wiſhed that the cuſtom had ſtill continued. The words and Muſic of a Hymn, compoſed by Pronomus for the inhabitants of Chalcis, when they went to Delos, were ſubſiſting in the time of Pauſanias, as was likewiſe the ſtatue of this Muſician, erected by the citizens of Thebes, near that of Epaminondas (*a*).

Antigenides being, therefore, originally an inhabitant of a city in which the Flute was held in ſuch honour, and the ſon of a perſon who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf upon it, was the more likely to become eminent in the ſame art; and he is ſaid to have brought it to greater perfection than any one of his time, by the leſſons he received from PHILOXENUS. This celebrated Poet-Muſician, was a native of Cythera, and author of a great number of Lyric poems, which are entirely loſt. His innovations in Muſic are ſtigmatized by Plutarch, and the comic Poets of his own time. He was ſo great an epicure, that he is ſaid to have wiſhed for a

(*y*) *Orat.* 7. p. 123. *Edit. Pariſ.*
(z) P. 57.
(*a*) *Pauſan. in Bœotic.* cap. xii.

throat

throat as long as that of a crane, and *all palate*, in order to prolong the reliſh of the delicious morſels he ſwallowed. He was, however, as much celebrated for his jeſts as his gluttony. Being ſerved with a ſmall fiſh, at the table of Dionyſius of Syracuſe, and ſeeing an enormous turbot placed before the tyrant, he put the head of the little fiſh cloſe to his mouth, and pretended to whiſper it: then placed it cloſe to his ear, as if to receive the anſwer more diſtinctly. Upon being aſked by Dionyſius for an explanation of this mummery, he ſaid, "I am writing a poem, Sir, upon Galatea, one of the Nereids; and as I want information concerning ſeveral particulars relative to her father Nereus, and the watry element, that are quite out of my ken, I was in hopes of obtaining ſome ſatisfaction from this fiſh; but he tells me, that he is too young and ignorant to be able to ſatisfy my curioſity, and refers me to that grown-gentleman before your majeſty, who is much better acquainted with aquatic affairs." The tyrant underſtood him, and had the complaiſance to ſend him the turbot (*b*). But though, from this inſtance, he appears to have been high in favour with Dionyſius, he afterwards proved ſo aukward a courtier, that he preferred the labour of carrying ſtones from a quarry, to the diſguſt of praiſing the bad verſes of his patron.

Antigenides was, in his youth, according to Suidas, Flute-player in ordinary (*c*) to Philoxenus, and accompanied him in the muſical airs which he had ſet to his own verſes. Inſtructed by ſuch a maſter, it was no wonder that he ſhould have, in his turn, diſciples of the firſt claſs himſelf, and be careſſed by the greateſt princes. Pericles, who had undertaken the education of his nephew Alcibiades, appointed Antigenides for his Flute-maſter. But Aulus Gellius relates, from the Hiſtory of Muſic, in thirty Books, by Pamphila, that his ſcholar Alcibiades ſetting up for a fine gentleman, and taking the utmoſt care of his perſon, was ſoon diſguſted

(*b*) It was of this glutton, that Machon, the comic Poet, cited by Athenæus, told the ſtory which has furniſhed la Fontaine with a ſubject for one of his tales, and Pope with a *point*, at the end of one of his characters.

A ſalmon's belly, Helluo, was thy fate;
The doctor call'd, declares all help too late:
"Mercy! cries Helluo, mercy on my ſoul!
Is there no hope?—Alas—then bring the jowl."

(*c*) Αυλῳδος.

with

with his inſtrument, as Minerva herſelf had been before; for happening to ſee himſelf in a mirror, while he was playing, he was ſo ſhocked at the diſtortion of his ſweet countenance, that he broke his Flute, in a tranſport of paſſion, and threw it away, which brought this inſtrument into great diſgrace among the young people of rank at Athens. However, this diſguſt did not extend to the ſound of the Flute itſelf, ſince we find by Plutarch, that the great performers upon it continued long after to be much followed and admired (*d*).

It was Antigenides, according to Athenæus (*e*), who played upon the Flute at the nuptials of Iphicrates, when that Athenian general eſpouſed the daughter of Cotys, king of Thrace: and Plutarch attributes to him the tranſporting Alexander to ſuch a degree, by his performance of the *Harmatian* Air, at a banquet, that he ſeized his arms, and was on the point of attacking his gueſts. The ſame ſtory has been told of Timotheus. The Lacedæmonians had a ſong which ſaid, that "*a good performer on the Flute would make a man brave every danger, and face even* iron *itſelf.*"

Notwithſtanding this Muſician was ſo high in reputation, he ſeemed to regard public favour as a precarious poſſeſſion, and was never elated by the applauſe of the multitude. He endeavoured to inſpire his diſciples with the ſame ſentiments; and in order to conſole one of them, who, though poſſeſſed of great abilities, had received but little applauſe from his audience, "the next time you play, ſaid he, ſhall be *to me and the Muſes (f).*" Antigenides was ſo fully perſuaded of the coarſe taſte of the common people, that one day, hearing at a diſtance a violent burſt of applauſe to a player on the Flute, he ſaid, "there muſt be ſomething very bad

(*d*) Ariſtotle, after ſpeaking of the introduction and progreſs of the Flute in Greece, and of its univerſal uſe, gives a different reaſon for its being leſs in repute during his own time, than formerly. "The Flute is now, ſays he, regarded as unfit for young gentlemen, becauſe not a *moral inſtrument*, but adapted to enthuſiaſtic and paſſionate Muſic, ſuch as is improper for the ſober purpoſes of education." Perhaps by *moral*, he meant ſuch an inſtrument as the Lyre, to which Poetry and Morality could be united by the perſon who performed upon it. But if we reflect upon the influence of faſhion, and the vanity of imitating the great, the cauſe aſſigned by A. Gellius for the diſgrace of the Flute, is more likely to have been the true one, than that given by Ariſtotle.

(*e*) *Lib.* iv.

(*f*) *Cic. Brut.—Val. Max.*

in

in that man's performance, or thoſe people would not be ſo laviſh of their approbation."

Antigenides was author of many novelties upon the Flute. He encreaſed the number of holes, which extended the compaſs of the inſtrument, and, probably, rendered its Tones more flexible, and capable of greater variety. Theophraſtus, in his Hiſtory of Plants, has recorded how and at what ſeaſon Antigenides cut the reeds for his Flute, differently from former players on that inſtrument, in order to have ſuch as would expreſs all the delicacy and refinements of his new Muſic; and Pliny has tranſlated the paſſage (*g*).

This Muſician had great occaſion for flutes, upon which he could eaſily expreſs minute intervals and inflexions of ſound, ſince, according to Apuleius, he played upon them in all the modes: upon the Æolian and Ionian, remarkable the one for ſimplicity, the other for variety; upon the plaintive Lydian; upon the Phrygian, conſecrated to religious ceremonies; and upon the Dorian, ſuitable to warriors (*h*).

The innovations of Antigenides were not confined to the flute only: they extended to the robe of the performer; and he was the firſt who appeared in public with delicate Mileſian ſlippers, and a robe of ſaffron-colour, called *Crocoton* (*i*). Plutarch has preſerved a *bon mot* of Epaminondas, relative to Antigenides. This general, upon being informed, in order to alarm him, that the Athenians had ſent troops into the Peloponneſus, equipped with entire new arms; aſked "whether Antigenides was diſturbed when he ſaw new flutes in the hands of Tellis?" who was a bad performer.

DORION is mentioned by Plutarch as a Flute-player who had made ſeveral changes in the Muſic of his time, and who was head of a ſect of performers, opponents to another ſect of practical muſicians, of which Antigenides was the chief; a proof that

(*g*) *Lib.* xvi.

(*h*) *Tibicen quidam fuit Antigenides, omnis voculæ melleus, et idem omnis modi peritus, modificator: ſeu tu velles Æolium ſimplex, ſeu Aſium varium, ſeu Lydium querulum, ſeu Phrygium religioſum, ſeu Dorium bellicoſum.* Florida, § 4.

(*i*) Suidas *Antigenid.*

theſe

theſe two maſters were cotemporaries and rivals (*k*). Dorion, though much celebrated as a great Muſician, and Poet, by Athenæus, is better known to poſterity as a voluptuary. Both his Muſic and Poetry are loſt; however, many of his pleaſantries are preſerved. Being at Milo, a city of Egypt, and not able to procure a lodging, he enquired of a prieſt who was ſacrificing in a chapel, to what divinity it was dedicated, who anſwered, *to Jupiter and to Neptune.* How ſhould I be able, ſays Dorion, to get a lodging in a place where the Gods are forced to lie double? Supping one night with Nicocreon, in the iſland of Cyprus, and admiring a rich gold cup that was placed on the ſide-board, the goldſmith will make you juſt ſuch another, ſays the prince, whenever you pleaſe; "he'll obey your orders much better than mine, ſir, ſays Dorion; ſo let me have that, and do you beſpeak another." The remark of Athenæus (*l*) upon this reply is, that Dorion acted againſt the proverb, which ſays, that

> To Flute-players, nature gave brains there's no doubt,
> But alas! 'tis in vain, for they ſoon blow them out (*m*).

Upon hearing the deſcription of a tempeſt, in the *Nauplius* of Timotheus, Dorion ſaid, he had ſeen a better in a boiling cauldron.

Having loſt a large ſhoe at a banquet (*n*), which he wore on account of his foot being violently ſwelled by the gout, "the only harm I wiſh the thief, ſaid he, is, that my ſhoe may fit him."

(*k*) It appears, from a paſſage in Xenophon, *Memor.* iv. p. 4. that it was no uncommon thing for the Athenians to be divided into, what we ſhould call, *Fiddling Factions.* Socrates diſcourſing upon the advantages of concord in a ſtate, ſays, "by concord, I mean that the city ſhould agree, not in chuſing the ſame Poet, or *praiſing the ſame Flute-player*, but in obeying the ſame laws.

(*l*) *Lib.* viii. p. 338.

(*m*) Ανδρι μεν αυλητηρι Θεοι νοον εισενεφυσαν: Αλλ' αμα τω φυσαι χ' ὡ νους εκπεταται.
Moſt of the eminent Flute-players were Bœotians: *Craſſo in aere nati*; which ſeems to have given riſe to this epigram.

(*n*) This would be a ſtrange accident, indeed, at a modern feaſt; but was not extraordinary when it was the cuſtom to eat in a reclining poſture, and when all the gueſts pulled off their ſhoes, that the couches might not be dirtied.

His

His wit and talents made amends for his gluttony, and he was a welcome gueſt wherever he went. Philip of Macedon, in order to enliven his parties of pleaſure, uſed frequently to invite him with Ariſtonicus the *citharœdiſt*.

How great a demand there was at this time for Flutes, at Athens, may be conceived from a circumſtance mentioned by Plutarch, in his Life of Iſocrates. This orator, ſays he, was the ſon of Theodorus, a Flute-maker, who acquired wealth ſufficient by his employment not only to educate his children in a liberal manner, but alſo to bear one of the heavieſt public burdens to which an Athenian citizen was liable; that of furniſhing a *Choir* or *Chorus* for his tribe, or ward, at feſtivals and religious ceremonies (*o*).

The wealth of Theodorus will not, however, appear very extraordinary, if we judge of the price of Flutes by that of ISMENIAS, the celebrated Muſician of Thebes, who, according to Lucian (*p*), gave three talents, or 581*l.* 5*s.* for a Flute, at Corinth. But this celebrated Muſician was as eminent for his extravagance, as for his genius. He is recorded by Pliny (*q*), as a prodigal purchaſer of jewels, which he diſplayed with great vanity; and was once very angry that an emerald had been bought, in Cyprus, for leſs than he thought the value of it, though purchaſed for himſelf; and ſaid to the perſon to whom he had given the commiſſion, "You have done your buſineſs like a fool, and diſgraced the gem." Plutarch (*r*) relates the following ſtory of him: being ſent for to accompany a ſacrifice, and having played ſome time without the appearance of any good omen in the victim, his employer became impatient, and, ſnatching the Flute out of his hand, began playing in a very ridiculous manner himſelf, for

(*o*) Each tribe furniſhed their diſtinct *Chorus*; which conſiſted of a band of vocal and inſtrumental performers, and dancers, who were to be hired, maintained, and dreſſed, during the whole time of the feſtival: an expence conſiderable in itſelf, but much encreaſed by emulation among the richer citizens, and the diſgrace conſequent to an inferior exhibition. The fluctuations of trade and public favour have rendered the buſineſs of boring Flutes far leſs profitable at preſent, than it was in the time of Theodorus; but then we have, in our own country, a Harpſichord-maker, as able to *maintain a Choir*, as any dean and chapter of a cathedral.

(*p*) *Ad Indoctum.*

(*q*) *Lib.* xxxvii. 1.

(*r*) *Sympoſ. lib.* ii. *q.* 1.

which he was reprimanded by the company; but the happy omen ſoon appearing, there! ſaid he, to play acceptably to the Gods, is their own gift! Iſmenias anſwered with a ſmile, "While I played, the Gods were ſo delighted, that they deferred the omen, in order to hear me the longer; but they were glad to get rid of your noiſe upon any terms." Thus we ſee that neither vanity nor impiety are peculiar to modern Muſicians.

Indeed, according to Xenophon, the Flute-players of theſe times muſt have lived in a very ſplendid and magnificent manner. "If, ſays he (*s*), a bad performer on the Flute wiſhes to paſs for a good one, how muſt he ſet about it? Why he muſt imitate the great Flute-players in all thoſe circumſtances that are extraneous to the art itſelf. And, principally, as they are remarkable for expending great ſums in rich furniture, and for appearing in public with a great retinue of ſervants, he muſt do the ſame."

With reſpect to the ſalaries of great public performers, a circumſtance mentioned by Dr. Arbuthnot (*t*), from Athenæus, ſhews that the profuſion and extravagance of the preſent age in gratifying the miniſters of our pleaſures, is not equal to that of the Athenians during the times of which I write. For it is aſſerted that Amœbeus the Harper, whenever he ſung on the ſtage, was paid an Attic talent, or 193*l.* 15*s.* a day for his performance, though he lived, it is added, cloſe by the theatre (*u*).

The importance of the Flute is manifeſted by innumerable paſſages in ancient authors; among which there is one in Pliny that is diverting and curious. In ſpeaking of Comets, he ſays that there were ſome *in the ſhape of Flutes*, which were imagined to forebode ſome ill to Muſic and Muſicians (*x*). And Montfaucon proves by ſeveral inſcriptions from ancient marbles, that the ſacrificial Tibicen, at Athens, was always choſen, and his name recorded, with the officers of ſtate (*y*). This Muſician was called *Auletes*, and, ſometimes *Spondaula*. His office was to play on the

(*s*) *Memor. Socrat.*

(*t*) Tables of ancient coins, weights, and meaſures, p. 199.

(*u*) Roſcius could gain only five hundred *ſeſtertia*, or 4036*l.* 9*s.* 2*d.* a year: and when he acted by the day, but four thouſand *nummi*, or 32*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.*

(*x*) *Tibiarum ſpecie, Muſicæ arti portendere.* Lib. ii. cap. 25.

(*y*) *Suppl.* tom. ii. p. 186.

Flute,

Flute, cloſe to the ear of the prieſt, during ſacrifice, ſome pious air, ſuitable to the ſervice, in order to keep off diſtraction and inattention during the exerciſe of his function (*z*). Indeed there is no repreſentation of a ſacrifice, proceſſion, banquet, or feſtive aſſembly, either in ancient Painting, or Sculpture, without a Muſician. And the attendance of *Flute-players* at ſacrifices was ſo common in Greece, that it gave riſe to a proverb, which was uſually applied to ſuch as lived at the tables of others: *You live the life of a Flute-player* (*a*). Becauſe, as Suidas ſays, theſe performers being conſtantly employed at ſacrifices, where the victims furniſhed them with a dinner, were at little or no expence in houſekeeping.

The liſt of illuſtrious Flute-players in antiquity is too numerous to allow a ſeparate article to each. However, a few, beſides thoſe already mentioned, ſtill hold their heads above the crowd, and ſeem to demand attention. And among theſe, as a particular reſpect ſeems due to *Inventors*, who, by genius or ſtudy, have extended the limits of theoretical or practical Muſic, *Clonas* muſt not be paſſed by unnoticed.

Plutarch (*b*), the only author by whom he is mentioned, tells us, that Clonas lived ſoon after the time of Terpander, and was the firſt who compoſed *Nomes for the Flute*, of which he ſpecifies three that were much celebrated in antiquity, under the names of *Apothetos*, *Schœnion*, and *Trimeres*. This laſt air, which was ſung by a chorus, muſt have been much celebrated; as Plutarch ſays that though the Sicyon Regiſter gave it to Clonas, yet others, among whom was Plutarch himſelf, had aſcribed it to Sacadas (*c*).

(*z*) A ſimilar cuſtom is ſtill preſerved in the Greek church. "For, while the prieſt ſtands with his face towards the eaſt, and repeats the prayers, the choir is almoſt conſtantly ſinging hymns, and he reads in ſo low a voice, for the moſt part, that the congregation is not ſuppoſed to pray themſelves, or to hear the prayers he offers up on their behalf." *Rites and Cerem. of the Greek Church*, by Dr. King, p. 46. Perhaps too, the muſical performance in the churches of Italy, during the *Muſſitandi*, or *Meſſa-baſſa*, had the ſame origin.

(*a*) Αυλητου βιον ζην. *Suid. voce* Αυλητης.

(*b*) *De Muſica.*

(*c*) The cuſtom of giving names to tunes in antiquity, has long been adopted in France; all the harpſichord leſſons of Rameau, and ſeveral other compoſers in that country, having particular denominations affixed to them; ſuch as *La Timide*, *La Pantomime*, *l'Indiſcrette*, *la Complaiſante*, &c.

Polymneſtus, of Colophon in Ionia, was a compoſer for the Flute, as well as an improver of the Lyre; and it appears to have been no uncommon accompliſhment for theſe ancient Muſicians to perform equally well upon both theſe inſtruments. Polymneſtus is ſaid to have invented the *Hypolydian Mode*. This Mode being half a Tone *below* the Dorian, which was the loweſt of the five original Modes (*d*), was, perhaps, the firſt extenſion of the ſcales *downwards*, as the Mixolydian was, *upwards*. Plutarch, who aſſigns to him this invention, accuſes him of having taken greater liberties with the ſcale than any one had done before, though it is not now eaſy to diſcover in what thoſe liberties conſiſted (*e*).

Telephanes was a celebrated performer on the Flute in the time of Philip of Macedon. According to Pauſanias he was a native of Samos, and had a tomb erected to him by Cleopatra, the ſiſter of Philip, in the road between Megara and Corinth, which was ſubſiſting in his time (*f*). Telephanes was cloſely united in friendſhip with Demoſthenes, who has made honourable mention of him in his harangue againſt Midias, from whom he received a blow, in public, during the celebration of the feaſt of Bacchus.

(*d*) See p. 41.

(*e*) What Plutarch ſays of him is, that he made the ἑκλυσις and the ἐκβολὴ much greater than they had been before his time. M. Burette, *Mem. de Litt.* tom. xv. has expended much learning upon the words ἑκλυσις and ἐκβολὴ to very little purpoſe. He has likewiſe, in his long note upon this paſſage, changed the place of all the Modes, without giving a reaſon for it, by making the Dorian Mode correſpond with E natural, inſtead of D; ſo that the Lydian, which this author has himſelf frequently told his readers was F♯, is now mounted up to G♯. Ἑκλυσις and ἐκβολὴ, it muſt be owned, are moſt perplexing words, as many Greek technical terms are now become. At the time they were uſed, they could only have been familiar to artiſts; few elſe, at preſent, know the modern terms of art. From the definitions of Bacchius, and Ariſt. Quint. it appears that theſe terms were peculiar to the *Enharmonic*; that ἑκλυσις was a particular kind of tuning in the *Enharmonic Genus*, in which, from a certain ſound, the finger or player *fell* by an interval of three quarter-tones; and ἐκβολὴ, when he roſe by five quarter-tones. The words, at leaſt, expreſs ſomething very violent and unuſual; ἑκλυσις, *diſſolution*; ἐκβολὴ, *throwing out*, *diſjointing*; it was the technical term in ancient ſurgery for *diſlocation*.

(*f*) The Epitaph upon this Muſician, which is preſerved in the *Anthologia*, equals his talents to thoſe of the greateſt names in antiquity.

Orpheus, whom Gods and men admire,
Surpaſs'd all mortals on the Lyre:
Neſtor with eloquence could charm,
And pride, and inſolence diſarm:
Great *Homer*, with his heav'nly ſtrain,
Could ſoften rocks, and quiet pain:—
Here lies *Telephanes*, whoſe Flute
Had equal pow'r o'er man and brute.

As

As this was a kind of muſical quarrel, I ſhall relate the cauſe of it.

Demoſthenes had been appointed by his tribe to furniſh a Chorus (*g*), to diſpute the prize at this feſtival; and as this Chorus was to be inſtructed by a maſter (*h*), Midias, in order to diſgrace Demoſthenes, bribed the muſic maſter to neglect his function, that the Chorus might be unable to perform their ſeveral parts properly before the public, for want of the neceſſary teaching and rehearſals. But Telephanes, who had diſcovered the deſign of Midias, not only chaſtiſed and diſmiſſed the muſic-maſter, but undertook to inſtruct the Chorus himſelf.

After ſpeaking of ſo many Flute-players of the male ſex, it is but juſtice to ſay that they did not monopolize the whole glory ariſing from the cultivation of that inſtrument; as the performing upon it was ranked, in high antiquity, among female accompliſhments. Its invention was aſcribed by the Poets to a Goddeſs; it was the Symbol of one of the Muſes; and it was never omitted in the repreſentation of the Sirens. However, the ſame reaſon which provoked Minerva to throw it aſide, has luckily inclined modern ladies to cultivate inſtruments; in performing upon which, their natural charms, inſtead of being diminiſhed, are but rendered ſtill more irreſiſtible.

The moſt celebrated female Flute-player in antiquity, was LAMIA; her beauty, wit, and abilities in her profeſſion, made her regarded as a prodigy. The honours ſhe received, which are recorded by ſeveral authors, particularly by Plutarch and Athenæus, are ſufficient teſtimonies of her great power over the paſſions of her hearers. Her claim to admiration from her perſonal allurements, does not entirely depend, at preſent, upon the fidelity of hiſtorians; ſince an exquiſite engraving of her head, upon an Amethyſt, with the veil and bandage of her profeſſion, is preſerved in the king of France's collection, which, in ſome meaſure, authenticates the accounts of her beauty.

(*g*) See p. 415. (*h*) Διδασκαλος.

As

As ſhe was a great traveller, her reputation ſoon became very extenſive. Her firſt journey from Athens, the place of her birth, was into Egypt, whither ſhe was drawn by the fame of the Flute-players of that country. Her perſon and performance were not long unnoticed at the court of Alexandria; however, in the conflict between Ptolemy Soter, and Demetrius, for the iſland of Cyprus, about 312 years B. C. Ptolemy being defeated in a ſea-engagement, his wives, domeſtics, and military ſtores fell into the hands of Demetrius.

Plutarch, in his life of this prince, tells us, that "the celebrated *Lamia* was among the female captives taken in this victory. She had been univerſally admired, at firſt, on account of her talents, for ſhe was a wonderful performer on the Flute; but, afterwards, her fortune became more ſplendid, by the charms of her perſon, which procured her many admirers of great rank." The prince, whoſe captive ſhe became, and who, though a ſucceſsful warrior, was ſaid to have vanquiſhed as many hearts as cities, conceived ſo violent a paſſion for Lamia, that, from a ſovereign and a conqueror, he was inſtantly transformed into a ſlave; though her beauty was now on the decline, and Demetrius, the handſomeſt prince of his time, was much younger than herſelf.

At her inſtigation, he conferred ſuch extraordinary benefits upon the Athenians, that they rendered him divine honours; and as an acknowledgment of the influence, which ſhe had exerciſed in their favour, they dedicated a temple to her, under the name of *Venus Lamia*.

Athenæus has recorded the names of a great number of celebrated *Tibicinæ*, whoſe talents and beauty had captivated the hearts of many of the moſt illuſtrious perſonages of antiquity; and yet the uſe of the Flute among females ſeems to have been much more general in Perſia than in Greece, by the account which Parmenio gives to Alexander of the female Muſicians in the ſervice of Darius.

Horace ſpeaks of bands of female Flute-players, which he calls *Ambubaïarum Collegia* (*i*), and of whom there were ſtill colleges

(*i*) *Ambubaïa* is ſaid, by the commentators, to be a Syrian word, which in that language implies *a Flute*, or *the ſound of a Flute*.

in

in his time (*k*). But the followers of this profeſſion became ſo numerous and licentious, that we find their occupation prohibited in the Theodoſian code; however, with little ſucceſs: for Procopius tells us that in the time of Juſtinian, the ſiſter of the empreſs Theodora, who was a *Tibicina*, appeared on the ſtage without any other dreſs than a ſlight ſcarf thrown looſely over her. And theſe performers were become ſo common in all private entertainments, as well as at public feaſts, obtruding their company, and placing themſelves at the table, frequently unaſked, that, at the latter end of this reign their profeſſion was regarded as infamous, and utterly aboliſhed.

Among the moſt renowned *Lyriſts* and *Citharœdiſts* of antiquity, to whom a particular article has not been allowed, many have been omitted for want of materials, as well as for want of room. *Arion* has, however, already had a place in the Diſſertation (*l*), where the invention of *Dithyrambic Poetry* is aſcribed to him. *Epigonius*, a mathematician of Sicyon, and native of Ambracia, is celebrated by the ancients for the invention of an inſtrument of forty ſtrings, which was called after his name, *Epigonium*. When he lived is uncertain, but as it was in times of ſimplicity, we may ſuppoſe that theſe ſtrings did not form a ſcale of forty different ſounds, but that they were either tuned in Uniſons and Octaves to each other, or accommodated to different Modes and Genera. The twelve Semitones of our three-ſtopt, octave-harpſichords, include thirty-ſix different ſtrings. The *Magadis* of twenty ſtrings, mentioned by Anacreon, had, probably, a ſeries of only ten different ſounds, the name of the inſtrument implying a ſeries of octaves. *Magadizing* was a term uſed, when a boy, or a woman, and a man, ſung the ſame part (*m*). The *Simicum* of thirty-five ſtrings, mentioned by Athenæus, muſt have been of this kind, like the arch-lute, double-harp, or double-harpſichord.

(*k*) See p. 408, Note (*p*).

(*l*) P. 184.

(*m*) See p. 135. Athenæus, *lib.* xiv. p. 635, has fully diſcuſſed the uſe and properties of the *Magadis*, and confirmed the opinion, that *magadizing* is *ſinging*, or *playing in reciprocal ſounds*, or in the octave, as Caſaubon underſtands it. Ψαλμον αντιφθογγον. Δια πασων.

Grexus,

Crexus, perhaps, ſhould have an honourable place here, being recorded by Plutarch as the author of a conſiderable Invention; that of *an inſtrumental accompaniment, under the ſong* (*n*): whereas, before, ſays Plutarch, the accompaniment was *note for note* (*o*).

Phrynis has already been mentioned (*p*) as the firſt who gained the prize on the Cithara at the Panathenæan Games. According to Suidas, he was originally king Hiero's cook; but this prince, chancing to hear him play upon the Flute, placed him, for inſtructions, under Ariſtoclides, a deſcendant of Terpander. Phrynis may be regarded as one of the firſt Innovators upon the Cithara in antiquity (*q*). He is ſaid to have played in a delicate and effeminate ſtyle, which the comic Poets, Ariſtophanes and Pherecrates, ridiculed upon the ſtage. The former in his comedy of *the Clouds*, and the latter in the piece already mentioned (*r*). Plutarch, who frequently applies the ſame ſtory and apophthegm to different perſons, tells us (*s*), that when Phrynis offered himſelf as a candidate at the public Games in Sparta, he had two ſtrings cut off his Lyre by the magiſtrates, in order to reduce them to the ancient number. A ſimilar diſgrace to that which had happened to Terpander before, and to which Timotheus was forced to ſubmit ſoon after.

Having now given an account of the principal, and moſt celebrated Poet-Muſicians of ancient Greece, it does not ſeem neceſſary to interrupt the hiſtory of the Muſical art with more biographical articles, as too much or too little is known of all that

(*n*) Κρεσις ὑπο την ωδην.

(*o*) Προσχορδα. As Plutarch plainly oppoſes this accompaniment to that which was in uſe before the time of Crexus, it can only be underſtood as a kind of *Bourdon*, or *Drone-Baſe*, under the voice part. A ſenſe which appears to be ſupported by the uſe of the ſame phraſe, in a *Prob.* of Ariſtotle, (the 40th) where he ſpeaks of *this* accompaniment and the voice *ending together*. It could not therefore have been a mere *Ritornello*, or *Echo*, to the voice part, as M. Burette interprets it, taking ὑπο to mean *after*, not under the voice.

(*p*) P. 407.

(*q*) See p. 402.

(*r*) In this piece, *Juſtice* gives the following account of the education of youth, in former times. "They went together to the houſe of the Citharœdiſt.—Where they learned to ſing hymns to the invincible Pallas, or ſome other Canticles, ſet to the ſimple Melody uſed by their anceſtors. If any one of them pretended to ſing in a ridiculous manner, or to introduce ſuch diviſions and flouriſhes as abound at preſent *in the airs of Phrynis*, he was ſeverely puniſhed."

Theſe flouriſhes are called, in the original, δυσκολοκαμπτοι, and ιωνοκαμπτοι.

(*s*) *In Agid.*

have

have been omitted. For ſuch as Anacreon, Æſchylus, Sophocles, Euripides, and Theocritus, who all flouriſhed before the total ſeparation of Muſic and Poetry, though they muſt have been Muſicians, are omitted by deſign, as their lives have been ſo frequently publiſhed in their works. And of ſuch obſcure names as Anthes, Polyides, Xenodemus, Xenocritus, Teleſilla, Rhianus, Ibycus, and other Lyrics, no memorials remain that are ſufficiently intereſting to entitle them to a particular niche in the Delphic grove.

Between the time of Alexander the Great, and the conqueſt of Greece by the Romans, but few eminent Muſicians are upon record. The Grecian ſtates never enjoyed true liberty and independence after the victory obtained over them at Cheronea, by Philip, the father of Alexander: the chief of theſe ſtates remaining, after the death of theſe princes, under the Macedonian yoke, till they called in the Romans to their aſſiſtance; who, under Flaminius, as already related, reſtored to them the ſhadow of liberty, which was gradually diminiſhed by the victories and devaſtations of Mummius, Sylla, and other commanders, till the time of Veſpaſian, who reduced all Greece to a Roman province.

The reſult of ſuch enquiries as I have been able to make, is, that Muſic was progreſſive in Greece, as well as Painting, Poetry, and Sculpture; though it advanced towards perfection by much ſlower degrees than any of the other arts. Our curioſity, however, concerning Greek Muſic is ſtimulated, and our patience is enabled to purſue its improvements through a dull detail of circumſtances, by its being connected with thoſe efforts of ancient genius, taſte, and refinement in other arts, of which ſufficient ſpecimens remain to authenticate the accounts of what is loſt. For if no more ſubſtantial proofs were now ſubſiſting of the excellence of the Poetry, Eloquence, Sculpture, and Architecture of ancient Greece, than of its Muſic, we ſhould, probably, be as incurious and incredulous about them, as we are, at preſent, concerning the Muſic of the Spheres.

Before I conclude this chapter, perhaps a ſhort recapitulation of the moſt remarkable events in the hiſtory of this art in

Greece, of which the chain has been often unadvoidably broken by biographical articles, may ſave the reader the trouble of recollection.

It is natural to ſuppoſe that the firſt attempts at Muſic in Greece, as well as in other countries, muſt have been rude and ſimple (*t*); and that *Rhythm*, or *Time*, was attended to before *Tone* or *Melody*. We accordingly find that inſtruments of percuſſion preceded all others, and that the *ſteps* in the dance, and the *feet* in Poetry, were regulated and marked with preciſion long before ſounds were ſuſtained or refined. When theſe two circumſtances firſt engaged attention, the Flute imitated, and the Lyre accompanied the voice in its inflexions of joy and ſorrow. In ſinging poetry, as little more was at firſt attempted than to prolong the accents of the language, and of paſſion, the Flute required but few holes, and the Lyre but few ſtrings. As the Flute was the eldeſt, and long the favourite inſtrument of the Greeks, its compaſs was firſt extended; and the Lyre ſeems to have been confined, during many ages, to a Tetrachord, after the Flute had multiplied its ſounds.

One of the moſt extraordinary circumſtances in the hiſtory of this art, to modern comprehenſion, is, that the *Enharmonic Genus*, even with the *dieſis*, or *quarter-tone*, was almoſt excluſively in uſe before the time of Ariſtoxenus, the cotemporary of Alexander the Great; in ſo much that it was cuſtomary with the old maſters to give their ſcholars Diagrams to practiſe of *condenſed ſcales*, divided into *quarter-tones*, as neceſſary exerciſes for the hand or voice (*u*). Theſe ſcales are mentioned in Ariſtoxenus, and examples of them are ſtill remaining in the writings of Ariſtides Quintilianus (*x*).

(*t*) *Nihil eſt enim ſimul inventum et perfectum.* Cic. in Brutum.

(*u*) Καταπυκνωσις—and καταπυκνωσαι το διαγραμμα. Ariſtox. p. 7.

(*x*) My own aſtoniſhment, at the uſe of this Genus, and the execution of theſe Scales, in antiquity, is conſiderably abated by a letter, which the zeal and kindneſs of Dr. Ruſſel has lately procured me from Aleppo, in anſwer to ſome queries which he was ſo obliging as to ſend for me to that city, concerning the preſent ſtate of Muſic in Arabia. In this letter, beſides many other curious particulars, I find that the Arabian Scale of Muſic is divided into *Quarter tones*; and that an Octave, which upon our keyed inſtruments is only divided into twelve Semi-tones, in the Arabian Scale conſiſts of twenty-four, for all which there are particular denominations.

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The artificial and difficult Enharmonic, however, ſeems to have been loſt ſoon after the time of Alexander the Great; at leaſt when Ariſtoxenus wrote, it appears to have been upon the decline, while the Chromatic was daily encreaſing in favour (*y*).

The moſt important event in the hiſtory of Muſic, was the eſtabliſhment of *Inſtrumental* conteſts at the Pythic Games (*z*). The Abbé Arnaud, in an excellent *Diſſertation on the Accents of the Greek Tongue* (*a*), is of opinion, that the irregularities we find in the verſification of the later Greek Poets, particularly the Lyric, of a redundancy, or deficiency of one or two ſyllables in a verſe, were admitted in order to indulge the inſtrumental performer, who would naturally diſcover new meaſures, as his hand and inſtrument advanced towards perfection.

While inſtruments were confined to the meaſure of the verſe, theſe liberties produced ſome variety in the Rhythm, without deſtroying the accent of the language; but as ſoon as Muſicians were freed from the laws of Proſody and Metre, they multiplied the ſtrings of the Lyre, and the holes of the Flute, introducing new movements more complicated and varied, with new intervals and uncommon modulations. Laſus, Melanippides, Timotheus, Phrynis, and ſome others, are mentioned by Plutarch among the firſt who dared to apply theſe licences to ſong. However, they could only have been ſuggeſted to them by great practice in inſtrumental Muſic, infinitely more free than vocal, in every country, be the language what it will, but eſpecially in Greece, where the Meaſures and accents of the language were governed by ſuch rigid laws.

"I diſapprove, ſays Ariſtotle, of all kinds of difficulties in the practice of inſtruments, and indeed in Muſic in general. I call artificial and difficult, ſuch tricks as are practiſed at the public Games, where the Muſician, inſtead of recollecting what is the true object of his talent, endeavours only to flatter the corrupt taſte of the multitude (*b*)."

(*y*) Ariſtox. p. 23.
(*z*) See p. 376.
(*a*) *Mem. de Litterature, tom.* xxxii. p. 432.
(*b*) *Repub. lib.* viii. *cap.* 6.

Theſe were the ſentiments of the learned, long after the ſeparation of Muſic and Poetry, and theſe are the objections that ſtill recur, and ever will recur, to thoſe who regard Muſic as a ſlave to ſyllables, forgetting that it has a language of its own, with which it is able to ſpeak to the paſſions, and that there are certain occaſions when it may with propriety be allowed to be a free agent.

From this time Muſic became a diſtinct art; the Choruſes, which till now had governed the melody of the Lyriſt and Tibicen, became ſubordinate to both (*c*). Philoſophers in vain exclaimed againſt theſe innovations, which they thought would ruin the morals of the people, who, as they are never diſpoſed to ſacrifice the pleaſures of the ſenſes to thoſe of the underſtanding, heard theſe novelties with rapture, and encouraged the authors of them. This ſpecies of Muſic, therefore, ſoon paſſed from the Games to the Stage, ſeizing there upon the principal parts of the drama, and from being the humble companion of Poetry, becoming her ſovereign.

With reſpect to the period of greateſt perfection in the Muſic of Greece, it is a ſubject which merits ſome diſcuſſion.

Plato, Ariſtotle, Ariſtoxenus, and Plutarch, were for ever complaining of the corruption and degeneracy of Muſic. The pious Plato, indeed, regarded it as fit only for the Gods, and their celebration in religious ceremonies, or as a vehicle for religious and moral lectures in the education of youth; and with a methodiſtical ſpirit cenſured all ſuch as was uſed in theatres, ſocial feſtivity, or domeſtic amuſement: but modern divines might, with equal propriety, declaim againſt the profane uſe of bread as an aliment, becauſe it is adminiſtered in the moſt ſolemn rite of our religion. A line ſhould certainly be drawn between the Muſic of the church and of the theatre; but totally to ſilence all muſical ſound,

(*c*) Athenæus has preſerved a little poem by Pratinas, of the *Hyporchema* kind, where he gives vent to his indignation, on account of ſome theatrical performance, in which, inſtead of the *Tibicines* accompanying the Chorus, the Chorus had accompanied the Tibicines; τες αυλητας μη συναδειν τοις χορoις ---αλλα τες χορες συναδειν· τοις αυλεταις: literally, "The Flute-players did not *play* to the Chorus, but the Chorus *ſung* to the Flute-players."

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except upon ſolemn occaſions, ſeems to border upon downright fanaticiſm.

With reſpect to perfection and depravity, there is nothing ſo common among muſical diſputants, as for the favourers of one ſect to call that *Degeneracy*, which thoſe of another call *Refinement*. But Plato ſeems to have been always too fond of ideal excellence in every thing, to be ſatisfied with any other (*d*).

It has been ſaid by many writers, both ancient and modern, that Plato was deeply ſkilled in the Muſic of his time; but it does not appear that his claims to ſkill in this art extend further than to mere *Theory*, or a very little more. Plutarch, indeed, in his Dialogue, *proves* his profound muſical ſcience; but how? By a long paſſage from his Timæus, in which he applies muſical ratios to the ſoul (*e*)!

However this may have been, it is difficult to refrain from numbering this philoſopher, together with Ariſtotle, Ariſtoxenus, and Plutarch, though ſuch illuſtrious characters, and, in other particulars, ſuch excellent writers, among the muſical Grumblers and *Croakers* of antiquity. They all equally lament the loſs of good Muſic, without conſidering that every age had, probably, done the ſame, whether right or wrong, from the beginning of the world; always throwing muſical perfection into times remote

(*d*) His complaints of the degeneracy of Muſic, may be ſeen in his third Book of Laws. The Poets, indeed, never fail to charge the corruption of Muſic upon its profeſſors, yet Plato throws the blame upon the Poets themſelves. "The Muſic of our forefathers, ſays he, was divided into certain ſpecies and figures. Prayers to the Gods were one ſpecies of ſong, to which they gave the name of Hymns: oppoſed to this was another ſpecies, which, in particular, might be called Threni; another, Pæones; and another, the birth of Dionyſius, which I hold to be the Dithyrambus: there were alſo Citharœdic Nomi, ſo called, as being ſtill another ſong. Theſe, and ſome others, being preſcribed, it was not allowable to uſe one ſpecies of Melos for another. But, in proceſs of time, the Poets firſt introduced an unlearned licence, being poetic by nature, but unſkilled in the rules of the ſcience, trampling upon its laws, over attentive to pleaſe, mixing the Threni with the Hymns, and the Pæones with the Dithyrambi, imitating the Muſic of the Flute upon the Cithara, and confounding all things with all." Plat. *de Legibus*, as tranſlated by Sir F. H. E. Stiles. Though it was Plato's opinion that the government of a ſtate, and the morals of a people, would be affected by a change in the national muſic, yet this was not the opinion of Cicero, who in many other particulars is a rigid Platoniſt: "Change, ſays this orator, the government or cuſtoms of a city, and it will certainly change the muſic." *De Legib. lib.* iii.

(*e*) What connection is there between Dr. Smith's *Harmonics*, and his taſte and knowledge in *Practical Muſic*?

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from their own, as a thing never to be known but by tradition. The golden age had not its name from thoſe who lived in it.

Ariſtotle, indeed, complains of degeneracy in a more liberal way: "Every kind of Muſic, ſays he, is good for ſome purpoſe or other; that of the theatres is neceſſary for the amuſement of the mob; the theatrical tranſitions, and the *tawdry and glaring melodies* (*f*) in uſe there, are ſuited to the perverſion of their minds and manners, and let them enjoy them."

The complaints of Ariſtoxenus are more natural than thoſe of Plato and Ariſtotle; for he was not only leſs a Philoſopher, but more a Muſician; and, as a profeſſor, and an author on the ſubject of Muſic, he muſt have had rivals to write down. Heſiod ſays that bards hate bards, and beggars beggars (*g*). And it has been the practice for writers on Muſic, in all ages, to treat their cotemporaries with ſeverity and ſcorn. Gaſpar Printz (*h*) inſerts in his book a canzonet in four parts, in which every rule of compoſition is violated, and calls it *modern*; as if error was always *new*. But beſides a natural tendency in human nature, or at leaſt in the nature of authors, towards envy and malignity, Ariſtoxenus had a *ſyſtem* to ſupport, which is uſually done at the expence of moderation, truth, and every thing that ſtands in its way (*i*); for, like the tyrant Procruſtes, the builder of a ſyſtem, or the defender of an hypotheſis, cuts ſhorter what is too long, and ſtretches to his purpoſe whatever is too ſhort.

The muſic of the Greeks, in the time of Ariſtoxenus, was too remote from perfection to be much injured by innovation and refinement; and yet Athenæus (*k*) gives a paſſage from a work of this writer, now loſt, in which he makes the following complaints: "I, and a few others, recollecting what Muſic once was, and conſidering what it now is, as corrupted by the theatre, imitate the people of Poſſidonium, who annually celebrate a feſtival after the Greek manner, in order to keep up the memory of what they once were; and before they depart, with tears deplore the

(*f*) Μελη παραπεχρωσμενα. *Polit.* 8.
(*g*) Life and Writings of Plato.
(*h*) Phrynidis, dritter Theil. *p.* 26.
(*i*) "Neither Gods nor men can ſtand before a ſyſtem." *Div. Leg.* vol. iii.
(*k*) *Lib.* xiv. p. 632.

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barbarous ſtate into which they are brought by the Tuſcans and Romans (*l*)."

Plutarch frequently ſpeaks of Muſic having been corrupted by the Theatre, particularly in his *Dialogue*, where he ſays, "If we look back into remote antiquity, we ſhall find that the Greeks were unacquainted with theatrical muſic. The only uſe they made of this art, was in praiſing the Gods, and educating youth. The idea of a theatre had not then entered their thoughts, and all their Muſic was dedicated to ſacrifices, and to other religious ceremonies, in which they ſung Hymns in honour of the Gods, and Canticles in praiſe of great and good men."

It ſhould be remembered here, that Plutarch was a prieſt of Apollo: and, moreover, that what he, Plato, and Ariſtoxenus ſay, concerning the injuries which Muſic had received from the theatre, ſavours very much of cant and prejudice. Athenæus, on the contrary, tells us, that notwithſtanding the complaints of Ariſtoxenus againſt theatrical corruption, others were of opinion, that Muſic derived its principal improvements in Greece from the theatre: and it ſeems natural, that the hope of applauſe, and the fear of cenſure ſhould operate more powerfully on the induſtry and faculties of a compoſer or performer, than the idea of private praiſe, or blame. And, if we may judge of ancient times by the preſent, the theatre ſeems the place to develope all the powers of Muſic, and to expand the talents of its profeſſors. For it is at the Muſical Theatre, the modern *Temple of Apollo and the Muſes*, that perfection of various kinds is more frequently found, than any where elſe. But *old things* do get violently praiſed, particularly Muſic, after it ceaſes to give pleaſure; or even to be heard; and old people excluſively praiſe what pleaſed them in their youth, without making allowance for their own want of judgment and experience.

(*l*) Though Ariſtoxenus lived with Alexander the Great, with Plato, and with Ariſtotle, when all other arts and ſciences had arrived at their greateſt degree of force and refinement; yet Muſic, from whatever cauſe, does not ſeem, at that, or at any time, to have kept pace with other arts in its improvements: at leaſt, it did not in Italy; nor, indeed, in England or France, if we compare the Poetry of Milton with the Muſic of Henry Lawes, or the writings of Racine and Boileau, with the compoſitions of Lully.

at that time, which, perhaps, joined to the diſpoſition of youth to be eaſily pleaſed, occaſioned their former delight.

It is natural to ſuppoſe as Greek Muſic, like other arts, and other things, muſt have had its infancy, maturity, and decrepitude; that in ſecond childhood, as its effects were more feeble, its purſuits would be more trivial, than before its decline. Few great actions were achieved by the Greeks after their total ſubjection. However, they cultivated Muſic under the Roman emperors, under their own, and are ſtill delighted with it under the Turkiſh government; but their Muſic is now ſo far from being the ſtandard of excellence to the reſt of the world, that none but themſelves are pleaſed with it.

CHAP. V.

Of ancient Muſical Sects, and Theories of Sound.

IN the *Diſſertation* (*m*), the reader is promiſed a ſhort hiſtory of *Temperament*, and of the *Philoſophy of Sound*, commonly called *Harmonics*, as far as they appear to have been known to the Greeks; and this ſeems to be the place to treat of theſe matters.

No part of *Natural Philoſophy* has, I believe, been more fruitful of different Theories, or preſented a more perplexing variety of opinions to our choice, both in ancient and modern times, than that which has *Muſical Sound* for its object. The Greeks were divided into numerous ſects of Muſical ſpeculators before, and after, the time of Ariſtoxenus: the *Epigonians*, *Damonians*, *Eratoclians*, *Agenorians*, and many others enumerated by Porphyry, in his Commentary upon the Harmonics of Ptolemy. Of theſe, however, all we know is, that they *differed*; it is perhaps little to be lamented that we no longer know about *what*. The two great and principal ſects were the Pythagoreans, and Ariſtoxenians:

(*m*) Page 130.

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the founders of theſe, with Laſus, Euclid, and Ptolemy, were the moſt illuſtrious Muſical Theoriſts of antiquity. Of theſe, therefore, and their doctrines, I ſhall ſpeak ſeparately.

PYTHAGORAS.

Poſterity has been very liberal to this Philoſopher in beſtowing upon him ſuch inventions as others had neglected to claim, particularly in Muſic; for there is ſcarce any part of it, as a ſcience, with which he has not been inveſted by his generous followers and biographers. *Muſical Ratios* have been aſſigned to him, with the method of determining the gravity or acuteneſs of ſounds by the greater or leſs degree of velocity in the *vibrations of ſtrings*; the *addition of an eighth ſtring* to the Lyre (*n*); the *Harmony of the Spheres* (*o*); and the *Greek Muſical Notation* (*p*). His right indeed to ſome of theſe diſcoveries has been diſputed by ſeveral authors, who have given them to others with as little reaſon, perhaps, as they had been before beſtowed upon him.

But there is one diſcovery, relative to Muſic, that has, at all times, been unanimouſly aſſigned to him, which, however, appears to me extremely doubtful, not only whether it was made by him, but whether in the manner it is related, it was ever made by any one.

We are told by Nicomachus, Gaudentius, Jamblicus, Macrobius, and all their commentators, "that Pythagoras, one day meditating on the want of ſome rule to guide the ear, analogous to what had been uſed to help the other ſenſes, chanced to paſs by a blackſmith's ſhop, and obſerving that the hammers, which were four in number, ſounded very harmonioufly, he had them weighed, and found them to be in the proportion of 6, 8, 9, and 12. Upon this he ſuſpended four ſtrings of equal length and thickneſs, &c. faſtened weights, in the above-mentioned proportions, to each of them reſpectively, and found that they gave the ſame

(*n*) Pliny, *lib.* ii. *cap.* 22. Cenſorinus, *cap.* xiii. *p.* 82.

(*o*) See p. 296.

(*p*) Diſſ. ſect. I. and p. 363.

ſounds that the hammers had done; viz. the fourth, fifth, and octave to the graveſt tone; which laſt interval did not make part of the muſical ſyſtem before; for the Greeks had gone no farther than the Heptachord, or ſeven ſtrings, till that time (*q*)."

This is the ſubſtance of the account, as it has been lately abridged by Mr. Stillingfleet, who points out many incredible circumſtances with reſpect to the ſtory in general, and denies that the weights 6, 8, 9, 12, would give the intervals pretended; but ſeems not to have ſeen the leaſt difficulty in the fact, relative to *different hammers producing different ſounds upon the ſame anvil* (*r*).

But, though both hammers and anvil have been ſwallowed by ancients and moderns, and have paſſed through them from one to another, with an oſtrich-like digeſtion, upon examination and experiment it appears, that hammers of different ſize and weight will no more produce *different tones* upon the *ſame anvil*, than bows, or clappers, of different ſizes, will from the *ſame ſtring* or *bell* (*s*).

The long belief of this ſtory proves that philoſophers themſelves haye ſometimes taken facts upon truſt, without verifying

(*q*) *Principles and Power of Harmony*, p. 8.

(*r*) The frontiſpiece to M. Marpurg's Hiſt. of Muſic, repreſents the Samian ſage in the act of *weighing* the *hammers*.

(*s*) Indeed, both the hammers and anvils of antiquity muſt have been of a conſtruction very different from thoſe of *our degenerate days*, if they produced any tones that were ſtrictly *Muſical*. Of the millions of well-organized mortals, who have paſſed by blackſmith's ſhops, ſince the time of Pythagoras, I believe no one was ever detained by a *ſingle note*, much leſs by an harmonious *concord*, from thoſe Vulcanian inſtruments. A different kind of noiſe, indeed, will be produced by hammers of different weights and ſizes; but it ſeems not to be in the power of the moſt ſubtle ear to diſcover the leaſt imaginable difference, with reſpect to gravity or acuteneſs. But though *different noiſes* may be produced from different bodies, in proportion to their ſize and ſolidity, and every room, chair, and table, in a houſe, has a particular tone, yet theſe *noiſes* can never be aſcertained like Muſical Tones, which depend upon reiterated and regular vibrations of the aliquot parts of a ſtring, or other elaſtic body; and in wind-inſtruments, upon the undulations of the air conveyed into a tube. *Noiſe* may, indeed, be *forced* from a muſical ſtring, or inſtrument, by violence; but *noiſe* proceeding from bodies non-elaſtic, or immuſical, can never be *ſoftened* into ſound. M. Rouſſeau * has ingeniouſly imagined that *noiſe* is of the ſame nature as *ſound*, with this difference, that to produce ſound, the *one* tone, with its conſonant harmonics only, ſhould be heard; ſuch as the 8th, 12th, 15th, and 17th; whereas noiſe is produced by a jarring multitude of different tones, or even by one tone, when its vibrations are ſo violent as to render audible a conſiderable number of diſſonant tones of which the vibrations ſeldom or never coincide; ſuch as the 7th, 9th, 11th, &c.

* *Dict. de Muſ. Art.* BRUIT.

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them by experiment. And as the tone of the hammers was aſſerted without proof, ſo was the effect of their different weights faſtened to ſtrings; this Galileo diſcovered (*t*). And Bontempi, in trying the power of weights upon ſtrings in the Pythagoric proportions of 6, 8, 9, 12, found, that inſtead of giving the 4th, 5th, and 8th of the graveſt tone, they produced only the minor 3d, major 3d, and tritonus; ſo that the whole account falls to the ground. But though modern incredulity and experiment have robbed Pythagoras of the glory of diſcovering muſical ratios by *accident*, he has been allowed the ſuperior merit of arriving at them by meditation and deſign. At leaſt the invention of the *Harmonical Canon*, or *Monochord*, has been aſcribed to him both by ancient and modern writers (*u*).

I ſhall enter no deeper into this ſubject here, than is abſolutely neceſſary to explain the nature of the diſcovery attributed to Pythagoras, to which Muſic is indebted for the honourable appellation of *Science*; reſerving for the ſecond volume what uſe has been made of it by modern theoriſts.

Pythagoras ſuppoſed the air to be the *vehicle* of ſound, and the agitation of that element occaſioned by a ſimilar agitation in the parts of the ſounding body, to be the *cauſe* of it. The vibrations of a ſtring, or any other ſonorous body, being communicated to the air, affected the auditory nerves with the ſenſation of ſound; and this ſound, according to him, was acute or grave, in proportion as the vibrations were quick or ſlow. It was alſo known,

(*t*) The numbers 6, 8, 9, 12, applied to different lengths of ſtrings, would, indeed, give the intervals mentioned. But it is proved, that to produce thoſe intervals by the *tenſion* of different weights, the weights muſt be the ſquares of thoſe numbers: that is, 36, 64, 81, 144. It is aſtoniſhing how the blunder had been echoed from author to author, without experiment, till the time of Galileo.

(*u*) *Vide* Ariſtid. Quint. p. 116. *Prin. and Power of Harm. Hiſt. des Mathem. par* Montucla. Euler, *Tentamen novæ Theor. Muſ.* and all the writers upon *Harmonics* and *Temperament*.

The *Monochord* was an inſtrument of a ſingle ſtring, furniſhed with moveable bridges, and contrived for the meaſuring and adjuſting the ratios of muſical intervals, by accurate diviſions. Ariſt. Quint. ſays, that this inſtrument was recommended by Pythagoras on his death-bed, as the muſical inveſtigator, the criterion of truth. It appears to have been in conſtant uſe among the ancients, as the only means of forming the ear to the accurate perception, and the voice to the true intonation of thoſe minute and difficult intervals which were then practiſed in melody.

by experiment, that of two ſtrings equal in every thing but length, the ſhorter made the quickeſt vibrations, and gave the acuter ſound; in other words, that the number of vibrations made in the ſame time by two ſtrings of different lengths, were inverſely as thoſe lengths; that is, the greater the length, the ſmaller the number of vibrations in any given time. By theſe diſcoveries it was that ſound, conſidered in the vibrations that cauſe it, and the dimenſions of the vibrating or ſonorous body, was reduced to quantity, and as ſuch, became ſubject to calculation, and expreſſible by numbers. Thus, for inſtance, the two ſounds that form an octave, are expreſſed by the numbers 1 and 2; which repreſent either the number of vibrations in a given time, or the length of the ſtrings; and mean nothing more myſterious than that the acuter ſound vibrates twice, while the graver vibrates once; or, that the ſtring producing the lower ſound, is twice the length of that which gives the upper. If we conſider the vibrations, the higher ſound is as 2, the lower as 1: the reverſe, if we conſider only the lengths. In the ſame manner, and in the ſame ſenſe, the 5th is expreſſed by the ratio of 2 to 3, and the 4th by that of 3 to 4.

Such was the ancient philoſophy of ſounds, of which Pythagoras is recorded as the firſt teacher. But how much of this theory was founded on experiment and demonſtration, and how much of it upon hypotheſis; how much of it was known, and how much taken for granted, cannot certainly be determined. The ſtory juſt now diſcuſſed is too much embarraſſed with abſurdities and impoſſibilities to guide us to any probable conjecture, as to the method by which Pythagoras *actually* arrived at his concluſions (*x*).

(*x*) The diſcovery, as far as it relates to the length of ſtrings, was eaſily made, becauſe it depended upon an obvious experiment. It was, likewiſe, eaſily perceived, that a ſhort ſtring vibrated with more velocity than a long one; but between the certainty of this general fact, and the certainty that the vibrations were in a ratio exactly the inverſe of the lengths, there is a conſiderable gulph. (See Smith's Harmonics, ſect. I. art. 7. and note f.) We have no account of the bridge upon which Pythagoras got ſafely over. Experiment, here, is out of the queſtion; for the ſloweſt vibrations that produce muſical ſound, are far too quick to be counted or diſtinguiſhed. The inference, however was natural, though it does not appear that the ancients were able to ſupport it by ſtrict and ſcientific proof.

Indeed

Indeed it was ſo late as the beginning of the preſent century (*y*), before this ancient theory of ſound was fully confirmed, and the laws of vibrations, and the whole doctrine of muſical ſtrings, eſtabliſhed upon the ſolid baſis of mathematical demonſtration.

The ſecond muſical improvement attributed to Pythagoras, was the addition of an eighth ſtring to the Lyre, which, before his time, had only ſeven, and was thence called a *Heptachord*. It is ſuppoſed by ſeveral ancient writers, that the ſcale of this inſtrument, which was that of Terpander, conſiſted of two conjoint Tetrachords, E F G A B♭ C D; and that Pythagoras, by adding an eighth ſound, at the top, and altering the tuning of the fifth, formed this ſcale: E F G A, B C D e, or a ſimilar ſcale, conſiſting of two *diſjunct Tetrachords* (*z*).

(*y*) 1714. See Phil. Tranſ. and *Methodus incrementorum directa et inverſa*, by Dr. Brook Taylor.

(*z*) How this ſcale was generated by the *Triple progreſſion*, or ſeries of perfect 5ths, the Abbé Rouſſier has lately very well diſcuſſed, in his *Memoire ſur la Muſique des Anciens*. I ſhall endeavour to explain what is meant by the *triple progreſſion* in Muſic, which is the baſis of this ingenious hypotheſis; referring the reader to the *Memoire* itſelf for his proofs, as inſerting them here would require too much time and ſpace for a work of this kind, not purely didactic.

Let any ſound be repreſented by unity, or the number 1; and as the 3d part of a ſtring has been found to produce the 12th, or octave of the 5th above the whole ſtring, a ſeries of 5ths may be repreſented by a *triple geometric* progreſſion of numbers, continually multiplied by 3; as 1 3 9 27 81 243 729: and theſe terms may be equally ſuppoſed to repreſent 12ths, or 5ths, either aſcending or deſcending. For whether we divide by 3, or multiply by 3, the terms will be in the proportion of a 12th, or octave to the 5th, either way. The Abbé Rouſſier, imagining that the ancients ſung their ſcale backwards, as we ſhould call it, by *deſcending*, annexes to his numbers the ſounds following:

Term	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII
	1	3	9	27	81	243	729
	B♭	E♭	A♭	D♭	G♭	C♭	F♭

out of which ſeries of 5ths, by arranging the ſounds in Diatonic order, may be formed the Heptachord, or 7th, B♭ C D E F G A; and to theſe, adding the duple of the higheſt ſound, in the proportion of 2 to 1, the Abbé ſuppoſes Pythagoras acquired the octave, or *Proſlambanomenos*. This is throwing a mite into the charity-box of poor Pythagoras, without, however, telling us in what reign the *Obolum* was coined; for I have met with no ancient author who beſtows the invention of Proſlambanomenos upon this philoſopher. The Abbé does not let him or his followers ſtop here, but ſuppoſes an 8th term, 2187, added to the progreſſion given above, by which a B♭ was obtained, which furniſhed the minor ſemitone below B♮. The ſyſtem of Pythagoras, according to the Abbé, was bounded by this 8th term, and the principle upon which it was built being loſt, the Greeks penetrated no farther into the regions of modulation, where they might have enriched their Muſic, but contented themſelves, in after-times, with tranſpoſitions of this ſeries of ſound.

The Abbé Rouſſier imagines, however, that though Pythagoras went no farther than the eighth term in the triple progreſſion, yet the Egyptians, in very high antiquity, extended the ſeries to twelve terms, which would give every poſſible Mode and Genus perfect. A curious circumſtance is obſerved by the

ſame

After muſical ratios were diſcovered and reduced to numbers, they were made by Pythagoras and his followers, the type of order and juſt proportion in all things: hence virtue, friendſhip, good government, celeſtial motion, the human ſoul, and God himſelf, were *Harmony*.

This diſcovery gave birth to various ſpecies of Muſic, far more ſtrange and inconceivable than Chromatic and Enharmonic: ſuch as *Divine Muſic*, *Mundane Muſic*, *Elementary Muſic*, and many other diviſions and ſubdiviſions, upon which Zarlino, Kircher, and almoſt all the old writers, never fail to expatiate with wonderful complacence. It is, perhaps, equally to the credit and advantage of Muſic and Philoſophy, that they have long deſcended from theſe heights, and taken their proper and ſeparate ſtations upon *earth*: that we no longer admit of Muſic that cannot be *heard*, or of Philoſophy that cannot be *underſtood*.

Ariſtides Quintilianus aſſures us, that Muſic comprehends Arithmetic, Geometry, Phyſics, and Metaphyſics, and teaches every thing, from *ſolfaing* the ſcale, to the nature and conſtruction of the ſoul of man, and the ſoul of the univerſe. To confirm this, he quotes as a *divine ſaying*, a moſt curious account of the *end* and *buſineſs* of Muſic, from one maſter Panacmus, which informs us that the province of Muſic is not only to arrange muſical ſounds, and to regulate the voice, but to unite and harmonize every thing in nature (*a*). This writer, p. 102, in ſolving the queſtion, whence

ſame author, p. 28. § 47. with reſpect to the muſical ſyſtem of the Chineſe, which well deſerves mention here. "In collecting, ſays he, what has already been advanced concerning the original formation of the Chineſe ſyſtem, it appears to begin preciſely where the Greek left off, that is, at the VIIIth term of the triple progreſſion, which is purſued as far as the XIIth term, by which ſeries, arranged diatonically, the Chineſe acquire their ſcale, eb, Db, Bb, Ab, Gb, Eb, in deſcending: or, as Rameau expreſſes the ſame intervals, in ſharps, aſcending, G♯, A♯, C♯, D♯, E♯, g♯."—It is obſervable that both theſe ſcales, which are wholly without ſemitones, are Scottiſh, and correſpond with the natural ſcale of the old ſimple Enharmonic, given p. 34. M. Jamard, a late French writer on Muſic, puſhing calculation ſtill further than either the Egyptians or Chineſe, has obtained, by purſuing the harmonic ſeries, 1, 2, 3, 4, &c. &c. not only the enharmonic diefis, but even the minute intervals in the warbling of birds; it is wonderful he did not apply his ratios to human ſpeech.

(*a*) Maſter Thomas Mace, author of a moſt delectable book, called *Muſick's Monument*, would have been an excellent *Pythagorean*; for he maintains that the myſtery of the Trinity is perſpicuouſly made plain by the connection of the three Harmonical Concords, 1, 3, 5: that Muſic and divinity are nearly allied; and that the contemplation

it is that the ſoul is ſo eaſily affected by *Inſtrumental* Muſic, acquaints us, in the Pythagorean way, how the ſoul friſking about, and playing all kinds of tricks in the purer regions of ſpace, approaches by degrees to our groſs atmoſphere; gets a taſte for matter and ſolidity, and at length acquires a warm and comfortable body to cover her nakedneſs. Here ſhe picks up nerves and arteries; there membranes; here ſpirit or breath; and all in a moſt extraodinary manner; eſpecially the arteries and nerves: for what ſhould they be made of, but the *circles* and *lines* of the ſpheres, in which the ſoul gets entangled in her paſſage, like a fly in a ſpider's web. Thus, continues he, the body becomes ſimilar in its texture to inſtruments of the wind and ſtringed kind. The nerves and arteries are ſtrings, and at the ſame time they are pipes filled with wind. "What wonder, then, ſays Ariſt. Quint. if the ſoul, being thus intimately connected with a body ſimilar in conſtruction to thoſe inſtruments, ſhould ſympathize with their motions."

Pythagoras is ſaid, by the writers of his life, to have regarded Muſic as ſomething celeſtial and divine, and to have had ſuch an opinion of its power over the human affections that, according to the Egyptian ſyſtem, he ordered his diſciples to be waked every morning, and lulled to ſleep every night, by ſweet ſounds. He likewiſe conſidered it as greatly conducive to health, and made uſe of it in diſorders of the body, as well as in thoſe of the mind. His biographers and ſecretaries even pretend to tell us what kind of Muſic he applied upon theſe occaſions. Grave and ſolemn, we may be certain; and *Vocal*, ſay they, was preferred to *Inſtrumental*, and the Lyre to the Flute, not only for its decency and gravity, but becauſe inſtruction could be conveyed to the mind, by means of articulation in ſinging, at the ſame time as the ear was delighted by ſweet ſounds. This was ſaid to have been the opinion of Minerva. In very high antiquity mankind gave human

plation of concord and diſcord, of the nature of the octave and uniſon, will ſo ſtrengthen a man's faith, "that he ſhall never after degenerate into that *groſs ſubbeaſtical ſin* of atheiſm." p. 268.

wiſdom

wiſdom to their Gods, and afterwards took it from them, to beſtow it on mortals (*b*).

LASUS,

According to Suidas (*c*), was a native of Hermione, a city of Peloponneſus in the kingdom of Argos. He flouriſhed in the 58th Olympiad, 548 B. C. and was the moſt ancient author known who had written upon the theory of Muſic But he did not confine himſelf to theory; he became excellent in the practice of the art, which then included Poetry, and all its dependencies; he was likewiſe a great Dithyrambic Poet, according to Clemens Alexandrinus (*d*), and the firſt who introduced that ſpecies of compoſition in the public Games, where a premium was adjudged to him for the performance of it. He firſt eſtabliſhed public conferences or diſputations (*e*) upon ſcientific ſubjects, ſuch as Philoſophy, Poetry, Mathematics, and particularly Muſic, both ſpeculative and practical. If he was not the inventor of the circular Choruſes or Dances (*f*), which ſome have attributed to Arion, he improved them at leaſt, as the ſcholiaſt on Ariſtophanes (*g*), who gives his vouchers, affirms (*h*).

As to the events of his life, which was rather a long one, but little is known: we read, however, in Herodotus, that by the advice of Laſus, the poet Onomacritus, to whom, by many, the poems that go under the name of Orpheus are attributed, was baniſhed from Athens by Hipparchus, the ſon of Piſiſtratus. This

(*b*) In peruſing the liſt of illuſtrious men, who have ſprung from the ſchool of Pythagoras, it appears that the love and cultivation of Muſic was ſo much a part of their diſcipline, that almoſt every one of them left a treatiſe behind him upon the ſubject. The life of this philoſopher has been ſo frequently written, and the events of it are ſo generally known, that it ſeems only neceſſary here to remind the reader of his having been in Egypt at the time when Cambyſes conquered that country; and that moſt chronologers place his death 497 years B. C. at the age of ſeventy-one.

(*c*) Suid. voc. Λασος.

(*d*) Stromat. *lib.* i.

(*e*) Εριστικοις λογοις.

(*f*) Called εγκυκλιων χορων.

(*g*) *In avib. verſ.* 1403.

(*h*) The compoſers of the Muſic and Poetry, for theſe kinds of dances, were called κυκλιοδιδασκαλοι, which the ſame ſcholiaſt explains by the word Διθυραμβοποιοι, *Dithyrambic Poets*; for both the Poetry and Muſic of theſe dances, performed round the altar, were Dithyrambic.

poet,

poet, who was a fanatic, and a mythological quack, pretended to find predictions or oracles in the verſes of Muſæus, for thoſe who were curious in futurity. Laſus having diſcovered that this pretended diviner had ſurreptitiouſly inſerted into the text of Muſæus a prediction that all the iſlands in the neighbourhood of Lemnos would be ſwallowed up, gave information of the forgery to Hipparchus, who ſent the impoſtor into exile, though he had before honoured him with his confidence.

The productions of Laſus ſeem to have been numerous, both in Poetry and Muſic. But nothing of his writing is come down to us, except a few fragments that have been preſerved in Athenæus, whoſe book, like the moon in Arioſto, has been the receptacle of *loſt things*. This author ſpeaks of a Hymn written by Laſus without the uſe of the *ſigma*, or letter S. He likewiſe mentions one of his Odes, called the *Centaurs*, remarkable for the omiſſion of the ſame conſonant. Theſe inſtances of his being a *Lipogrammatiſt*, or *letter-dropper*, and of his particular enmity to the hiſſing letter S, are greater proofs of his patience and delicacy of ear, than of his genius or good taſte. The late Dr. Pepuſch (*i*) gave rules for compoſing in all keys without the intervention of flats or ſharps; but ſuch is the obſtinacy of the great poets and compoſers of this age, that all the letters of the alphabet are indiſcriminately uſed, and flats and ſharps are become more numerous than ever!

With reſpect to the muſical diſcoveries of Laſus, both in theory and practice, all that we know of them may be reduced to three heads:

1ſt. Ariſtoxenus (*k*), in ſpeaking of the nature of ſound, attributes to him, in common with certain Epigonians, a heterodox opinion, that *ſound had a latitude* (*l*). Meibomius is perplexed by the paſſage, but is inclined to think it means only, that in ſuſtaining a note, the voice varied a little up and down, and did not *ſtrictly* keep to one *mathematical line* of tone. This explication, however, is not ſatisfactory; for the expreſſion naturally leads

(*i*) *Treatiſe on Harmony*, 1731. (*k*) *Lib.* i. *p.* 3. (*l*) Πλατος ἐχειν.

to the *idea* of a *Temperament*; and ſeems to ſay that the intonation of the ſcale admitted of ſome variety; in other words, that the exact ratio of intervals might be departed from without offending the ear (*m*). And what is ſaid of Laſus by Plutarch, in his Dialogue on Muſic, renders this idea ſtill more probable. He is there mentioned as a great innovator, who imitated the *compaſs* and *variety* of wind-inſtruments; as well as Epigonius, who was the inventor of the inſtrument of forty ſtrings (*n*). Among the corruptions complained of in the *new* Muſic, the frequent and licentious tranſitions from one mode and genus to another, was not the leaſt. If therefore the object of this multiplication of ſtrings may be ſuppoſed to have been the convenience of having an inſtrument ready tuned for all the modes, like our Harpſichords, it ſeems probable that both Laſus and Epigonius might have been *Temperers*, and have accommodated their *doctrine* to their *practice*.

2dly. Theon of Smyrna teſtifies that Laſus, as well as the Pythagorean Hippaſus of Metapontus, made uſe of two vaſes of the ſame ſize and tone, in order to calculate the exact ratio or proportion of concords. For by leaving one of the vaſes empty, and filling the other half full of water, they became Octaves to each other: and filling one a 4th part full, and the other a 3d, the percuſſion of the two veſſels produced the concords of 4th and 5th: from which proceſs reſulted the proportions of theſe three concords contained in the numbers 1, 2, 3, 4 (*o*).

3dly. Laſus, according to Plutarch, introduced a dithyrambic licence, or irregularity into Muſical Meaſure, or Rhythm; and upon his Lyre imitated the compaſs and variety of the Flute.

(*m*) This idea is greatly confirmed by the ſame expreſſion, πλατος ἐχει, occurring in a paſſage of Galen, quoted by Dr. Smith, p. 47, of his *Harmonics*, 1ſt Edit. "It is probable, ſays Galen, that in the Lyre, the *accurate* tuning is one, and individual; but the practical tuning, πλατος ἐχει, *admits of latitude*." This paſſage, which is curious throughout, is quoted by Salinas, to prove that the ancients had in practice a temperament, though it did not come in the way of theoriſts to ſpeak of it in their ſcientifical books.

(*n*) See p. 421.

(*o*) This aſſertion, which has been taken upon truſt, like the Anvil ſtory of Pythagoras, is equally falſe: to tune glaſſes by water has been lately practiſed, and thought a new diſcovery; but that their tones are altered in the proportions given above, is by no means true. Moſt glaſſes are lowered about a whole tone, by being half filled with water, and not more than a major 6th if quite filled.

ARISTO-

ARISTOXENUS.

This is the moſt ancient writer on the ſubject of Muſic, of whoſe works any tracts are come down to us. He was born at Tarentum, a city in that part of Italy called *Magna Græcia*, now Calabria. He was the ſon of a Muſician, whom ſome call Mneſias, others Spintharus. He had his firſt education at Mantinæa, a city of Arcadia, under his father, and Lamprus of Erythræ; he next ſtudied under Xenophilus, the Pythagorean; and laſtly under Ariſtotle, in company with Theophraſtus. Suidas, from whom theſe particulars are tranſcribed, adds, that Ariſtoxenus enraged at Ariſtotle having bequeathed his ſchool to Theophraſtus, traduced him ever after. But Ariſtocles the Peripatetic, in Euſebius (*p*), exculpates Ariſtoxenus in this particular, and aſſures us that he always ſpoke with great reſpect of his maſter Ariſtotle.

From the preceding account it appears that Ariſtoxenus lived under Alexander the Great, and his firſt ſucceſſors.

His *Harmonics* in three books, all that are come down to us, together with Ptolemy's Harmonics, were firſt publiſhed by Gogavinus, but not very correctly, at Venice, 1562, in 4to. with a Latin verſion. John Meurſius next tranſlated the three books of Ariſtoxenus into Latin, from the MS. of Joſ. Scaliger, but, according to Meibomius, very negligently. With theſe he printed at Leyden, 1616, 4to. Nicomachus, and Alypius, two other Greek writers on Muſic. After this Meibomius collected theſe muſical writers together, to which he added Euclid, Bacchius ſenior, Ariſtides Quintilianus; and publiſhed the whole, with a Latin verſion and notes, from the elegant preſs of Elzevir, Amſt. 1652. The learned editor dedicates theſe ancient muſical treatiſes to Chriſtina, queen of Sweden.

Ariſtoxenus is ſaid by Suidas to have written 452 different works, among which thoſe on Muſic were the moſt eſteemed; yet his writings upon other ſubjects are very frequently quoted

(*p*) *Præpar. lib.* xv.

by ancient authors, notwithſtanding Cicero, and ſome others, ſay that he was a bad philoſopher, and had nothing in his head but Muſic. The titles of ſeveral of the loſt works of Ariſtoxenus, quoted by Athenæus, and others, have been collected by Meurſius in his notes upon this author; by Tonſius and Menage; all which Fabricius has digeſted in alphabetical order (*q*). I ſhall here only mention ſuch as concern Muſic, which are upon ſubjects ſo intereſting to enquirers into the merits of ancient muſic, that their loſs is much to be lamented.

1. *Of Performers on the Flute, and concerning Flutes and other Muſical Inſtruments* (*r*).

2. *Of the Manner of boring, or piercing Flutes* (*s*).

3. *Of Muſic in General.* In this work, which was different from his *Harmonics*, he treated not only of the Rhythmical, Metrical, *Organical*, *Poetical*, and *Hypocritical parts of Muſic*, but of the *Hiſtory of Muſic*, and *Muſicians* (*t*).

4. *Of the Tragic Dance* (*u*).

With reſpect to the tracts of Ariſtoxenus that are come down to us, they are cited by Euclid, Cicero, Vitruvius, Plutarch, Diogenes Laertius, Athenæus, Ariſt. Quintilianus, Ptolemy, and Boethius. And as a muſical writer he is ſo much celebrated by the ancients, and ſo frequently mentioned by the moderns, that his Treatiſes which are extant, ſeem to deſerve a particular attention. They are given by all his editors as diviſions of one and the ſame work; but the two firſt books are evidently independent fragments. The ſecond book is not a *ſecond*, but *another firſt part*. It is ſurpriſing that Meibomius ſhould regard it as a *continuation*, and wonder in his notes, that Porphyry ſhould quote the *ſecond book* as the *firſt*. The ſecond book is plainly the opening of another work, as appears by its beginning with an explanation of the ſubject, and a ſketch of the order in which the author propoſed to treat it, all which is done in the *firſt* book. It is likewiſe full of repetitions. There appears, however, through the cloud of bad

(*q*) Bib. Græca, *lib.* iii. *cap.* 10.
(*r*) Περι αυλητων η περι αυλων και οργανων.
(*s*) Περι αυλων τρησεως.
(*t*) Περι Μουσικης.
(*u*) Περι τραγικης ορχησεως.

readings,

readings, and all kinds of corruptions in the text, to be an accuracy, and an Ariſtotelian preciſion in theſe old books, which are not to be found in later writers, who ſeem to have all the negligence and inaccuracy of compilers.

As Pythagoras and Ariſtoxenus were heads of the two moſt numerous and celebrated muſical ſects in antiquity, I ſhall endeavour to make ſuch of my readers as are curious in theſe matters, acquainted with their different tenets.

The *Pythagoreans*, by their rigid adherence to *calculation*, and the accurate diviſions of the Monochord, may be ſaid to have truſted more to the judgment of the *Eye*, concerning the perfection of conſonance, than to that of the *Ear* (*x*). Intervals, according to them, were *conſonant* or *diſſonant*, in proportion as the ratios of the vibrations were ſimple or complex. Thus the octave was more perfect than the 5th, becauſe the ratio of 1 to 2 is more ſimple, and more eaſily perceived, than that of 2 to 3: and the 5th, for the ſame reaſon, was more perfect than the 4th, $\frac{3}{4}$. It was upon this principle that they allowed of no deviation from the ſtrict ratios of ſounds. They left nothing to the uncertain judgment of the ear, which they thought no more able to determine a *perfect* conſonance without a Moſochord, than the *eye* to form a perfect circle without compaſſes.

Ariſtoxenus, on the contrary, referred every thing to the *Ear*. He thought the ſenſes ſufficiently accurate for *Muſical*, though not for *Mathematical* purpoſes (*y*); and that it was abſurd to aim at an artificial accuracy in gratifying the ear, beyond its own power of diſtinction. The philoſophy of the Pythagoreans, their velocities, vibrations, and proportions, he rejected with contempt (*z*), as being *foreign to the ſubject*; ſubſtituting *abſtract* cauſes in the room of *experience*, and making Muſic leſs the object of *ſenſe* than of *intellect*.

(*x*) The Pythagoreans were diſtinguiſhed in antiquity, by the appellation of *Canonici*, as being governed by the *Monochord*, or *Harmonic-Canon*; and the Ariſtoxenians by that of *Muſici*, on account of their taking only the ear and practice for their guides. *Porphyr ex verſ. Wallis, Oper. Mathem. tom.* iii. *p.* 207.

(*y*) Ariſtox. p. 33.

(*z*) *Ibid.* p. 32.

Accord-

According to theſe principles, his doctrine maintained, that concords were to be taken by the judgment of the ear only, and other intervals of which the ear was leſs able to determine the perfection, by the *difference*, or ſum of concords (*a*). Thus the *Tone* was the difference between the 4th and 5th: the *Ditone* was taken by alternate 4ths and 5ths, as Ea, aD, DG, GC (*b*). Had he ſtopped here, nothing could reaſonably have been alledged againſt him. But taking the Tone as a well known interval, of which the ear, from the compariſon of 4th and 5th, could judge with ſufficient exactneſs, he made it the meaſure of all other intervals; of the greater by addition, and of the leſs by diviſion. Thus the 4th contained, according to him, two Tones and a half; the 5th, 3 and $\frac{1}{2}$; the Octave, conſequently, 5 Tones and 2 ſemi-tones, or 6 Tones. And, further, the Tone he divided into 2, 3, and 4 *equal* parts. By this proceſs, as it is juſtly objected to him by Ptolemy, he acted inconſiſtently with his own principles; pretending to truſt ſolely to the *ear*, and to exclude *reaſon* and *calculation*, at the ſame time that he was making a parade of both, in a way either totally uſeleſs and nugatory, or more complicated and difficult than that which he had rejected. If the ear is unable to determine the exact ratio of a concord, ſtill leſs is it able accurately to biſect a tone; and that a tone cannot be numerically divided into two, or more *equal* parts, has long been demonſtrated (*c*). It can only be done by geometrical and lineal methods, more operoſe than the calculations of Pythagoras, and which, if accompliſhed, would give only falſe, incommenſurable, and tempered intervals (*d*). Ariſtoxenus ſeems to have been led into this inconſiſtence by his deſire of diſtinguiſhing himſelf from the mere practical Muſicians of his

(*a*) *Ibid.* 55.

(*b*) This was not our conſonant major 3d, but a diſſonant interval, compoſed of two major tones $\frac{8}{9} \times \frac{8}{9}$.

(*c*) This was demonſtrated by Euclid, in his *Sectio Canonis*, though a cloſe follower of Ariſtoxenus, in his *Introductio Harmonica*. To divide the tone $\frac{8}{9}$ into two equal parts, is to find a mean proportional between 8 and 9; which mean, being the ſquare root of 72, is an *irrational*, or ſurd quantity. See Dr. Smith's *Harm.* p. 100, note (*y*). And *Elem. de Muſ par* M. D'Alembert, *Part* I. *Chap.* vii.

(*d*) See Diſſert. p. 130.

time,

time, of whoſe inaccuracy and want of ſcience he frequently ſpeaks with great contempt.

The Pythagoreans, on the other ſide, were not without their errors. Their principles were right, but they carried them too far, and forgot that they could no otherwiſe be *known* to be right, than as they were confirmed by the pleaſure of the ear. How, for inſtance, did they know that the ratio from 2 to 3 was that of a perfect fifth but by the ear, which, upon repeated trial, found that interval moſt harmonious when produced by ſtrings in *that* proportion? But it was the peculiar character of the Pythagorean philoſophy, to erect abſtract numbers and proportions into phyſical cauſes. Not content with purſuing their principle of the ſimplicity of ratios, as far as experience warranted, and the ear approved, they ſet it up as an *à priori* principle, and rejected intervals which the ear pronounces to be concords, merely becauſe they did not fall within the proportions which they choſe to admit. The compound interval, for inſtance, of the 8th and 4th, though undoubtedly concord, they would not admit as ſuch, becauſe its ratio 3 : 8, is neither *multiple*, nor *ſuperparticular*, the only proportions they admitted as conſonant, on account of their ſimplicity (*e*).

They are, beſides, charged both by Ptolemy and Ariſtoxenus, with ſometimes aſſigning ſuch ratios to intervals as the ear did not approve; but no inſtance *is* given. It would be injuſtice, however, to quit theſe famous muſical theoriſts without acknowledging that their phyſical doctrines concerning the production of ſound, and the cauſes of gravity and acuteneſs, have been confirmed, by modern philoſophy, and their metaphyſical ſpeculations concerning the cauſes of conſonance, adopted by modern writers of no inconſiderable reputation (*f*).

(*e*) *Multiple* is, where the greater term contains the leſs, a number of times, as 1 : 2, 1 : 3, 1 : 4; *ſuperparticular*, where the difference is only 1; as 2 : 3, 3 : 4, &c.

(*f*) Deſcartes, Euler, *Tent. præf.* p. 11, 12. Buffon, tom. vi. p. 54, 55, 8vo.

EUCLID.

As Pythagoras was allowed by the Greeks to have been the firſt who found out muſical ratios, by the diviſion of a Monochord, or ſingle ſtring, a diſcovery which tradition only had preſerved (*g*), *Euclid* was the firſt who wrote upon the ſubject, and reduced theſe diviſions to mathematical demonſtration.

This great geometrician flouriſhed in the time of Ptolemy Lagus, that is, about 277 B. C. His *Elements* were firſt publiſhed at Baſil, in Swiſſerland, 1533, by Simon Grynæus, from two MSS. the one found at Venice, and the other at Paris. His *Introduction to Harmonics* (*h*), which in ſome MSS. was attributed to Cleonidas, is in the Vatican copy given to Pappus; Meibomius, however, accounts for this, by ſuppoſing thoſe copies to have been only two different *MS. editions* of Euclid's work, which had been reviſed, corrected, and reſtored from the corruptions incident to frequent tranſcription by Cleonidas and Pappus, whoſe names were, on that account, prefixed. It firſt appeared in print with a Latin verſion, in 1498, at Venice, under the title of *Cleonidæ Harmonicum Introductorium:* who Cleonidas was, neither the editor, George Valla, nor any one elſe pretends to know. It was John Pena, a mathematician in the ſervice of the king of France, who firſt publiſhed this work at Paris, under the name of Euclid, in 1557. After this, it went through ſeveral editions with his other works.

His *Section of the Canon* (*i*) follows his *Introduction*; it went through the ſame hands, and the ſame editions, and is mentioned by Porphyry, in his Commentary on Ptolemy, as the work of Euclid. This tract chiefly contains ſhort and clear definitions of

(*g*) Indeed it is more than probable that Pythagoras acquired all his muſical philoſophy in Egypt, where he reſided twenty-two years; and the numbers 6, 8, 9, 12, which are exactly right, applied to *lengths* and *vibrations*, being known to the Chaldeans, as Plutarch informs us, *de Proc. Anim.* is a ſtrong proof that the Pythagoreans did not *firſt* diſcover thoſe proportions.

(*h*) Εισαγωγη ἁρμονικη.

(*i*) Κατατομη κανονος.

the

the ſeveral parts of Greek Muſic, in which it is eaſy to ſee that mere *Melody* was concerned; as he begins by telling us, that the ſcience of *Harmonics* conſiders the nature and uſe of Melody, and conſiſts of ſeven parts: Sounds, Intervals, Genera, Syſtems, Keys, Mutations, and Melopœia; all which have been ſeverally conſidered in the Diſſertation.

Of all the writings upon ancient Muſic, that are come down to us, this ſeems to be the moſt correct and compreſſed: the reſt are generally looſe and diffuſed; the authors either twiſting and diſtorting every thing to a favourite ſyſtem, or filling their books with metaphyſical jargon, with Pythagoric dreams, and Platonic fancies, wholly foreign to Muſic. But Euclid, in this little treatiſe, is like himſelf, cloſe, and clear; yet ſo mathematically ſhort and dry, that he beſtows not a ſyllable more upon the ſubject than is abſolutely neceſſary (*k*).

According to Dr. Wallis (*l*), Euclid was the firſt who demonſtrated that an octave is ſomewhat leſs than *ſix whole* tones; and this he does in the 14th Theorem of his *Section of the Canon*. In the 15th Theorem he demonſtrates that a fourth is leſs than two tones and a half, and a fifth leſs than three and a half; but though this proves the neceſſity of a temperament upon fixed inſtruments, where one ſound anſwers ſeveral purpoſes, yet he gives no rules for one, which ſeems to furniſh a proof that ſuch inſtruments were at leaſt, not *generally* known or uſed by the ancients.

What Ariſtoxenus called a *half-tone*, Euclid demonſtrated to be a ſmaller interval, in the proportion of 256 to 243. This he denominated a *limma*, or *remnant*; becauſe giving to the *fourth*, the extremes of which were called *Soni Stabiles*, and were regarded as fixed and unalterable, the exact proportion of 4 to 3, and, taking

(*k*) His object ſeems to have been the compreſſing into a ſcientific and elementary abridgment, the more diffuſed and ſpeculative treatiſes of Ariſtoxenus. He was the D'Alembert of that author; explaining his principles, and, at the ſame time, ſeeing and demonſtrating his errors. The muſical writings of Rameau were diffuſed, obſcure, and indigeſted; but M. D'Alembert extracting the eſſence of his confuſed ideas, methodized his ſyſtem of a *Fundamental Baſe*, and compreſſed, into the compaſs of a pamphlet, the ſubſtance of many volumes. See *Elemens de Muſique, ſuivans les Principes de Rameau.*

(*l*) *Phil. Tranſ.* No. 242, and Lowthorp's *Abridg.* vol. i.

from it two major tones $\frac{8}{9} \times \frac{8}{9}$, the *Limma* was all that remained to complete the *Diateſſaron*. This diviſion of the *Diatonic Genus* (*m*) being thus, for the firſt time, eſtabliſhed upon mathematical demonſtration, continued in favour, ſays Dr. Wallis, for many ages. But this will be further explained under the ſubſequent articles.

DIDYMUS.

Was an eminent Muſician of Alexandria, and, according to Suidas, cotemporary with the emperor Nero, by whom he was much honoured and eſteemed. This proves him to have been younger than Ariſtoxenus, and more ancient than Ptolemy, though ſome have imagined him to have preceded Ariſtoxenus. He wrote upon Grammar and Medicine, as well as Muſic; but his works are all loſt, and every thing we know at preſent of his harmonical doctrines is from Ptolemy, who, by diſputing, preſerved them. However, this author confeſſes him to have been well verſed in the canon and harmonic diviſions, and if we may judge from the teſtimony even of his antagoniſt, he muſt have been not only an able theoriſt in Muſic, but a man of conſiderable learning. As this Muſician preceded Ptolemy, and was the *firſt* who introduced the *minor tone* into the ſcale, and, conſequently, the practical major 3d. $\frac{4}{5}$, which harmonized the whole ſyſtem, and pointed out the road to counterpoint, an honour that moſt critics have beſtowed on Ptolemy, he ſeems to have a better title to the *Invention* of modern *harmony*, or *muſic in parts*, than Guido, who appears to have adhered, both in theory and practice, to the old diviſion of the ſcale into *Major Tones* and *Limmas* (*n*).

"The beſt ſpecies of Diapaſon, ſays Doni, and that which is the moſt replete with fine harmony, and chiefly in uſe at preſent, was invented by Didymus. . . . His method was this: after the major ſemitone E F. $\frac{16}{15}$, he placed the minor tone in the ratio of $\frac{10}{9}$, be-

(*m*) See *Differt.* ſect. II.

(*n*) See his *Micrologus*, of which an account will be given in the ſecond volume of this Hiſtroy.

tween

tween F G, and afterwards the major tone $\frac{8}{9}$, between G A (*o*); but Ptolemy, for the ſake of *innovation*, placed the major tone where Didymus placed the minor (*p*)." Ptolemy, however, in ſpeaking of Didymus and his arrangement, objects to it as contrary to the judgment of the ear, which requires the major tone below the minor. The ear certainly determines ſo with us: is it not therefore probable, that in Ptolemy's time the major key was gaining ground? Upon the whole, however, it appears, that theſe authors only differ in the *order*, not the *quality* of intervals.

PTOLEMY.

This great Aſtronomer and Muſician, whoſe peculiar uſe of the ſpecies of octave, and reformation of the *Modes*, have been diſcuſſed in the Diſſertation (*q*), ſeems the moſt learned, cloſe, and philoſophical writer upon the ſubject of Muſic among the younger Greeks (*r*). He appears to have been leſs ſhackled by authorities, and a more bold and original thinker on the ſubject, than moſt of his predeceſſors; indeed he was not inſenſible of his own force and ſuperiority, for he treats all former muſical writers and their ſyſtems with little ceremony. Some parts of his diſputes and doctrines are now become unintelligible, notwithſtanding all the pains that our learned countryman Dr. Wallis beſtowed on him near 100 years ago, particularly his third book, which forms a very ſtriking contraſt with the ſcientific ſolidity and preciſion of the two firſt. The inſtant he ſets his foot within his beloved *circle*, the magic of it tranſforms him at once from a philoſopher to a dotard. He paſſes ſuddenly from acurate reaſoning and demonſtration, to dreams, analogies, and all the fanciful reſemblances of the Pythagorean and Platonic ſchools: diſcovers Muſic in the human ſoul, and the celeſtial motions: compares the rational,

(*o*) It ſeems from this aſſertion as if there was a faſhion, not only in *Melody*, but *Harmony*: modern ears are beſt pleaſed with Ptolemy's arrangement, though Doni tells us, that in the laſt century the Diapaſon of Didymus was moſt in vogue.

(*p*) Doni, *Oper. Omnia*, tom. i. p. 349.

(*q*) P. 44.

(*r*) He flouriſhed about 130 years after the Chriſtian æra.

irascible, and concupiscent parts of the soul, to the 8th, 5th, and 4th; makes the sciences, and the virtues, some Diatonic, some Chromatic, and some Enharmonic: turns the Zodiac into a Lyre, making the equinoctial the key-note of the Dorian mode; sends the Mixolydian to Greenland, and the Hypodorian to the Hottentots!

He seems to have been possessed with an unbounded rage for constructing new scales, and correcting those of former times. He gives us no less than eight different forms of the diatonic scale, three of which were his own; the other five went under the names of more ancient Musicians of great renown; such as Archytas of Tarentum, Aristoxenus, Eratosthenes, and Didymus. Most of these scales seem but to differ in deformity, according to our present ideas of harmony and temperament. Indeed there is only one of them which modern ears could suffer, and concerning that it is necessary to be somewhat explicit.

Euclid, who first discovered that six major tones in the ratio of $\frac{8}{9}$ were more than sufficient to fill up the octave, gave two major tones and a *Limma* to his Tetrachord; which made the major thirds intolerable. Didymus was the first who discovered that whole tones were of two kinds, major and minor; and, giving to his minor tone the ratio of $\frac{10}{9}$, divided his Tetrachord into *major semitone* $\frac{16}{15}$, *minor tone* $\frac{10}{9}$, and *major tone* $\frac{9}{8}$, including the whole series in the usual bounds of a true fourth $\frac{4}{3}$ (*s*).

Ptolemy, near two centuries after Didymus had suggested the *major semitone*, and *minor tone*, adopted them in one of his divisions of the Diatonic 4th, but changed the place of the *minor tone*, ar-

(*s*) This arrangement has been censured by Padre Martini, and with reason, if a *Major Key* and *Counterpoint* had been in question; but, as the Abbé Roussier justly observes, a *Minor Key*, and *Simple Melody*, were alone considered at that time. The minor tone, from C to D, therefore, had this convenience, that it rendered D a true 5th below *Mese*, the central string of the Lyre, which regulated the whole system, and to which all the other strings were tuned, as well as the octave above Proslambanomenos, the fundamental note of every Mode. (See *Differt.* p. 9.) When the *Major Tone* is from C to D, and the minor from D to E, as in Ptolemy's arrangement, this cannot be the case; for then the 5th from D to a, will contain only two minor tones, one major, and a major semi-tone, instead of two major tones, one minor, and a major semi-tone, of which every perfect 5th, in the ratio $\frac{3}{2}$, is composed.

ranging

ranging his intervals, ſuppoſe them to be theſe, B C D E, in the following order and proportions: major ſemitone $\frac{16}{15}$, major tone $\frac{9}{8}$, minor tone $\frac{10}{9}$, which, together, completed the fourth in the uſual, perfect, conſtant, and true ratio of $\frac{4}{3}$; and theſe are the famous proportions of the intervals propoſed in that ſyſtem of Ptolemy which is known to theoriſts by the name of *Diatonum Intenſum*, or *Sharp Diatonic*; and which, long after his time, was received in our counterpoint, and is pronounced by Dr. Wallis, Dr. Smith, and the moſt eminent writers on Harmonics, to be *the beſt diviſion of the muſical ſcale* (*t*).

This arrangement of Ptolemy has been conſidered by ſome writers as a *Temperament* (*u*), on account of his departing from the juſt proportion of ſome of the 5ths, in order to give perfection to 3ds and 6ths. This temperament, however, if it may be ſo called, is become to us the ſtandard of perfection, and every deviation from it, in the modern ſenſe of the word, is now called temperament (*x*). If *temperament* implies *imperfection*, and the alteration of intervals from thoſe proportions which beſt ſatisfy the ear; and if thoſe ſcales are the *moſt*, though not the *beſt* tempered, which moſt offend the ear, the word is in that ſenſe chiefly applicable to the old Pythagorean Diatonic, adopted by Euclid, and to the other numerous diviſions above mentioned.

The ſcale of the Pythagoreans was indeed founded upon ſome *principle*; being, as the abbé Rouſſier has ſhewn, produced by a ſeries of perfect 5ths; but the other diviſions ſeem to have been

(*t*) The intervals in our key of C natural, when made perfect, are in the following proportions, aſcending: 1, $\frac{8}{9}$, $\frac{9}{10}$, $\frac{15}{16}$, $\frac{8}{9}$, $\frac{9}{10}$, $\frac{8}{9}$, $\frac{15}{16}$; that is, giving to the octave three major tones, two minor tones, and two major ſemi-tones, arranged in this order: from the key note to the 2d of the key, a major tone; from the 2d to the 3d of the key, a minor tone; from the 3d to the 4th a major ſemi-tone; from the 4th to the 5th, a major tone; from the 5th to the 6th, a minor tone; from the 6th to the 7th, a major tone; and from the 7th to the octave, or 8th, a major ſemitone. And no ſharp key can be perfect, but by being tuned in the ſame manner; and yet, where to place the *Minor Tone* has occaſioned endleſs diſputes among writers on Temperament. De Moivre, in his Doctrine of Chances, gives 210 permutations to theſe intervals T, T, T, t, t, H, H.

(*u*) Padre Martini, *Storia Muſica*, quoted by the Abbé Rouſſier, *Mem. ſur la Muſ. des Anc.* p. 162.

(*x*) In what manner this deviation became neceſſary, will be related in the ſecond volume of this work, where the ſubject of Temperament will be more particularly explained.

the

the produce of random experiment, and *unmuſical* calculation, and were as various and unfit for uſe, as want of principle could make them. Scarce any rule ſeems to have been obſerved, but that of keeping the *Soni Stantes*, the boundaries of the Tetrachords, unmoved from their juſt ratio of $\frac{4}{3}$. The ancient theoriſts revenged themſelves, however, for this confinement by every kind of licence in the diſpoſition of the two remaining ſounds: the various tunings of which conſtituted what they called the χροαι, the *colours* or *ſhades* of the three genera. In theſe, all kinds of intervals ſeem to have been admitted, provided they were but *rational*, that is, *expreſſible by numbers (y)*.

Ariſtoxenus did not confine himſelf even to this rule; for his equal diviſions were neither reducible to rational numbers, nor were the vibrations of his intervals, if they could have been put in practice, commenſurable. Muſic, however, was more obliged to him for the invention of a method which it muſt be allowed left every thing to the guidance of the ear, uncertain as it may be, than to thoſe mathematical ſpeculators who furniſhed it with ſo many accurate and demonſtrable rules for being *infallibly* out of tune (z).

Ptolemy having a facility, and perhaps a pleaſure, in calculating, ſeems to have ſported with the ſcale, and wantonly to have *tried confuſions*, by diſſecting and torturing it in all poſſible ways; and though one of his many ſyſtems ſuits our preſent practice, it is not to be imagined that it was deſignedly calculated for the uſe of *counterpoint*, which was far from his thoughts (a). It ſeems,

(y) To juſtify this account, and to give the reader ſome idea of the licentiouſneſs of theſe ancient *Tunings*, or *Temperaments*, I ſhall only mention, that, inſtead of the two tones, and two ſemi-tones, to which modern theory is confined, the ancients admitted four kinds of tones, and eleven ſemitones; and, of theſe fifteen different ratios, eleven are impracticable in Harmony, and rejected by theory, and by the ear: but, ſays M. Rouſſeau, *c'eſt perdre ſon tems, & abuſer de celui du lecteur, que de le promener par toutes ces diviſions.* Art. Syntonique.

(z) Indeed, it is probable, that among the ancients, as well as the moderns, many ſuch untuneable diviſions, ſerved more to amuſe Theoriſts, than to guide practical Muſicians.

(a) That he was not the only one, however, who broke the ſcale on the wheel, appears from a note of M. Burette, upon a paſſage in Plutarch's *Dialogue on Muſic*; for the diviſions of the Tetrachord upon the Flute, without the Enharmonic, in very high antiquity, were five:

1. The *flat Diatonic*, conſiſting of a ſemitone, three quarters of a tone, and five fourths of a tone.

2. The

however, as if *Muſic in parts* was firſt ſuggeſted by this arrangement of the intervals; for the 3ds and 6ths, which were before ſo harſh and crude as to be deſervedly ranked among the diſcords, were now ſoftened and ſweetened into that grateful coincidence with which modern ears are ſo much delighted. It was impoſſible, after hearing them, for lovers of muſic not to feel the charms ariſing from the combination and ſucceſſion of theſe conſonances; and it was from this time that the ſeeds of that harmony which may be ſaid, in a leſs myſterious ſenſe than that of Pythagoras, to be implanted in our nature, began to ſpring up. They were certainly of ſlow growth, as no good fruit was produced from them for more than 1000 years after: but arts, like animals to whom great longevity is allowed, have a long infancy and childhood, before adoleſcence and maturity come on.

CHAP. VI.

Of the SCOLIA, *or* SONGS, *of the ancient Greeks.*

VOCAL Muſic is of ſuch high antiquity, that its origin ſeems to have been coeval with mankind; at leaſt, the lengthened tones of pleaſure and pain, of joy and affliction, muſt long have preceded every other language, and Muſic. The voice of paſſion wants but few articulations, and muſt have been nearly the ſame in all human creatures; differing only in gravity or acuteneſs, according to age, ſex, and organization, till the invention of words,

2. The *ſharp Diatonic*, of which the three intervals were a limma, and two major tones.

3. The *flat Chromatic*, of one third of a tone; another ditto; a tone and a half and a third of a tone.

4. The *ſeſquialterate Chromatic*, of a Dieſis, or quarter tone and half; ditto; and ſeven Dieſes, or quarter tones.

5. The *ſharp Chromatic*, of a ſemi-tone; a ſemi-tone, and a tone and half.

It has been already remarked, p. 130, that the numbers and proportions of the ancients are inadmiſſable in our counterpoint; and I beg leave to aſk the learned in Harmonics, as well as practical Muſicians, what pleaſing effects could poſſibly be produced, even in *Melody*, from ſuch ſtrange intervals as theſe?

by

by particular conventions, in different ſocieties, weakened, and, by degrees, rendered it unintelligible. This primitive and inſtinctive language, or cry of nature, is ſtill retained by animals, and univerſally underſtood, while our artificial tongues are known only to the ſmall part of the globe, where, after being learned with great pains, they are ſpoken. "We talk of love and of hatred, ſays M. de Voltaire, in general terms, without being able to expreſs the different degrees of thoſe paſſions. It is the ſame with reſpect to pain and pleaſure, of which there are ſuch innumerable ſpecies. The ſhades and gradations of volition repugnance, or compulſion, are equally indiſtinct for want of colours." This cenſure ſhould, however, be confined to written language; for though a word can be accurately expreſſed in writing, and pronounced but one way, yet the different tones of voice that can be given to it, in the utterance, are infinite. A mere negative or affirmative may even be uttered in ſuch a manner, as to convey ideas diametrically oppoſite to the original import of the word.

Muſic, conſidered then as the language of the paſſions, is moſt expreſſive when its movements are leaſt impeded by difficult articulations; and this accounts for the preference of one language to another, for muſical purpoſes; for the pleaſure we receive from inſtrumental Muſic, of the moſt exquiſite kind; and from diviſions in airs that are well executed by the voice.

It has already been obſerved, that *Songs* preceded the uſe of letters, and ſerved not only for amuſement, but ſupplied the place of hiſtory in after-ages. Laws were originally *ſung*, to be the better retained in memory; and prayers offered up to the Gods were chanted, in order to add to their ſolemnity and energy. The firſt *public* uſe, therefore, of Muſic was the ſervice of religion, and the firſt *private* uſe, to alleviate labour and care, or to expreſs hilarity during ſocial happineſs.

Theurgic *Hymns*, or *Songs of Incantation*, ſuch as thoſe aſcribed to Orpheus, which were performed in the myſteries upon the moſt ſolemn occaſions, were the *firſt* and moſt ancient of which we have any account in Greece; and theſe are ſuppoſed to have originated in Egypt.

The

The *ſecond ſpecies* conſiſted of poetical and *popular Hymns*, that were ſung at the head of an army, or in praiſe of ſome divinity, during the public worſhip of the Gods in temples; and theſe were diſtinguiſhed by particular appellations, according to the Deities to whom they were addreſſed; as Pæans to Apollo and Mars, and Dithyrambics to Bacchus. Hymns, however, of this kind, in proceſs of time, were laviſhed upon heroes, kings, and generals.

There was ſtill a *third claſs*, diſtinct from theſe, which may be denominated *philoſophic*, or *allegorical Hymns*, in which the attributes of the ſupreme Being, as the apologiſts for Paganiſm pretended, were celebrated under ſome fable or virtue perſonified.

Of all the different kinds of *Scolia*, or *feſtive Songs* that were in uſe among the inhabitants of Greece, and that were diſtinct from religious Hymns, thoſe of which we have any remains, are chiefly ſuch as were ſung *at table*, during the time of banquets, or repaſts. We are told, however, by Plutarch, Athenæus, Lucian, and other Greek writers, that in the *firſt uſe* of theſe, they were real *Pæans*, ſacred Canticles, or Hymns, ſung by the whole company to ſome divinity (*b*). It afterwards was the cuſtom for each of the gueſts to ſing one of theſe ſongs alone, holding a branch of myrtle in his hand, which he paſſed about to his next neighbour, as we do the bottle; and this may be called the *ſecond manner* of performing theſe ſongs (*c*). The *third* was to the accompaniment of the Lyre, and required profeſſed Muſicians, Singers, and Citharœdiſts; for Muſic was now arrived at a greater degree of perfection among artiſts, who made it their chief employment, than gentlemen who applied themſelves to it, among other exerciſes in the general courſe of education, only as an amuſement (*d*).

(*b*) The Gods were not then, ſays M. Rouſſeau, regarded as kill-joys, and ſhut out of convivial meetings; the Greeks were not afraid to let them be of the party.

(*c*) In proceſs of time, to *Sing to the Myrtle*, became a proverbial expreſſion for ignorance; as thoſe who had a hand employed in holding the branch, were unable to accompany themſelves on the Lyre, which required application and talents.

(*d*) Ariſtotle, *Prob.* xv. mentions *Enharmonic Melodies* being formerly preferred to all others, for their *eaſe* and *ſimplicity*, when it was cuſtomary for *gentlemen* to perform in Dithyrambic Choruſes; which Problem not only ſhews that there was a time when Muſic in Greece, from its ſimplicity, and being made part of a liberal education, did not require profeſſors who ſhould make it their ſole employment, and diſtinguiſh themſelves by their execution of difficulties; but likewiſe fortifies the opinion advanced in the Diſſertation relative to *eaſy Enharmonic*.

As there were three ſeveral ways of performing theſe *Scolia*, the ſubjects upon which they were compoſed may be likewiſe arranged under *three Claſſes*. The *firſt claſs* conſiſted of moral Songs, of which ſeveral are preſerved by Athenæus.

In the following Scolium, Timocreon gives his opinion of riches.

Vile riches ſhould no favour find,
By land or ſea, among mankind;
But ſhould be ſent with fiends to dwell,
Down in the deepeſt, blackeſt hell:
For 'tis from them, ere ſince the world began,
The greateſt ills have ſprung, which torture man.

And Plato, Athenæus, and Lucian, have all quoted a Song upon the pre-eminence of worldly bleſſings, that is aſcribed to Simonides:

The firſt of human gifts is *health*,
The next on *beauty's pow'r* attends;
The third, poſſeſſing well-earn'd *wealth*;
The fourth is *youth*, enjoy'd with friends.

Phocylides has given the ſame ſentiment, in different words. And Ariſtotle, having brought it from Delphos, has done it the honour to place it at the head of his Moral Writings. Anaxandrides, however, according to Athenæus, was not ſo partial to it; but, on the contrary, diſputed the ſentiments it contained.

That health is the *firſt* of all bleſſings below,
Is a truth which no logic can fairly confute;
But the *ſecond* on perſonal charms to beſtow,
And on riches the *third*, I beg leave to diſpute:
Next to *health*, give me *riches*; for *beauty*, though bright,
In hunger and rags is a villainous ſight.

The *ſecond Claſs* of Scolia, comprehends mythological hymns, and hiſtorical ſongs. Of theſe I ſhall give the following, from Athenæus, as ſpecimens merely of the ſentiments which theſe kinds of compoſitions contained; for as to the Meaſure and Muſic, they are now equally irrecoverable.

To

To the Divinities that preſide over Riches and Abundance.

At the genial board I ſing
Pleaſures which from plenty ſpring:
While the wreath adorns our brows,
Ceres well deſerves our vows.
Plutus too, thy name I'll join,
And thy ſiſter Proſerpine.
Ye our ſocial joys augment,
From your bounty flows content.
Bleſs our city with increaſe,
And our ſong ſhall never ceaſe.

On LATONA and her Offspring.

Latona once, on Delos' iſle,
Gave to the world a matchleſs pair;
Apollo, who makes nature ſmile,
Whoſe ſhoulders glow with golden hair:
And Dian', goddeſs of the chace,
Whoſe ſhafts unerring ever fly,
Sole ſov'reign of the female race,
Nocturnal empreſs of the ſky.

On PAN.

O Pan, delight of nymphs and ſwains,
Protector of Arcadian plains,
Who lead'ſt the frolic dance;
The laughing fair, who play the prude,
But fly from thee to be purſu'd,
Their favours to enhance.

They love thy ruſtic oaten reed;
They know thy vigour, force, and ſpeed,
And feign a modeſt fear.
Our jocund ſtrains ſhall ſwell for thee,
And render, by their mirth and glee,
Thy name for ever dear.

Among the hiſtoric, or patriotic Songs, there are none more frequently mentioned by ancient authors, than thoſe upon Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, who ſignalized their courage againſt Hipparchus and Hippias, the ſons and ſucceſſors of Piſiſtratus, king of Athens. Hipparchus having publicly inſulted the ſiſter of Harmodius, he, in conjunction with his friend Ariſtogiton, ſlew him at the Panathenæan Games, which event was the ſignal to the natives of Athens for recovering their liberty. The following are fragments of popular ſongs, in honour of Harmodius.

1ſt Fragment.

Cover'd with myrtle-wreaths I'll wear my ſword,
Like brave *Harmodius*, and his patriot friend
Ariſtogiton, who the laws reſtor'd,
The tyrant ſlew, and bade oppreſſion end.

2d Fragment.

Harmodius dear! thou art not dead,
Thy ſoul is to Elyſium fled;
Thy virtue there a place has won,
With Diomede, great Tydeus' ſon;
With ſwift Achilles, too, thou art join'd,
And ev'ry friend of human kind.

Ariſtotle honoured his friend and kinſman, Hermias, prince of Atarnea, with a Hymn, or Canticle, which is preſerved in Athenæus (*e*), and in Diogenes Laertius (*f*), for which he is ſaid to have been arraigned at a court of juſtice, where he was accuſed of impiouſly laviſhing upon a mortal ſuch honour and praiſe, as were due only to the Gods.

Aristotle's Hymn to Hermias.

Virtue! thou ſource of pure delight,
Whoſe rugged mien can ne'er affright
The man with courage fir'd;

(*e*) *Lib.* xv. (*f*) *In Ariſtot.*

For

For thee the ſons of Greece have run
To certain ills, which others ſhun,
And glorioufly expir'd.

When'er thy ſacred ſeeds take root,
Immortal are the flow'rs and fruit,
Unfading are the leaves;
Dearer than ſmiles of parent kind,
Than balmy ſleep, or gold refin'd,
The joys thy triumph gives.

For thee the Twins of mighty Jove,
For thee divine Alcides ſtrove
From vice the world to free;
For thee Achilles quits the light,
And Ajax plunges into night,
Eternal night, for thee.

Hermias, the darling of mankind,
Shall leave a deathleſs name behind
For thee untimely ſlain;
As long as Jove's bright altars blaze,
His worth ſhall furniſh grateful praiſe,
To all the Muſe's train.

The offence given by Ariſtotle in this Poem, which his enemies denominated a Pæan, ſeems to have been the ſaying that the actions of his friend would be ſung by the Muſes, as long as the worſhip of Jupiter Hoſpitalis continued. Athenæus, however, did not regard it as a true Pæan, becauſe the characteriſtic exclamation *Io Pæan* did not occur in any part of it.

The *third* and laſt *Claſs* of *Scolia*, concerning which I ſhall ſpeak, was upon common and miſcellaneous ſubjects, peculiar to no age or country. The greateſt number, and the beſt of theſe, were upon love and wine. *Love inſpires Muſic and Poetry*; this was a memorable maxim among the Greeks, and the ſubject of one of Plutarch's Sympoſiacs (g).

(g) The reaſons which he alleges in proof of this paſſion giving birth to Verſe and Melody, ſuit ſtill better with *Song*, in which both are united, than with mere Muſic or Poetry.

"Love, ſays he, like wine, inſpires vivacity,

Scolia written by the greateſt Poets of antiquity, are mentioned by ancient authors; and Athenæus has preſerved ſpecimens and fragments of a great number. It muſt, however, be owned, that moſt of them appear now to be unmeaning and inſipid. And Athenæus either has not ſelected them with taſte and judgment, or it would encourage a belief that the genius of the Greeks could not ſtoop to elegance in trifles. Indeed, with reſpect to Songs upon the ſubjects of love and drinking, thoſe of *Anacreon* have been long regarded as ſtandards of excellence. They are diſtinguiſhed, by their native elegance and grace, from every other kind of poetical compoſition; and the voluptuous gaiety of all his ſongs is ſo characteriſtic, that his ſtyle and manner have had more imitators than Pindar. Anacreontics are expected to be as joyous and ſportive, as Pindarics daring and ſublime. "His ſmiling and flowery images, ſays M. de la Nauze (*h*), are the more certain to pleaſe, as they are all ſelected with taſte and diſcernment, and faithfully copied from nature." Much leſs can be ſaid, however, in behalf of the moral purity of his ſentiments; for it muſt be owned, that their licentiouſneſs is the more dangerous in proportion to the art and inſinuating delicacy with which they are cloathed.

vacity, chearfulneſs, and paſſion; and in theſe diſpoſitions it is natural to *ſing*, and to give energy and emphaſis to our expreſſions. Beſides, adds he, when any one is in love, he naturally uſes a figurative and meaſured language, in order to enforce his ſentiments, as gold is uſed in embelliſhing ſtatues. Whenever a beloved object is mentioned, her perfections and beauties are publiſhed in *Songs*, which impreſs them in the memory in a more lively and durable manner. If we ſend our miſtreſs either letters or preſents, we try to augment their value, by a copy of *verſes* or a *Song*. In ſhort, continues Plutarch, from Theophraſtus, there are three incitements to *Song*; ſorrow, joy, and enthuſiaſm. During ſorrow, our complaints are expreſſed in lengthened tones which reſemble thoſe of Muſic: the voice too of an orator, humbly beſpeaking, in his peroration, the favour of an audience, is modulated into a kind of *Song*; as are the grief and lamentation of actors in tragedy. Joy cauſes violent agitations, and ſtimulates the vulgar to ſkip and dance; while perſons more decorous, and better educated, are inclined to *ſing*. Enthuſiaſm agitates and tranſports to a degree of madneſs and fury, witneſs the cries of the Bacchanals, and the agonies of the Pythia, both of which are uttered in meaſure and cadence. Now there can be no doubt but that the paſſion of love occaſions exquiſite pain, as well as pleaſure. This paſſion, therefore, concludes the philoſopher, uniting all the three propenſities of *Song*, muſt at all times have been regarded as the moſt proper to excite a deſire of *ſinging*."

(*h*) *Diſſert. ſur les Chanſons de l'Ancienne Grece.* Mem. de Litt. tom. x.

Unfor-

Unfortunately, the miſcellaneous and moral Scolia have the leaſt merit of all thoſe that are preſerved in Athenæus. Indeed, the ſimplicity of many of them will not bear an Engliſh dreſs, unleſs it be very much laced and embroidered by the tranſlator; for ſo little of the ancient genius of Greece appears in them, that nothing but a mixture of modern poetical images is likely to procure them a peruſal. The following Scolium, for inſtance, when literally and fairly tranſlated, can afford no pleaſure to a modern reader. "Son of Telamon, warlike Ajax! They ſay you are the braveſt of the Grecians who came to Troy, next to Achilles (*i*)."—And this is called a *Song!*

Nor is either the poetry or morality very exalted of this: "He who does not betray his friend, has great honour both with Gods and men—in my opinion (*k*)."

To purſue this ſubject through all the different claſſes of Poetry, that might be comprehended under the word *Scolia*, belongs more immediately to a hiſtory of Poetry, than of Muſic; eſpecially as the Melodies to which they uſed to be ſung have been ſo long intirely and irritrievably loſt, that nothing ſeems left to ſay concerning them, that can afford muſical enquirers the leaſt ſatisfaction.

(*i*) Παῖ Τελαμῶνος Αιαν αιχμητα, λεγουσί σ' ες Τροιαν αριστον ελθεῖν Δαναῶν μετ' Αχιλλεα· τον Τελαμῶνα πρωτον, Αιακίδα δε δεύτερον ες Τροιαν λεγουσιν ελθεῖν Δαναῶν μετ' Αχιλλεα.

(*k*) Οστις ανδρα φιλον μη προδιδωσιν, μεγαλην εχει τιμην τε Βροτοις, ενθε Θεοισιν, κατ' εμον νοον.

HIS-

THE HISTORY OF THE MUSIC of the ROMANS.

IN deſcribing the Muſic and muſical inſtruments of the Greeks, thoſe of the Romans have been included; yet, in order to preſerve a kind of hiſtorical chain, and to connect diſtant times together, it is as neceſſary to give a chapter to Roman Muſic, as, in viſiting diſtant regions, it is, ſometimes, to paſs through large tracts of deſert country, in order to arrive at places better worth examining. But though the Romans were obliged to the Greeks for moſt of their arts, ſciences, and refinements; yet, as there is no country ſo ſavage, where men aſſociate together, as to be wholly without Muſic, it appears that the Romans had in very high antiquity a rude and coarſe Muſic of their own, and had imitated the Etruſcan Muſical Eſtabliſhments, both in their army and temples.

Dionyſius Halicarnaſſenſis (*a*), ſpeaking of the antiquity of the Pelaſgians, the inhabitants of Falerii and Feſcennia, two ancient cities of Etruria, built in the Greek form, ſays, "the manner of their religious ceremonies was the ſame as thoſe of Argos. Holy women ſerved in the Temple, and a girl unmarried, called *Canephoros*, or baſket-bearer, began the ſacrifice, beſides *Choruſes* of virgins, who hymned the Goddeſs

(*a*) *Lib.* i.

in

in ſongs of their country." Now as the Romans had an earlier communication with the Etruſcans than with the Greeks, this paſſage renders it very probable that they were obliged to the people of Etruria for their religious ceremonies, and for *vocal Muſic* (*b*). And the ſame author informs us, that "the Arcadians were the firſt who brought into Italy the uſe of Greek letters (*c*), and *inſtrumental Muſic*, performed on the Lyre, and thoſe inſtruments called the Trigon and the Lydian (*d*): for the ſhepherd's pipe was the only inſtrument in uſe before that time. They are ſaid, alſo, to have inſtituted laws; to have brought mankind over from the ſavageneſs which then generally prevailed, to a ſenſe of humanity; and likewiſe, to have introduced arts and ſciences, and many other things conducive to the public good.—This was the ſecond Greek nation, that came into Italy after the Pelaſgi; and living in common with the Aborigines, fixed their habitation in the beſt parts of Italy (*e*)."

Dionyſius likewiſe ſays *(f)*, many old authors aſſerted that Romulus and Remus, after they were weaned, were ſent by thoſe who had the charge of their education to Gabii, a town not far from Palatium, to be inſtructed in Greek learning; and that there they were brought up by ſome perſons with whom Fauſtulus the ſhepherd had a private intercourſe of hoſpitality,

(*b*) Strabo, *de bello Punico*, ſays in expreſs terms, that the public muſic, eſpecially ſuch as was uſed in ſacrifices, came from Etruria to the Romans. See alſo Livy. *lib.* xxxix.

(*c*) The late Mr. Spelman, whoſe tranſlation is uſed here, was of opinion, as many others have been, among whom is Quintilian, that the Roman language was originally Greek. And as the Arcadians were one of the firſt Greek colonies that ſettled in Italy, the Æolic dialect muſt have been brought thither by them. Mr. Spelman in proof of this opinion compares the following words of the Latin language with its mother Greek: *Fama*, φαμα; *plaga*, πλαγα; *machina*, μαχινα; *malum*, μαλον; *mater*, μαΐηρ; *tu*, τυ. And yet, though many more inſtances are to be found of Greek words incorporated in the Latin language, they no more prove it to have been originally Greek than thoſe to be found, in perhaps greater number, in the Engliſh language, will give to our tongue ſo honourable an origin. The Romans had an intercourſe with Greece, and an acquaintance with the literature of the Greeks, long before the time of Dionyſius, and in adopting their arts they could not help adopting the language in which they received them from the original inventors.

(*d*) This was probably an inſtrument for which the Greeks were indebted to their Aſiatic neighbours, the Lydians.

(*e*) *Dionyſius Halic. Antiq. Rom. lib.* i.

(*f*) *Ibid.*

where they employed their time, till they arrived at manhood, in literature, *Muſic*, and the uſe of Greek arms.

Plutarch (*g*) mentions it as a prevailing opinion, that the Greek language which was ſpoken by the Romans in the time of Romulus, was not corrupted by Italian words. From theſe accounts it appears that the Romans had not only vocal and inſtrumental muſic as well as other arts and ſciences from Greece, but even their alphabet, language, religion, and all the learning of which they were poſſeſſed during the time of their kings, and the firſt ages of their republic, theſe having been originally Greek, though the Romans had them through Etruſcan ſtrainers.

The firſt Roman triumph, according to Dionyſius (*h*), was that of Romulus over the Cæninenſes; in which, clad in a purple robe, he was drawn in a chariot by four horſes. The reſt of the army both horſe and foot followed, ranged in three ſeveral diviſions, *Hymning* their gods in ſongs of their country, and celebrating their general with *extemporary Verſes*: this account affords a very venerable origin to the *Improvviſatori* of Italy; as the event happened in the fourth year of Rome, 749 years before Chriſt, and fourth year of the ſeventh Olympiad.

The ſame author ſays that the Roman prætors, in worſhipping the Idæan goddeſs, performed annual ſacrifices and celebrated annual games in her honour, according to the *Roman, not Grecian*, cuſtoms: though the prieſt and prieſteſs of the goddeſs were Phrygians. Theſe carried her image in proceſſion about the city, aſking alms in her name, according to their cuſtom, and wearing figures upon their breaſt, and ſtriking their *Cymbals*, while their followers *played Tunes* upon their Flutes, in honour of the mother of the gods.

Theſe are the chief inſtances to be found in ancient hiſtory of original *Roman Muſic*; or at leaſt of muſic that was not immediately derived from Greece. M. Rouſſeau, ſpeaking of the *Scolia*, or Grecian Songs, ſays, "This kind of ſongs paſſed from the Greeks to the Romans, and many of the odes of Horace

(*g*) *Vita Romuli.* (*h*) *Lib.* ii.

are

are Bacchanalian and love ſongs. But this nation, more military than ſenſual, for a long while made but a very groſs uſe of Muſic and ſongs, and never approached in theſe particulars the voluptuous grace and elegance of the Greeks (*i*). It ſeems as if Melody always remained in a coarſe and rude ſtate among the Romans. Their Hymenæal odes were rather noiſe and clamour than ſongs, and it is hardly to be preſumed that the ſatirical ſongs of the ſoldiers, in the triumphs of their generals, conſiſted of a very agreeable melody (*k*)." I ſhall, however, endeavour to trace the progreſs of Muſic among the Romans, by collecting the chief paſſages to be found in their beſt hiſtorians, relative to the ſubject.

Numa began his reign in the middle of the ſixteenth Olympiad, 715 years before Chriſt, about the time when Pythagoras was in Italy. And, according to Dionyſius, the ſixth branch of his religious inſtitutions was the eſtabliſhment of the *Salii*, whom Numa himſelf appointed out of the partricians, chuſing twelve young men of the moſt graceful appearance. Theſe Salii were a kind of dancers and ſingers of hymns in praiſe of the god of war. The feſtivals were celebrated about the time of the Panathenæa at Athens, in the month of March, and at the public expence; they continued ſeveral days, during which they proceeded dancing through the city to the Forum, and the Capitol, and to many other public and private places, beating time upon the *Ancilia*, or ſacred ſhields (*l*). The Romans called them *Salii* from their violent motions. And for the ſame reaſon, they called all other dancers *Saltatores*, becauſe their dancing, alſo, was attended with frequent ſpringing and leaping, in imitation of the *Salii* (*m*): "In the evolutions which they per-

(*i*) It has been ſhewn, however, in the preceding chapter, that though the Greeks had many elegant Lyric Poets, and numbered Sappho and Anaceron among the writers of ſongs upon the ſubjects of love and wine, yet ſome of their vulgar and popular *Scolia* ſeem to have been furniſhed with as little Poetry, grace, and refinement, as the Roman *military* Pæans.

(*k*) *Dict. de Muſ.* art. CHANSON.

(*l*) This performance muſt very much have reſembled that of modern morice or moriſque dancers.

(*m*) The modern Italians are ſtill fond of *Saltatori*, and employ them in their Operas.

form in arms, keeping time to a Flute, ſays Dionyſius, ſometimes they move altogether, ſometimes by turns; and in dancing, ſing certain Hymns, after the manner of their country (*n*). "They ſeem to be the ſame as the Greek Curetes."

Servius Tullius, who began his reign 578 B. C. in forming the people into claſſes and centuries, is related by the Roman hiſtorians to have ordained that two whole centuries ſhould conſiſt of *Trumpeters, blowers of the horn*, &c. and of ſuch as, "*without any other inſtruments, ſounded the charge* (*o*). This ſhews the number, and the importance of military Muſicians in the Roman ſtate near 600 years before Chriſt.

And in the laws of the Twelve Tables, inſtituted about the time that the power of the Decemvirs was aboliſhed, 450 B. C. among thoſe concerning religious rites, we find the two following:

I. Let the cryer proclaim the funeral. Let the maſter of the funeral, in the games, make uſe of a public officer, and lictors. Let it be lawful for him to make uſe of three ſquare mantles in the funeral, a purple fillet for the head, and *ten players on the Flute*. Let him do no more than this (*p*).

XII. Let the praiſes of honoured men be diſplayed in an aſſembly of the people; and let mournful Songs, accompanied with a Flute, attend thoſe praiſes (*q*).

According to Servius, Macrobius, and Horace, Nuptial Songs, which were afterwards refined and poliſhed into Epithalamiums, were firſt uſed by the people of Feſcennia, a city of Etruria, and

(*n*) This account affords no very ſplendid idea of the Roman dancing, any more than it does of their Muſic. Singing and dancing together during ſuch violent exertions of activity and agility, muſt have infeebled both.

(*o*) Dionyſ. Halic. from Fabius, and Livy, *Lib.* i. *cap.* 43.

(*p*) I. PRAECO. FONUS. ENDEICITO. DOMINOS. FONERIS. ENLVDEIS. ACENSO. LICTOREBOSQVE. OETITOR. EN. DO. FONERE TRIBOS. RICINEIS. RICA. PORPOREA. DECEMQVE. TIBICINIBOS. OETIER. LICETO. HOC. PLVVS. NEI. FACITO. Tranſcribed from Fulvius Urſinus, as they were originally written.

I. *Præco funus indicito. Dominus funeris in ludis accenſo lictoribuſque utitor. In funere tribus riciniis, ricâ purpureâ, decemque Tibicinibus uti licito. Hoc plus ne facito.*

(*q*) XII. HONORATOROM. VIRORUM. LAVDES. EN. DO. CONTIONE. MEMORANTOR. EASQUE. NAENIAE. AD. TIBICINEM. PROSEQVVNTOR.

XII. *Honoratorum virorum laudes in concione memorantor; eaſque næniæ ad Tibicinem proſequuntor.*

there-

therefore called *Verſus Feſcennini*. This kind of Poetry, in its original, was groſs and obſcene, though long authorized by cuſtom. Young people, inſtead of throwing the ſtocking, in the manner of our villagers, ſung the *Feſcennina* before the apartment of the new married pair.

Livy (*r*) gives a kind of hiſtory of the Roman Drama, which, as well as the Grecian, was inſeparable from Muſic. The paſſage is ſo full and curious, that I ſhall inſert it entire.

"The plague continued, ſays Livy, to rage this year (*s*), and the following, during the conſulate of C. Sulpicius Peticus, and C. Licinnius Stolo. The moſt remarkable occurrence during this period was, that, in order to obtain mercy of the Gods, a public feaſt called *Lectiſternium* was celebrated for them, which was the third entertainment of this kind that had been made ſince the building of the city (*t*). But the magiſtrates finding that the violence of the peſtilence was neither abated by human prudence, nor Divine aſſiſtance, and having their minds filled with ſuperſtition, among other means which were tried in order to appeaſe the incenſed Deities, are ſaid to have inſtituted the games called *Scenici* (*u*), which were amuſements entirely new to a warlike people, who, before this time, had none but that of the Circus. Theſe theatrical repreſentations, like the beginnings of moſt other things, were at firſt inconſiderable, and borrowed from foreigners: for actors were ſent for from Etruria, who, without verſes, or any action expreſſive of verſes, danced, not ungracefully, after the Tuſcan manner, to the

(*r*) *Lib.* vii. *cap.* 2.

(*s*) 364 B. C.

(*t*) The word *Lectiſternium* is derived from *ſternere*, *to ſpread* or *make*, and *lectus*, *a bed*. The ſtatues of the Gods were taken down from their niches, and laid on beds, placed about a table, and covered with magnificent carpets, purple cuſhions, and hangings of tapeſtry. *Duumviri*, *Triumviri*, and in proceſs of time, *Septemviri*, named *Epulones*, preſided at theſe feaſts, and eat the meat that was ſerved up before the ſtatues. Yet not by ſtealth, in the ſneaking manner that was practiſed at Babylon, by the prieſts of Bel (ſee Hiſtory of *Bel and the Dragon*) but openly, and in the face of day. In the firſt of the three beds lay Apollo, Diana, and Latona; in the ſecond, Hercules and Mercury, and in the third, Neptune.

(*u*) Theſe ſcenic ſhews took their name from the Greek word σκηνη, which ſignifies a ſhady place, or arbor, made with branches, or boughs of trees, with which the ancients covered their ſtages. Afterwards, the ſcene of the theatre of the ancients implied all thoſe buildings which were repreſented to the ſpectators on the ſtage, when it was adorned with ſuch decorations as Vitruvius calls *ſcenes*.

Flute.

Flute. In proceſs of time the Roman youth began to imitate theſe dancers, intermixing raillery in unpoliſhed verſes, their geſtures correſponding with the ſenſe of the words. Thus were theſe plays received at Rome, and being improved and refined by frequent performances, the Roman actors acquired the name of *Hiſtriones*, from the Tuſcan word *Hiſter*, which ſignifies a ſtage-player. But their dialogue did not conſiſt of unpremeditated, and coarſe jeſts, in ſuch rude verſes as were uſed by the *Feſcennini*, but of ſatires, accompanied with Muſic, ſet to the Flute, and recited with ſuitable geſtures (*x*). And ſome years after, Livius Andronicus firſt ventured to abandon ſatires, and write plays with a regular and connected plot (*y*). After ſatires, which had afforded the people ſubject of coarſe mirth and laughter, were, by this regulation, reduced to form, and acting, by degrees, became an art, the Roman youth left it to players by profeſſion, and began, as formerly, to act farces at the end of their regular pieces. Theſe dramas were ſoon after called *Exodia*, and were generally interwoven with the *Atellane* comedies (*z*). Theſe were borrowed from the Oſci (*a*), and always acted by the Roman youth, who would not allow them to be diſgraced by profeſſed actors. "Hence it has been a rule for thoſe who performed in ſuch pieces not to be degraded from their tribe, and they were allowed to ſerve in the army as if they never had appeared on the ſtage."

The circumſtance of theſe plays having been firſt repreſented on account of the plague, proves theatrical exhibitions to have been originally *religious inſtitutions* among the Romans, as well as the ancient Greeks; and the importance of Muſic in religious ceremonies is put out of all doubt by another curious paſſage in

(*x*) Theſe *Saturæ* or *Satiræ* were a kind of wild, miſcellaneous drama, without regular plot, or ſubject. The reader may ſee the word well explained in an elegant note of Mr. Harris's *Philoſophical Arrangements*, p. 460.

(*y*) See *Diſſert.* p. 159.

(*z*) *Atella*, according to Cluver, was ſituated near Averſa, in Campania, between Capua and Naples.

(*a*) The original inhabitants of Campania. They were antiently called *Opiſci*, and, by contraction, *Obſci*; whence, ſay the Etymologiſts, the word *Obſcænus* came, as theſe people had the character of being as licentious in their diſcourſes, as they were looſe in their manners. Tacitus tells us that ſome pieces called *Atellanæ*, written in the ſpirit and language of the old *Oſci*, were acted in his time.

Livy (*b*), where he has recorded the effects of reſentment in the Roman Muſicians, who uſed to perform at ſacrifices, and who, upon an imaginary affront, left the city in a body. The relation of the hiſtorian ſeems to merit a place here without abridgment.

"I ſhould omit a circumſtance, ſays he, hardly worth mentioning, if it did not ſeem connected with religion. The *Tibicines*, or Flute-players, taking offence at the preceding cenſors refuſing them the privilege of eating in the Temple of Jupiter, according to traditional cuſtom, withdrew in a body to Tibur (*c*), ſo that there were no performers left to play before the ſacrifices. This created religious ſcruples in the minds of the ſenators, and ambaſſadors were ſent to Tibur to endeavour to perſuade the fugitives to return to Rome. The Tiburtines readily promiſed to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to this end, and firſt ſummoning them before their ſenate, exhorted them to return to Rome; but finding them deaf to reaſon or intreaty, they had recourſe to *an artifice well ſuited to the diſpoſitions of theſe men.* For upon a certain feſtival, they were all invited by different perſons, under pretence of their aſſiſting in the celebration of a feaſt. As men of this profeſſion are generally much addicted to wine, they were ſupplied with it, till being quite intoxicated, they fell faſt aſleep, and in this condition were flung into carts, and carried to Rome; where they paſſed the remaining part of the night in the Forum, without perceiving what had happened (*d*). The next day, while they were full of the fumes of their late debauch, upon opening their eyes they were accoſted by the Roman people, who flocked about them, and having been prevailed upon to ſtay in their native city, they were allowed the privilege of ſtrolling through all the ſtreets in their

(*b*) *Lib.* ix. *cap.* 30.

(*c*) *Tivoli.*

(*d*) The Tibicines were frequently celebrated by ancient writers, not only for their love of good cheer, but for their corpulency. Virgil, *Georg.* ii. 193. ſays,

Inflavit cum Pinguis *ebur* Tyrrhenus *ad Aras.*

When the *fat Tuſcan*'s horn has call'd the God.

This, according to the commentators, and old ſcholiaſts, was owing to the good dinners they obtained at ſacrifices. And as the Greeks had a proverb, ſee p. 425, relative to perſons of this profeſſion living at the coſt of others, ſo, *to run about like a Flute-player*, was a proverbial expreſſion, among the Romans: *Tranſire Tibicinis Latini modo* —ſays Cic. *pro Muræna*; from their attendance at different ſacrifices on Feſtivals.

robes

robes (*e*), three days in every year, playing upon their inſtruments, and indulging themſelves in thoſe licentious exceſſes which are practiſed upon the ſame occaſion to this day (*f*). The privilege of eating in the temple was alſo reſtored to ſuch of them as ſhould be employed in playing before the ſacrifices." This adventure happened 309 years B. C. while the Romans were preparing for two very dangerous wars (*g*).

But notwithſtanding the importance of theſe Flute-players to the celebration of religious rites, Muſic ſeems to have arrived at no very great degree of refinement or perfection, or to have been much in uſe on other occaſions, till after the conqueſt of Antiochus the Great, King of Syria; and it is mentioned by Livy (*h*), as a memorable æra of luxury, that the cuſtom was then firſt introduced at Rome of having *Pſaltriæ*, or female Muſicians to attend and perform at feaſts and banquets in the Aſiatic manner (*i*).

Indeed the Romans were later in cultivating Arts and Sciences, than any other great and powerful people; and none of them ſeem to have been the natural growth of the ſoil, except the art of war; all the reſt were brought in by conqueſt. For it has been ſhewn already, that before their acquaintance with the Greeks they had all their refinements from the Etruſcans, a people very early civilized and poliſhed. Cicero, in his ſecond Book of Laws,

(*e*) Theſe Muſicians had a long gown peculiar to their profeſſion; Horace ſpeaks of their trailing it along the ſtage (*Art. Poet.*) and this is what Ovid means by the *ſtola longa*.

(*f*) Livy was cotemporary with Auguſtus. Ovid, *Faſti*, *lib.* vi. relates the ſame ſtory, and tells us further, that the Tibicines celebrated the anniverſary of their return to Rome on the 13th of June; at which time they diſguiſed themſelves in women's apparel, and marched through the ſtreets in proceſſion to the Temple of Minerva, inventreſs of the Flute, and protectreſs of ſuch as played upon it, ſinging jovial Songs. *Et canere ad veteres verba jocoſa modos.* See, likewiſe, Plutarch's *Roman Problems*.

(*g*) The Roman Flute-players were incorporated and formed into a *College*, or Company, and had, it may be imagined, their *Common-halls*, or meetings, their bye-laws and privileges. Val. Max. *lib.* ii. *cap.* 5. and Plut. *in Numa*, both ſpeak of the College of Pipers. Ovid likewiſe has expreſſed their importance, and different provinces in the *Temple*, the *Theatre*, and at *Funerals*, in the following lines:

Temporibus veterum Tibicinis uſus *avorum*
Magnus, et in magno ſemper honore *fuit.*
Cantabat fanis, *cantabat tibia* ludis,
Cantabat mœſtis tibia funeribus.
Faſt. *Lib.* vi.

(*h*) *Lib.* xxxix. *cap.* 6.

(*i*) *Pſaltria* was a general appellation for a girl that ſung and played upon ſome ſtringed-inſtrument: a Minſtrel. And the luxury of which Livy complains, was the *addition* of this entertainment to feaſts; *Addita epulis.* See p. 429.

tells

tells us, that before Greece and her arts were well known to the Romans, it was a cuſtom for them to ſend their ſons for inſtruction into Etruria. And thence they had the firſt ideas, not only of Religion, but of Poetry, Painting, Sculpture, and Muſic, according to the confeſſion even of their own hiſtorians.

With reſpect to Etruſcan Muſic, whoever regards the great number of Inſtruments repreſented in the fine collection of antiquities publiſhed under the patronage of Sir William Hamilton, as well as in that publiſhed at Rome ſince, by Paſſerio, muſt be convinced that the ancient inhabitants of Etruria were extremely attached to Muſic; for every ſpecies of Muſical inſtrument that is to be found in the remains of ancient Greek ſculpture is delineated on the vaſes of theſe collections; though the antiquity of ſome of them is imagined to be much higher than the general uſe of the inſtruments repreſented upon them was, even in Greece.

Yet, with all the advantages of vicinity to Etruria, and intercourſe with its inhabitants, it is well known how ignorant the Romans were of Painting, Sculpture, and all the fine arts, long after they were arrived at the higheſt perfection in Greece. For when Mummius had put Rome in poſſeſſion of ſome of the fineſt productions of art which had rendered Greece ſo famous, after laying waſte a great part of that country, and, like a true barbarian, wantonly burning Corinth, the capital of Achaia, though he entered it without reſiſtance, this rude conqueror, according to Pliny, being offered by King Attalus 600,000 ſeſterces, a ſum equal to 4843 *l.* 15 *s.* for a picture of Bacchus painted by Ariſtides, had ſo little of the connoiſſeur about him, that imagining the picture muſt contain ſome ſecret virtue, by the price that was ſet on it, he would not part with it, but ſent it to Rome among other ſpoils: expoſing, however, his own ignorance in theſe matters by telling the commander of the ſhip, that he had beſt take care of this piece, for if it was either loſt or ſpoiled, he would oblige him to furniſh ſuch another.

Beſides the obligations which the Romans had to the Etruſcans and Greeks for their taſte and knowledge in the fine arts, the conqueſt of Sicily 200 years before the Chriſtian Æra, contributed greatly to their acquaintance with them. Indeed there was no ſtate of Greece which produced men of more eminence in all the Arts and Sciences than Sicily, which was a part of *Magna Græcia*, and which having been peopled 719 years B. C. by a colony of Greeks from Corinth, their deſcendents long after cheriſhed and cultivated Science of all kinds, in which they greatly diſtinguiſhed themſelves, even under all the tyranny of government with which they were oppreſſed. Fabricius (*k*) gives a liſt of ſeventy Sicilians who have been celebrated in antiquity for learning and genius, among whom we find the well known names of Æſchylus, Diodorus Siculus, Empedocles, Gorgias, Euclid, Archimedes, Epicharmus, and Theocritus. To the Sicilians is given not only the invention of Paſtoral Poetry, but of the Wind Inſtruments with which the ſhepherds and cowherds uſed to accompany their rural Songs.

After the conqueſt of Greece, the Romans had the taſte to admire and adopt the Grecian arts. And the preſident Monteſquieu remarks, with reſpect to the military art, that one of the chief cauſes of the Roman grandeur, was their method of abandoning their ancient cuſtoms, and adopting thoſe of the people whom they had vanquiſhed, whenever they found them ſuperior to their own (*l*).

In the time of Cicero, though the chief part of Greece was ſubdued by the Romans, and rendered tributary to them, yet the Greeks preſerved a kind of ſovereignty over the minds of their maſters; and the firſt perſonages among the Romans, even men of conſular dignity, whoſe power was ſo unbounded in the ſeveral provinces under their command, chearfully ſubmitted to go

(*k*) *Bib. Græc.* Vol. xiv. p. 27.

(*l*) *On doit remarquer que ce qui a le plus contribué à rendre les Romains les maitres du monde, c'eſt, qu'ayant combattu ſucceſſivement contre tous les peuples, ils ont toujours renoncé à leurs uſages ſitôt qu'ils en ont trouvé de meilleurs.* Grand. et Decad. des Romains, *chap.* i.

to

to ſchool at Athens, and to become diſciples of Greek tutors, in philoſophy, mathematics, and the polite arts.

During the reign of Auguſtus, except Vitruvius, it does not appear that the Romans had one Architect, Sculptor, Painter, or Muſician: thoſe who have been celebrated in the arts at Rome, having been Aſiatics, or European Greeks, who came to exerciſe ſuch arts among the Latins, as the Latins had not among themſelves: this cuſtom was continued under the ſucceſſors of of Auguſtus, and thoſe Romans who were prevented by more important concerns from going into Greece, contrived in a manner to bring Greece to Rome, by receiving into their ſervice the moſt able profeſſors of Greece and Aſia, in all the arts. We find too, not only that each of the beſt Roman writers was an imitator of ſome great Grecian model, but are certain that the fineſt remains in painting, ſculpture, and architecture, which ſtill ſubſiſt in Italy, were either brought thither from Greece, or were the works of Greek artiſts, who had left their own ruined and oppreſſed country, to baſk in the warm ſunſhine of power and affluence, at Rome.

It cannot be diſſembled, or paſſed over in ſilence here, that arts and ſciences have been frequently charged with contributing to precipitate both the Roman and Grecian ſtates into ruin, by rendering the minds of the people effeminate, involving the Great in idle and uſeleſs expence and luxury, and by calling off their attention from military and political concerns, which alone can acquire and preſerve dominion. In the infancy of a ſtate, or in times of danger and calamity, this may be true: but that man was deſigned for no other purpoſes than to enſlave or deſtroy his fellow-creatures, or to live a gloomy life of inanity and penance, never compoſed a part of my creed. A nation become affluent by conqueſt and commerce, muſt have amuſements in time of peace. The queſtion is, whether theſe amuſements ſhall be merely corporeal and ſenſual, or whether elegance, refinement, and mental pleaſure, ſhall bear a part in them?

them (*m*)? Another queſtion may ſtill be aſked: whether any efforts of Greek and Roman genius are ſtill ſo much admired and imitated, as thoſe which are ſeen in the remains of their works in literature and the polite arts?

It is difficult to acquire wealth by fair means, but it is much more difficult to uſe it rationally. And, in our own country, and times, there are at leaſt ten men who have talents of accumulation ſufficient to amaſs great riches, to one who diſtributes them among his fellow-citizens, with benevolence, taſte, and judgment.

Permanence is not allowed to human inſtitutions: and the longevity of a ſtate has its bounds, as well as the life of man. It is more conſonant with our duty to endeavour, than with experience to expect, to keep all corruption and depravity from our own. The Spartan virtue, and ſelf-denial, could not preclude them.

The cultivation of Arts and Sciences in a great and flouriſhing kingdom is expected by its neighbours, and a debt to poſterity. It was long the fate of our own country, like that of the ancient Romans, to admire the polite arts more than to cultivate them. We imported the productions of foreign painters, ſculptors, and muſicians, at an enormous expence, without conceiving it poſſible to raiſe a ſchool for the advancement of thoſe arts at home. With reſpect to the two firſt, all Europe now allows that genius, diligence, and travel, under the auſpices of royal protection and public patronage, have made wonderful ſtrides within the laſt twenty years towards perfection, and forming a ſchool in our own country; but, as for

(*m*) *L'Amuſement eſt un des beſoins de l'homme*, ſays M. de Voltaire. The firſt conſideration with a legiſlator is, that this amuſement ſhould be innocent: the next, that it be not below the dignity of a rational creature. The more rigid moraliſt Plato, *de Legib.* ſays, that the Gods allowed feſtivals to be inſtituted to their honour, at which the Muſes, with Apollo their leader, and Bacchus were to preſide: theſe were intended as relaxations to mankind, who otherwiſe would ſink under the preſſure of toil and ſorrow, to which they are ſubjected by nature. Θεοι δε οικτειραντες το των ανθρωπων επιπονον φυλον γενος, αναπαυλας τε αυτοις των πονων εταξαντο, τας των εορτων αμοιβας τοις θεοις· Και Μουσας, Απολλωνα τε Μουσηγετην, και Διονυσον, ξυνεορτας εδοσαν. Plato de Legib. lib. ii. vol. ii. p. 653. Ed. Serrani.

Muſic, we have little that we can call our own; and though more money is expended upon this favourite art in England, than in any other kingdom upon the globe; yet, having no ſchool either for the cultivation of Counterpoint or Singing, we acquire by thoſe arts neither honour from our neighbours, nor profit to our natives. Both take wing together! and without a ſcarcity of genius for contributing to the pleaſures of the ear, we purchaſe them with as little neceſſity as we ſhould corn at a dear and foreign market, while our own lands lay fallow.

With reſpect to the muſical inſtruments uſed by the Romans, as they invented none themſelves, all that are mentioned by their writers, can be traced from the Etruſcans and Greeks. Indeed the Romans had few authors who wrote profeſſedly upon the ſubject of Muſic, except St. Auguſtine, Martianus Capella, Boethius, and Caſſiodorus; who, though they lived in the decline of the empire, yet made uſe of Greek principles, and explained thoſe principles by Greek muſical terms (*n*).

Vitruvius,

(*n*) *St. Auguſtine* was born in Africa, A. C. 354, and died 430. Beſides the ſix books written by him upon Muſic, which are printed in the fol. edition of his works at Lyons, 1586, there is a MS. tract of his writing, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, entitled *De Muſica*; but it is nothing more than a ſermon in praiſe of Church Muſic, nor do his ſix books contain any other rules than thoſe of Metre and Rhythm.

Martianus Capella, who flouriſhed in 470, was likewiſe an African. He, as well as St. Auſtin, wrote upon the Seven liberal Arts. His ninth Book, the only one which concerns Muſic, has been commented by Meibomius, at the end of the third Book of Ariſtides Quintilianus, from whom it is almoſt wholly taken, blunders and corruptions excepted. Yet, however deficient Martianus Capella may appear in the eyes of muſical enquirers, Hugo Grotius, at the age of ſixteen, choſe the book of this author as an exerciſe for his critical talents, and publiſhed it with a dedication to the prince of Conde, at Leyden, 1599.

Boethius was born at Rome, in 470, and put to death by order of Theodoric, the Goth, in 525. He wrote five books on Muſic, which were firſt printed in black letter, with his Treatiſes on Arithmetic and Geometry, at Venice, 1499. I am greatly obliged to the unſolicited kindneſs and liberal communication of Dr. Joſ. Warton, for a long poſſeſſion of this rare edition, as well as for a very ſcarce Treatiſe by Franchinus Gaforius, of equal antiquity. It is remarkable, that in this copy, the Greek of the famous *Senatus-Conſultum*, againſt Timotheus, at Lacedæmon is omitted; though I found it in a beautiful MS. of Boethius, *De Muſica*, 15 B. ix. of the 11th century, in the Britiſh Muſeum, where the word ἐναρμονίῳ occurs, in the ſame manner as it is printed in the Oxford edition of Aratus. See *Diſſert.* p. 45, and 407.

Caſſiodorus flouriſhed in the time of Theodoric, in the 6th century, and died in 562, at the age of 93. He wrote of the Seven liberal Arts, *De ſeptem Diſciplinis*. The whole of his muſical work, which is hardly the ſkeleton of a treatiſe, is a repetition

Vitruvius, in his Treatiſe upon Architecture, has inſerted a chapter upon Muſic, in which he has given the Harmonical Syſtem of Ariſtoxenus; but he introduces it with a complaint of the unavoidable obſcurity of muſical literature, on account of the deficiency of terms in the Latin tongue, to explain his ideas. "The ſcience of Muſic, in itſelf obſcure, ſays he, is particularly ſo to ſuch as underſtand not the Greek language (*o*)." This writer, therefore, who ſeems to have been the firſt that had treated of muſic in the Roman language, confeſſes the neceſſity he was under of uſing Greek appellatives, not only for the notes, but for other parts of the art; which ſhews, if not the low ſtate of Muſic at Rome when he wrote, which was in the Auguſtan age, at leaſt whence their Muſic came; and *borrowing* implies *inferiority*. Indeed, the writings of Cicero ſhew that philoſophy, and all the arts and ſciences, were wholly furniſhed to the Romans from Greece, even in the moſt enlightened times.

Muſic was, however, in great favour at Rome, during the latter end of the republic, and the voluptuous times of the emperors; the ſtage then flouriſhed; the temples were crowded; feſtivals frequent; and banquets ſplendid: ſo that we may ſuppoſe it to have been very much uſed both upon public and private occaſions, in ſo rich, populous, and flouriſhing a city as Rome, the miſtreſs of the world. But this Muſic muſt have differed as little from that of the Greeks, as the deſcriptions of it in Horace and Virgil differ from thoſe to be found in Homer, and the Greek Lyric Poets.

Livy mentions (*p*) a hymn compoſed by P. Licinius Tegula, in the 552d year from the building of the city, on occaſion of ſome prodigies which, from a ſuppoſition that the God's were angry, had greatly alarmed the citizens: ſuch as the birth of an Hermaphrodite; a lamb with the head of a Hog; and a colt with

tition of what his predeceſſors have ſaid on the ſubject, and all theſe Latin Muſical Tracts are but bullets of the ſame caliber. They teach no part of Muſic but the alphabet, nor can any thing be acquired by the moſt intenſe ſtudy of them, except deſpair and the head-ach.

(*o*) *Lib.* v. *cap.* 4.

(*p*) *Lib.* xxxi. *cap.* 12.

five

five legs. This hymn was sung by twenty-seven Virgins in procession through the streets of Rome. The *Carmen Seculare* of Horace, more especially his *Dianam teneræ*, are very curious Relics of *Vocal* poetry; of verses written *for Music*; and as the form and measures of his Odes are Greek, the Music may fairly be supposed to have been in the Greek style (*q*). Catullus's hymn to Diana is another remain of the same kind (*r*).

As all shows and public spectacles in Rome were calculated to amuse and flatter the vulgar, who were extremely delighted with these extribitions, refinement and good taste in the arts that were exercised in them, must have been kept in great subjection. Horace frequently complains of the noise and indecorum of the clowns and mechanics who were admitted into the theatre, and whose chief delight was in the glare and splendor of the decorations; the magnificence of the dresses; and such Music as was suited to their rude ears and ignorance (*s*). The common people, says Ovid, sung the airs of the theatre when they were at work in the fields (*t*).

A passage in Cicero (*u*) would incline us to imagine that the laws of contrast, of light and shade, of loud and soft, of swelling and diminishing sounds, were understood by the Musicians of his time, as well as by those of the present. For, after speaking of the use of *contrast* in oratory, poetry, and theatrical declamation, he adds: "even Musicians, who have composed Melody, have known its power; as is manifest from the care they take to lessen the sound of instruments, in order to augment it afterwards: to diminish, to swell, to vary, and to diversify (*x*)."

(*q*) *The Carmen Seculare* was performed *a due Cori*, by twenty-seven noble youths, and as many Virgins. Τρις εννεα παιδες επιφανεις, μετα παρθενων τοσουτων,——ὑμνους αδουσι τῃ τε Ελληνων και Ῥωμαιων φωνῃ, και παιανας.——Zosimus. Hist. ii. p. 74. Ed. Oxon. 1679. The Sibylline verses, which this Author quotes, in p. 77. order the two Choruses to be separated.

——χωρις δε κοραι χορον αυται εχοιεν,
Και χωρις παιδων αρσην σταχυς.——

(*r*) *Dianæ sumus in fide*
Puellæ, et pueri integri. Carm. xxxiv.

(*s*) *Indoctus quid enim saperet, liberque laborum,*
Rusticus urbano confusus, turpis honesto.

(*t*) *Illic et cantant quidquid didicere Theatris.* Fast. lib. iii.

(*u*) *De Oratore*, lib. iii. c. 102.

(*x*) *Quàm denique illi etiam qui fecerunt modos, à quibus utrisque summititur aliquid, deinde augetur, extenuatur, inflatur, variatur, distinguitur.*

This

This orator frequently mentions, in his familiar Letters, Philoſophical works, and even Orations, the keeping a band of Muſicians as a general practice among perſons of rank: theſe were called *Servi Symphoniaci*, and *Pueri Symphoniaci*. In his Oration *In Q. Cæcilium*, Quæſtor to Verres, ſpeaking of the extortions and abuſes of Verres and his Quæſtor, he mentions Cæcilius protecting the admiral of Anthony, who had by violence taken from a Sicilian Lady, named Agonis, her *ſervos ſymphoniacos*, in order to make uſe of them on board his fleet (*y*).

The ſhepherds oaten pipe, among the Romans, ſeems to have been ſometimes made uſe of in their public aſſemblies to expreſs diſapprobation; it was certainly louder and more powerful than hiſſing could be, and gave a harſh, jarring, ungrateful noiſe.

Stridenti miſerum ſtipulâ diſpendere Carmen.

Cicero calls it *Fiſtula Paſtoricia*, which might be engliſhed, *A Roman Catcall.*

The paſſage is in one of his Letters to Atticus, where acquainting him, with the ſatisfaction it gave the citizens, to obſerve the cloſe connexion and friendſhip between himſelf and Pompey, which they conſidered as a powerful defence againſt the deſperate deſigns of the Clodian Faction, he tells them, "whenever they appeared together in public, they were received with univerſal acclamations, *ſine ullâ paſtoricia Fiſtulâ*; which ſo amazed the young, raſh aſſociates of Clodius's conſpiracy, that over their cups they uſed, in contempt, to call Pompey *Cnæus Cicero* (*z*)."

It is certain too, from ſeveral paſſages in Greek Writers, (*a*) that ancient vocal Muſic had its *Ritornels*, or *Symphonies*, which

(*y*) *Agonis eſt quædam Lilybætana veneris Erycinæ: quæ Mulier ante hunc quæſtorem, copioſa plane, et locuples fuit. Ab hac præfectus Antonii quidam ſymphoniacos ſervos abducebat per injuriam, quibus ſe in claſſe uti velle dicebat.* V. i. p. 530. Ed. Græv.

(*z*) Accedit illud, quod *illa concionalis hirudo Ærarii, miſera ac jejuna plebecula*, (i. e. Clodius's hungry venal mob) me ab hoc *Magno* (i. e. Pompey) unicè diligi putat. Et hercule multâ et jucundâ conſuetudine conjuncti inter nos ſumus, uſque eò, ut noſtri iſti comiſſatores conjurationis, barbatuli juvenes, illum in ſermonibus *Cnæum Ciceronem* appellent. Itaque et Ludis, & gladiatoribus mirandas ἐπισημασίας ſine ullâ *paſtoriciâ Fiſtulâ* auferebamus.

Letters to Atticus. Book I. Epiſt. 16.

(*a*) Ariſt. Quint. p. 56. Euſtath. Ἰλιάδ. λ. Heſych. *voc.* Διαύλιον.

were

were expreſſed by the term Μεσαύλια, *Meſaulici*, a figurative word, implying in the ſingular number an entry or paſſage, leading to ſomething elſe (*b*).

And according to Apuleius, who diſcovers himſelf in many parts of his writings to have been an excellent judge of Muſic, it muſt have been much cultivated, and well underſtood, in his time, which was the ſecond century. He deſcribes the ſeveral parts of a muſical entertainment in the following manner: "She ordered the Cithara to be played, and it was done: ſhe aſked for a concert of flutes, and their melifluous ſounds were immediately heard: ſhe, laſtly, ſignified her pleaſure that Voices ſhould be joined to the inſtruments, and the ſouls of the audience were inſtantly ſoothed with ſweet ſounds (*c*)."

The ſame author (*d*), likewiſe, deſcribes a muſical performance at the celebration of a great feſtival in honour of Ceres, or Iſis, at the time of his own initiation into the Eleuſinian Myſteries, in ſuch a manner as would ſuit many modern performances.

"A band of Muſicians now filled the air with a melodious concert of Flutes and Voices. They were followed by a chorus of youths, dreſſed in white robes, ſuitable to the ſolemnity, who alternately ſung an ingenious Poem, which an excellent Poet, inſpired by the Muſes, had compoſed, in order to explain the ſubject of this extraordinary feſtival. Among theſe marched ſeveral players on the Flute, conſecrated to the great Serapis, who performed many airs dedicated to the worſhip of the God in his Temple. After this, the venerable miniſters of the true religion, ſhook with all their force the Siſtrums of braſs, ſilver, and gold, which produced tones ſo clear and ſonorous, that they might have been heard at a great diſtance from the place of performance (*e*).

As

(*b*) Vitruv. *lib.* vi. *cap.* 10. Meibomius, in his firſt preface, ſpeaking of the Term μεσαύλιον, calls it *Interpiping*. He was of opinion that the Ancients had Inſtrumental Muſic between the acts or ſcenes of their plays, "to recreate both ſpectators and actors, and to give the latter time to prepare themſelves."

(*c*) *Metam. lib.* xi.

(*d*) *Ibid. lib.* v.

(*e*) That Muſic was both cultivated and heard in ſome ages of antiquity, with a greater

As Apuleius, after Lucian, whom he imitates, lays the ſcene of his Metamorphoſis in Greece, we may imagine that his ideas of Muſic and muſical performances were Greek. One great impediment to the progreſs of Muſic among the Romans, was that they wholly abandoned to their ſlaves the practice of the liberal arts; and the greater their talents, the more ſeverely were they in general treated. Whereas the Greeks, on the contrary, confined the exerciſe of thoſe arts, as the epithet *liberal* implies, to *free men*, and perſons of birth and rank, forbidding their ſlaves the ſtudy and uſe of them. Whence it is eaſy to imagine which of theſe two nations would bring them to the greateſt degree of perfection.

"What nature was to the Greeks, ſays the Abbé Gedoyn *(f)*, the Greeks were to the Romans, as the natives of Greece had no other example than nature herſelf to follow, for no nation, with which they had any intercourſe, was learned and poliſhed before them. The Romans, on the contrary, had the Greeks

greater degree of enthuſiaſm than others, is certain; and it is equally difficult to reſiſt the torrent of eloquence and panegyric with which its effects are deſcribed by reſpectable hiſtorians or philoſophers, and to refrain from a ſeeming credulity concerning its powers; but though I am not convinced that the ancient Muſic, with reſpect either to Harmony or Melody, in their preſent acceptation, was equal to the modern, yet I can eaſily believe that, with the aſſiſtance of Poetry, religious veneration, the pomp of public exhibition, joined to native ſenſibility and paſſion in the hearers, great effects may have been produced by this Muſic, whatever it was, and however it may eſſentially have differed from our own.

In ſpeaking, therefore, of a Muſician of paſt times, as it has been my conſtant rule to compare him with his cotemporaries; ſo in deſcribing the Muſic in general of remote ages of the world, it has been my wiſh that the reader ſhould mount up to each particular period of which I write, and conſider the Muſic of antiquity as relative to the knowledge and ideas of thoſe who heard it. Nothing is more certain than that the beſt Muſic of the time, in all ages, has greatly delighted its hearers. But notwithſtanding the great difference between that of one age and another, the ſame terms have been conſtantly uſed in deſcribing it. However, from a *ſimilitude* of deſcription, we muſt not infer a ſimilitude of the thing deſcribed. Words are vague and fallacious; and the exclamations, *admirable! fine! exquiſite!* repreſent nothing fixed or certain. The utmoſt weight we ought to give them, is to ſuppoſe that the Muſic or Muſician, upon which they were beſtowed, was the *beſt within the knowledge of the writer*. This kind of merit is all comparative. No terms can be deviſed to expreſs the laſt refinements, and even exceſſes of opera ſinging, more ſtrong than thoſe which Strada uſes to deſcribe the muſical refinements of the ſixteenth century. Yet, if examples of theſe refinements could now be *heard*, their diſſimilitude would ſufficiently prove the fallacy of verbal deſcription.

(f) Mem. de Litt.

for

for models." This repreſentation is not be admitted without reſerve. For the firſt learned Greeks, as has been already ſhewn, had travelled into Egypt; and the firſt Romans had received information, upon ſeveral ſubjects, from Etruria, and even from Sicily, before the conqueſt of Greece. It is true, that from the period of their conqueſt of that country, may be dated the rapid progreſs they made in luxury, and their admiration of the fine arts. About the year 601 of the city, and 153 B. C. the Romans ſaw their firſt Poets flouriſh, ſuch as Nævius, Livius Andronicus, Ennius, Accius, Pacuvius, and Lucilius.

They were long more renowned as a military, than an elegant and learned people. At length, however, they imitated the Greeks in the inſtitution of muſical and poetical conteſts, at their public Games; but it was not till the time of Auguſtus, that the glory of their writers, in proſe and verſe, bore any proportion to that of their military commanders. In the times of the emperors, who reigned before the eſtabliſhment of the Chriſtian religion, the Greek and Aſiatics were ſervilely imitated by the Romans, not only in the liberal arts, but in all thoſe of luxury and refinement, particularly in public ſhews and games, with which the people were amuſed by their tyrants, who endeavoured to make them forget, during theſe expenſive moments of idleneſs and diſſipation, the ſlaviſh and degenerate ſtate to which they were reduced.

Nero, in the year 60 after Chriſt, inſtituted exerciſes of Muſic, Poetry, and Eloquence, to be performed at Rome every 5th year. In the 63d year A. C. he mounted the ſtage himſelf at Naples as a public ſinger. This was his firſt appearance as a ſtrolling Minſtrel. His ſecond was in Greece, in 66, where he pretended, in imitation of Flamininus, to reſtore to the Grecian States their ancient liberties. After entering the liſts with common muſicians at the Olympic Games, and acquiring the prize of Muſic by corrupting the judges or his competitors, he tra-

velled through Greece, not prompted by the laudable curioſity of viſiting the antiquities of that once celebrated country, but by the low ambition of diſplaying his ſkill in ſinging and playing upon the Cithara. He every where challenged the beſt performers, and, as may be imagined, was always declared victor. And that there might remain no memorials of other victors, he commanded all their ſtatues to be pulled down, dragged through the ſtreets, and to be either broken in pieces, or thrown into the common ſewers (*g*).

At his return from Greece he entered Naples, Antium, Albanum, and Rome, through a breach in the wall of each city, as an Olympic victor, carrying with him in triumph, like ſpoils of an enemy, 1800 prizes which he had extorted from the judges in muſical conteſts: in the ſame Car in which kings uſed to be brought in triumph, who had been vanquiſhed by Roman generals, and with the ſame ſplendor, pomp, and ſolemnity, was Diodorus, a celebrated Greek performer on the Cithara, with other eminent muſicians, brought through the ſtreets of Rome, leaving it doubtful, which was the greateſt, the vanity of Nero in imagining himſelf ſuperior to theſe profeſſed muſicians, or their adulation in confeſſing themſelves to have been vanquiſhed by Nero.

The ſolicitude with which this emperor attended to his voice, as related by hiſtorians, is curious, and will throw ſome light upon the practices of ſingers in ancient times. Suetonius informs us, that to preſerve his voice, he uſed to lie upon his back, with a thin plate of lead upon his ſtomach; took frequent emetics and cathartics; and abſtained from all kinds of fruit, and ſuch meats as were thought to be prejudicial to ſingers; and, at length, from the apprehenſion of hurting his voice, he ceaſed to harrangue the ſoldiery or ſenate, contenting himſelf with iſſuing his orders in writing, or by the mouth of ſome of his friends or freed-men. After his return from Greece, he

(*g*) *Suet.* cap. 24.

eſtabliſhed

eſtabliſhed about his perſon a *Phonaſcus*, or officer, to take care of his voice: he would never ſpeak but in the preſence of this vocal governor, who was firſt to admoniſh him, when he ſpoke too loud, or ſtrained his voice; and afterwards, if the emperor, tranſported by ſome ſudden emotion, did not liſten to his remonſtrances, he was to ſtop his mouth with a napkin. The moſt effectual means of acquiring his favour was to commend his voice, which, according to Suetonius, was both thin and huſky; to pretend raptures while he ſung, and to appear dejected and very importunate, if, like many other ſingers, through caprice he deſiſted from doing what he himſelf moſt ardently deſired.

Encouraged by the applauſe of the multitude, he appeared almoſt every day on the ſtage, inviting not only the ſenators and knights, but the whole populace and rabble of Rome, to hear him, generally in the theatre which he had built in his own palace. He frequently detained the audience not only the whole day, but the whole night: for till he was tired himſelf and deſiſted, no one was on any account ſuffered to depart: ſo that women are ſaid to have been delivered in the theatre, and ſeveral perſons were ſo tired and diſguſted with the performance, that finding the gates of the palace ſhut, they either leaped over the walls at the hazard of their lives, or counterfeited death, in order to be carried out to their funeral (*b*). Some by continuing night and day in the ſame poſture were ſeized with mortal diſtempers; theſe, however, they dreaded leſs than the reſentment of the prince, which they would have unavoidably incurred by their abſence. Beſides the great number of ſecret obſervers employed to watch the countenances and behaviour of the audience, there were many open ſpies, who publicly ſet down the names of ſuch as diſcovered the leaſt ſymptoms of diſſatisfaction: the vulgar were inſtantly puniſhed by the ſoldiery for the leaſt inattention; and upon per-

(*b*) *Suet.* cap. 23.

ſons

ſons of rank, the vengeance of the emperor was vented in a ſtill more dreadful manner. Veſpaſian, afterwards emperor, greatly provoked the anger of Nero, by eſcaping from the theatre during the time of performance: however, fearing the conſequences of the offence which he had given, he returned, in order to make reparation; but, unfortunately, falling aſleep while the emperor was ſinging, this male ſiren was ſo enraged at his inattention, that it would have coſt him his life, if his friends, men of the higheſt rank and merit, had not employed their prayers and mediation in his behalf (*i*).

The ſucceſſors of Nero encouraged public games and dramatic repreſentations in all the great cities of the empire. Adrian, who had been educated at Athens, was much attached to Grecian cuſtoms, and in a particular manner favourable to that city. In the year 126 A. C. he preſided there in the public games: in 132 he inſtituted new games, and built temples in Egypt to the honour of his favourite Antinous: and in 125 he celebrated at Athens the great Feſtival of Bacchus. His ſucceſſor, Antoninus, 142 A. C. likewiſe inſtituted new games called *Pia* and *Pialia*, in honour of his predeceſſor, which were appointed to be exhibited at Puteoli on the 2d year of every Olympiad.

The emperor Commodus, little leſs a monſter than Nero, was equally fond of appearing on a public ſtage, not only as a dancer and an actor, who of courſe was a ſinger, but as a gladiator, a profeſſion which ſeems to have been peculiar to the Roman thirſt of blood. In modern times the duelliſts plead provocation, and the wounds which honour has received; and in the combats of our own prize-fighters for the amuſement of the public, death was not a certain conſequence of being vanquiſhed; but the Romans, not content with caſting captive kings into dungeons, and deliberately putting them to death after pride and avarice had been ſatiated, made one of their moſt delighful

(*i*) *Idem. in Veſpaſiano, cap.* 4. Tacit. *Annal. Lib.* xiv. *cap.* 5.

and

amuſements conſiſt in ſeeing the blood of their fellow-creature, and often of their fellow-citizen, ſpilt on a ſtage. The public games and contentions which they had from the Greeks, either promoted manly ſtrength and activity, or ſome ingenious and ornamental art; but the combats of gladiators could only ſteel the hearts of the ſpectators, and render them inſenſible to every feeling of humanity.

Notwithſtanding all the aſſiſtance which the Romans received from the Greeks in the Polite Arts, and all the encouragement of theſe inſtitutions, they never advanced ſo far in them as the modern Italians have done; who, without any foreign help, have greatly ſurpaſſed not only their forefathers the ancient Romans, but even the Greeks themſelf, in ſeveral of the arts, and in no one ſo much as that of Muſic, in which every people of Europe have, at different times, conſented to become their ſcholars.

* * * * * *

I ſhall here terminate my enquiries concerning the Muſic of the ancients, and the preſent volume; reſerving for the ſequel, the Hiſtory of ſuch Muſic as more modern times have been delighted with, beginning with its *Introduction into the Church:* and it is hoped that the narrative will become more intereſting to the reader in proportion as he advances towards Certainty, and the account of things that we are not only ſure *have* exiſted, but of many, though of ancient origin, which *ſtill* exiſt; including whatever the moderns have retained, improved, or invented, relative to the ART and SCIENCE of MUSIC.

REFLECTIONS

ON THE

Conſtruction and Uſe of ſome particular MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS of ANTIQUITY.

THE muſical inſtruments of the ancients were of three kinds: *wind* inſtruments; *ſtringed* inſtruments; and inſtruments of *Percuſſion*. Of the FIRST kind the principal were the Flute, Horn, Syrinx, Trumpet, and water Organ, under the ſeveral denominations of Αυλος, *Tibia*; Κερας, *Cornu*; Σαλπιγξ, *Tuba*, *Buccina*, *Lituus*; Συριγξ, *Fiſtula*, *Calamus*; and Ὑδραυλος, *Hydraulicon*. The SECOND claſs included the Φορμιγξ, Κιθαρα, *Cithara*; Χελυς, *Chelys*, *Teſtudo*; Λυρα, *Lyra*, *Fides*; Ψαλτηριον, *Pſalterium*, &c. which, in Engliſh, are indiſcriminately called Harp, Cithara, Lyre, and Pſaltery. The THIRD claſs comprehended the Τυμπανον, *Tympanum*; Τυμπανιον, *Parvum Tympanum*, *Tympanulum*; Κυμβαλον, *Cymbalum*; Κροταλον, *Crotalum*; Κωδωνειον, *Campanum æs*, or Drums, Cymbals, Crotola, and Bells.

Of theſe three genera the ſpecies were innumerable; however, I ſhall ſpeak only of the principal of each genus, and firſt of *wind inſtruments*.

The two inſtruments of this kind which nature has conſtructed, and from which mankind, taught perhaps by the whiſtling reeds, firſt tried to produce muſical ſounds, ſeem to have been the ſhells of fiſhes, and the horns of quadrupeds; and the Μοναυλος, or ſingle pipe, appears in ſculpture to have been a mere *horn* in its natural form. (See p. 202.) Then ſucceeded the *Avena*, or ſingle oaten ſtalk; the *Calamus*, or ſingle reed, or cane; and afterwards the *Syrinx*, or *Fiſtula*, compoſed of a number of reeds of different lengths tied together. Theſe ſimple inſtruments preceded the invention of *Foramina*, or holes, by which different ſounds could be produced from the ſame pipe. The *Tibia* was originally a Flute, made of the ſhank, or ſhin bone of an animal; and it ſeems as if the wind inſtruments of the ancients had been long made of ſuch materials as nature had hollowed, before the art of *boring* Flutes was diſcovered. That once known, they were formed of box-tree, laurel, braſs, ſilver, and even of gold.

There are certain epithets applied to theatrical Flutes in the titles to the Comedies of Terence, which have extremely embarraſſed the critics: ſuch as *Pares*, *Impares*, *Dextræ*, *Siniſtræ*; and it has been long doubted whether *Pares* and *Impares* meant double and ſingle Flutes, or equal and unequal in point of length and ſize. But though in preferring either of theſe acceptations, ſome ſenſe and meaning is acquired, yet I ſhould incline to the latter.

For in none of the repreſentations in ancient painting or ſculpture, which I have yet ſeen, does it apppear that the Tibicen, either at ſacrifices or in the theatre, plays on a *ſingle* Flute, though we as often ſee double Flutes of *different* lengths in his hands, as of the *ſame* length; and as harmony, or muſic in different parts, does not appear to have been practiſed by the ancients, the Flutes of *equal* length may naturally be ſuppoſed to imply *uniſons*; and, *unequal*, ſuch as are *octaves* to each other. But as to the diſtinction between *right-handed* and *left-handed* Flutes, I muſt own myſelf far from being poſſeſſed of any clear and deciſive idea concerning it. The firſt, and moſt obvious meaning the words *right* and *left*, applied to the hands that hold the Flutes, cannot afford a ſatisfactory explanation: for as all the theatrical Flutes that I have ever ſeen are *double*, holding them in the right or left hand can make no difference to the audience.

It has been imagined by the abbé du Bos, that when the theatrical Flutes were unequal, a drone baſe was performed on the largeſt; an idea to which I can by no means ſubſcribe: for the neceſſity of a clear and undiſturbed elocution on the ſtage, joined to the tenderneſs of the ancients for poetry, would have rendered the noiſe and confuſion of a drone baſe more offenſive to ſuch as attended to the intereſt of the drama, than the moſt florid and complicated counterpoint. It is no uncommon thing to ſee one of the unequal Flutes uſed upon theſe occaſione ſtrait, and the other curved at the end. (See Plate VI.) Heſychius, as quoted by Bartholinus, (p. 46.) ſays, that the horned Flute was for the left hand, the ſtrait one for the right. That the *longeſt* of the two inſtruments was for the left hand, Pliny ſeems to prove, when he ſpeaks of cutting the reeds with which they were made; for he ſays the part next the ground being the wideſt, ſerves for the left-hand Flutes, &c. Theſe paſſages, however, furniſh no proofs of their being deſtined for different parts, or any thing more than *octaves* to each other. Moſt of the double Flute-players repreſented in ſculpture, appear to graſp the inſtruments, without any motion of the fingers; nor indeed in many of them are there any holes in ſight to employ them, which makes it probable that they were modulated by the mouth like trumpets and horns.

Another difficulty occurs about theſe Flutes being *always double*, that is, two ſingle tubes held in different hands, or uniting in one mouth-piece. But as I have never ſeen more than *one* performer at a time repreſented in painting or ſculpture, accompanying the actors on the ſtage, or the prieſt at the altar, where theſe *double*, or *Phrygian Flutes* were chiefly uſed, they may perhaps have been preferred for their ſuperior loudneſs; for force muſt not only be neceſſary to the voice in a large temple or theatre, but alſo to the inſtruments that accompanied it, in order to the being heard by ſuch a numerous audience as was uſually aſſembled there. Juſt as the actor's voice was augmented by a maſk, and his height increaſed by ſtilts*.

* See *Diſſert.* ſect. IX.

The

The muzzles, and bloated cheeks in repreſentations, correſponding with verbal deſcriptions, prove that *quantity* of ſound was the principal object of the ancients. This might be confirmed by ſtories of Flute-players and Trumpeters burſting themſelves in trials of ſkill, and even in the common exerciſe of their profeſſion. Heliodorus, *Æthiop. lib.* ii. as Bartholinus tranſlates the paſſage, p. 97, deſcribes a Flute-player with eyes inflamed, and ſtarting out of their ſockets. *Oculis incenſis, ac ſuâ ſede excedentibus*; and this is analogous to the whole ſyſtem of the ancient theatre.

The defects, however, peculiar to wind-inſtruments, ſeem to have been as well known to the ancients as the moderns; and Ariſtoxenus, p. 43, complains of them in ſuch ſtrong terms, as would be very applicable to the Flutes of modern times: Κινηνται δι αυλοι, και ουδεποτε ὡσαυτως εχουσιν. i. e. *Flutes are continually ſhifting their pitch, and never remain in the ſame ſtate.* Among many expedients to which he ſays performers had recourſe, in order to palliate theſe defects in the intervals, the uſe of *wax*, occaſionally, in the holes of their inſtruments ſeems to have been one; at leaſt Meibomius, in his note on the paſſage, underſtands *wax* to be meant as one method: for Ariſtoxenus, p. 42 and 43, ſpeaking of wind-inſtruments, talks of *adding*, and *taking away*. This expedient muſt, however, have been uſed in order to ſupply the want of ſkill in boring Flutes; and the wax, in warm climates, would be too ſubject to fuſion for a performer to depend much upon its aſſiſtance in the *heat* of action. An inſtrument of the Baſſoon kind, called the *Courtaut*, with two rows of projecting apertures, reſembling thoſe in No. 3. Pl. VI. is deſcribed by Merſennus, *De Inſtrum. Harmon. lib.* ii. who tells us that the *Tetines*, as he calls the projections, were not moveable, but fixtures, and when thoſe on one ſide were uſed, thoſe on the other were *ſtopt with wax*. The pipes of the *Fiſtula Panis*, being compoſed of reeds or canes cut juſt below the joint, were all *ſtopt-pipes*, like thoſe in the ſtopt diapaſon of the Organ, in which the wind is emitted at the ſame place where it enters; and as it has a double motion to make, twice the length of the tube, the tone is an octave lower of a *ſtopt-pipe*, than of an open one of the ſame length and diameter. The *Fiſtula Panis* of the iſland of New Amſterdam in the South Seas, is made of canes cut below the joints, and conſequently of *ſtopt pipes*; and the pipes of an Arabian inſtrument of the of the ſame kind, which I have lately received from Aleppo, are all ſtopt at the end with *wax*.

That the ancients uſed natural reeds and canes in the conſtruction of their Flutes, we are certain; but whether they had any ſuch *artificial* reeds as we uſe for our Hautbois, Baſſoons, &c. my reſearches do not enable me to decide. We find, indeed, in Plutarch's Dialogue, mention of a *Syrinx*, or ſmall pipe, that was ſometimes affixed to Flutes; which M. Burette tranſlates *Hanche*, a word equivalent to our *reed*. But the impropriety of the tranſlation is fully proved by a paſſage in another treatiſe of Plutarch, where he gives it as a muſical problem, "Why the Flute, when the Syrinx is *drawn up*, becomes ſharpened *in all its ſounds*, that is, has its whole pitch

raiſed; and when it is *let down*, or rather *laid down*, κλινόμενης, as if it was fixed to the inſtrument by a kind of hinge, is again flattened*. The purpoſe, therefore, of this pipe or Syrinx, was totally different from that of our *reeds*, and was merely to alter the *pitch* of the Flute. Nor was it at all neceſſary to the inſtrument, as our reeds are; for Plutarch relates, in the part of his Dialogue above mentioned, that Telephanes, "had ſuch an averſion to theſe pipes, he would never ſuffer the Flute-makers to apply them to his inſtruments;" which was the principal reaſon why he never entered the liſts at the public games, where theſe additional pipes ſeem to have been much in vogue: and, indeed, if their effect rendered the intervals as falſe as thoſe of our Flutes are by drawing out the middle-pieces, it was a proof of his judgment, and delicacy of ear.

If any part of the ancient Flutes anſwered to our reeds, I think it muſt have been what they called *the tongue*, γλωττις, *lingula*. This appears to have been eſſential to the uſe of the inſtrument, as our reeds are. The Flutes could ſcarce be made to *ſpeak* without it; hence the wonder of Midas's performance, (ſee p. 394, note *(g)*; and the ſaying of Demades, the Athenian orator, who compared his countrymen to Flutes, "they were good for nothing without their tongues," (Stob. *Ser.* 2.) Theſe *Lingulæ* were alſo *moveable*, and carried about by the performers in little boxes which were called γλωττοκομεια, or *tongue-caſes*; as our reeds are at preſent. The reſemblance of theſe tongues and reeds in conſtruction, as well as in uſe, may perhaps appear the more probable to the reader from an engraving, Pl. IV. No. 14, of a medal in the *Numiſmata Pembrochiana*, which was pointed out to me by the Hon. Daines Barrington. On one ſide is Cleopatra, and on the other, a winged muſician playing on an inſtrument which ſeems to be furniſhed with an *artificial* reed; of which I ſhall only obſerve, that it is the ſtrongeſt proof I have met with, in coins or in ſculpture, of the uſe of ſuch an expedient among the ancients, and that there cannot be a more ſtriking likeneſs of a modern *Hautbois*.

The laſt wind-inſtrument of which I ſhall ſpeak is the *Hydraulicon*, or Water-Organ, that was played, or at leaſt blown, by water. It ſeems, from the deſcription of this inſtrument, in Vitruvius, cap. xiii. that the water which forced the air into the pipes was pumped by men. Indeed, it has been much diſputed whether it was played with *fingers*, by means of levers or *keys*; and yet the deſcription of it by Claudian ſeems ſuch a one as would ſuit a modern Organ, only blown by water inſtead of bellows.

Vel qui magna levi detrudens murmura tactu
Innumeras voces ſegetis moderatur aënæ
Intonet erranti digito, *penituſque trabali*
Vecte laborantes in carmina concitet undas.

In Athenæus, *lib.* iv. p. 174, there is a hiſtory and deſcription of this inſtru-

* Διατι, της συριγγος ἀναστρωμενης πασιν ὀξυνεται (ὁ αὐλος, *ſc.*) τοις φθογγοις, κλινομενης δε παλιν βαρυνει. Plut. *Ne ſuaviter quidem vivi poſſe ſecund. Epicur. decreta.*

ment.

ment. He tells us that it was invented in the time of the Second Ptolemy Euergetes, by Cteſibius, a native of Alexandria, and by profeſſion a barber: or rather, that it was improved by him, for Plato furniſhed the firſt idea of the Hydraulic Organ, by inventing a night-clock, which was a *Clepſydra*, or water-clock, that played upon Flutes the hours of the night at a time when they could not be ſeen on the index.

The anecdote in Athenæus concerning the mechanical amuſements of the great ideal philoſopher, is curious. What a condeſcenſion in the *divine* Plato to ſtoop to the invention of any thing uſeful! This muſical clock muſt have been wholly played by mechaniſm. But neither the deſcription of the Hydraulic Organ in Vitruvius, nor the conjectures of his innumerable commentators, have put it in the power of the moderns either to imitate, or perfectly to conceive the manner of its conſtruction; and it ſtill remains a doubt whether it was ever worthy of the praiſes which poets have beſtowed upon it, or ſuperior to the wretched remains of the invention ſtill to be ſeen in the grottos of the vineyards, near the city of Rome. Perrault, in his notes upon Vitruvius, *lib.* x. *cap.* 13. gives a drawing of this inſtrument, ſuch as he conceives it to have been from the deſcription of it by that author; and tells us, that to illuſtrate his interpretation of the Latin text, he had conſtructed an Hydraulic Organ, which was lodged in the king of France's library, among the models of ancient and modern machines. This author, who was a moſt ingenious mechanic, points out, in the note mentioned above, an ingenious and ſeemingly practicable method of ſwelling and diminiſhing the force of each note in an organ, which modern builders have hitherto neglected to adopt: it is to communicate wind to one pipe, or to two, three, or more pipes, in proportion to the preſſure of the key.

In the collection of antiquities bequeathed by Chriſtina Queen of Sweden to the Vatican, there is a large and beautiful medallion of Valentinian, on the reverſe of which is repreſented an *Hydraulic Organ*, with two men, one on the right, and one on the left, who ſeem to pump the water which plays it, and to liſten to its ſound. It has only eight pipes, placed on a round pedeſtal, and as no keys or performer appear, it is probable that it was played by mechaniſm. The Organ blown by *bellows*, and furniſhed with *keys*, ſuch as are in preſent uſe, though a deſcendant perhaps of the *Hydraulicon*, does not ſo properly belong to this place as to the ſubſequent volumes, where its invention will be diſcuſſed, and its improvements traced among thoſe of *modern inſtruments*.

Second genus, or *Stringed inſtruments*. The idea of producing ſound from a ſtring, aſcribed to Apollo, was, according to Cenſorinus, *De Die Nat. cap.* 22. ſuggeſted to him by the twang of his ſiſter Diana's bow. Ψαλλειν is ſtrictly to twang a ſtring, and Ψαλμος the ſound which the bow-ſtring produces at the emiſſion of the arrow. Euripides in *Bacch.* v. 782. uſes it in that ſenſe,

——————τοξων χερι
Ψαλλωσι νευρας.

Who twang the nerve of each elaſtic bow.

Father

Father Montfaucon ſays it is very difficult to determine in what the Lyre, Cithara, Chelys, Pſaltery, and Harp differed from each other; as he had examined the repreſentations of 600 Lyres and Citharas in ancient ſculpture, all which he found without a neck, and the ſtrings open as in the modern Harp, played by the fingers. *Antiq. Expl. tom.* iii. *lib.* 5. *cap.* 3. But though ancient and modern authors uſually confound theſe inſtruments, yet a manifeſt diſtinction is made by Ariſt. Quintil. in the following paſſage, p. 101. After diſcuſſing the characters of wind-inſtruments, he ſays, "Among the ſtringed inſtruments, you will find the Lyre of a character analogous to *maſculine*, from the great depth or gravity, and roughneſs of its tones; the *Sambuca* of a *feminine* character, *weak* and *delicate*, and from its great *acuteneſs*, and the ſmallneſs of its *ſtrings*, tending to *diſſolve* and *enervate*. Of the intermediate inſtruments, the *Polypthongum partakes* moſt of the *feminine*; but the *Cithara differs not much* from the *maſculine character* of the *Lyre*." Here is a ſcale of ſtringed inſtruments; the *Lyre* and *Sambuca* at the extremes; the *Polypthongum* and *Cithara* between; the one next to the *Sambuca*, the other next to the *Lyre*. He afterwards juſt mentions that there were others between theſe. Now it is natural to infer, that as he conſtantly attributes the manly character to gravity of tone, the Cithara was probably the more acute inſtrument of the two; leſs loud and *rough*, and ſtrung with ſmaller ſtrings. Concerning what difference there might be in the form and ſtructure of the inſtruments, he is wholly ſilent. The paſſage, however, is curious as far as it goes, and deciſive. The Cithara may perhaps have been as different from the Lyre, as a ſingle Harp from one that is double; and it ſeems to be clearly pointed out by this multiplicity of names that the Greeks had *two* principal ſpecies of ſtringed inſtruments: one, like our Harp, of full compaſs, that reſted on its baſe; the other more portable, and ſlung over the ſhoulder, like our ſmaller Harp or Guitar, or like the ancient Lyres repreſented in ſculpture.

Tacitus, *Annal.* xvi. 4. among the rules of decorum obſerved by public performers, to which Nero, he ſays, ſtrictly ſubmitted, mentions, "That he was not to ſit down when tired." *Ne feſſus reſideret.* It is remarkable that he calls theſe rules, *Citharæ Leges*, "the Laws of the Cithara;" which ſeems to afford a pretty fair proof of its being of ſuch a ſize and form as to admit of being played on *ſtanding*.

The uſe of the *Phorminx* in Homer leads rather to the rough, manly, Harp-like character*. But a paſſage in Orpheus, *Argon.* 380. ſeems to make *Phorminx* the ſame as *Chelys*, the Lutiform inſtrument of Mercury. It is there ſaid of Chiron, that he "ſometimes ſtrikes the Cithara of Apollo; ſometimes the *ſhell-reſounding Phorminx* of Mercury,"

Ἄλλοτε δ' αὖ φοίβου κιθάρην μετὰ χερσὶν ἀραρυῖαν,
Ἠλιγυρὴν φόρμιγγα χελυκλόνου Ἑρμάωνος.

* See p. 336.

The

This paſſage is curious; for though the Argonautics were not written by Orpheus himſelf, they have all the appearance of great antiquity.

The belly of a Theorbo, or Arch-Lute, is uſually made in the ſhell-form, as if the idea of its origin had never been loſt; and the etymology of the word Guitar ſeems naturally deducible from Cithara: it is ſuppoſed that the Roman C was hard, like the modern K, and the Italian word *Chitarra* is manifeſtly derived from Κιθαρα, *Cithara*.

In the hymn to Mercury, aſcribed to Homer, Mercury and Apollo are ſaid to play with the Cithara *under their arms*, ver. 507. ὁ δ' ὑπωλενιον κιθαριζεν, *ſub ulna Citharâ ludebat*, "played with the Cithara *under his arm*." So in ver. 432. ἑπωλενιον, *at* his arm, ſhould, according to the critics, be ὑπωλενιον, as it is afterwards. This ſeems to point out a Guitar more than a Harp; but the ancients had Lyres, Citharas, and Teſtudos of as different ſhapes from each other, as our Harp, Spinet, Virginal, and Piano Forte.

Theſe paſſages in old authors are a kind of antique drawings, far more ſatisfactory than thoſe of ancient ſculpture; for I have ſeen the Syrinx, which had a regular ſeries of notes aſcending or deſcending, repreſented with ſeven pipes, four of one length, and three of another, which of courſe would furniſh no more than two different ſounds. The Cymbals too, which were to be ſtruck againſt each other, are placed in the hands of ſome antique figures in ſuch a manner, that it is impoſſible to bring them in contact with the neceſſary degree of force, without amputating, or at leaſt violently bruiſing the thumbs of the performer. And it is certain that artiſts continue to figure inſtruments in the moſt ſimple and convenient form for their deſigns, long after they had been enlarged, improved, and rendered more complicated. An inſtance of this in our own country will confirm the aſſertion. In the reign of George the Second a marble ſtatue was erected to Handel, in Vauxhall gardens. The muſician is repreſented playing upon a Lyre. Now if this ſtatue ſhould be preſerved from the ravages of time and accident 12 or 1400 years, the Antiquaries will naturally conclude that the inſtrument upon which Handel acquired his reputation was the Lyre; though we are at preſent certain that he never played on, or even ſaw a Lyre, except in wood or ſtone.

In one of the ancient paintings at Portici, I ſaw a Lyre with a Pipe or Flute for the croſs-bar, or bridge, at the top; whether this tube was uſed as a wind inſtrument to accompany the Lyre, or only a pitch-pipe, I know not; nor, within the courſe of my enquiries, has any example of ſuch a junction occurred elſewhere.

The ancients ſeem to have been wholly unacquainted with one of the principal expedients for producing ſound from the ſtrings of modern inſtruments: this is the *Bow*. It has long been a diſpute among the learned, whether the Violin, or any inſtrument of that kind, as now played with a *bow*, was known to the ancients. The little figure of Apollo, playing on a kind of violin, with ſomething *like* a bow, in the Grand Duke's *Tribuna* at

Florence, which Mr. Addiſon and others ſuppoſed to be antique, has been proved to be modern by the Abbé Winckelmann, and Mr. Mings. So that, as this was the only piece of ſculpture reputed ancient, in which any thing like a bow could be found, nothing more remains to be diſcuſſed relative to that point.

With reſpect to an inſtrument *with a neck*, beſides that on the broken obeliſk at Rome, ſee p. 296, and one from a ſepulchral grotto in the ancient city of Tarquinia, which will be deſcribed hereafter, there is, in an antique painting in the collection of William Lock, Eſq. which conſiſts of a ſingle figure, ſuppoſed to be a Muſe, an inſtrument nearly in the form of a modern Violin, but the neck is much longer, and neither *bow* nor plectrum is diſcoverable near it. This may have been a Chelys, which was a ſpecies of Guitar, either thrummed by the fingers, or twanged with a quill. The painting was ſtolen out of the Navoni ſepulchre, commonly called Ovid's tomb, and had been near 200 years in the *Maſſima* palace at Rome, when Mr. Lock purchaſed it. Bianchini, *De Inſtrum. vet.* gives only one inſtrument in this form. Tab. iv. No. 7. but never mentions the uſe of a bow. He calls it the *Chelys*, or reformed Lyre of Mercury, which, ſays he, p. 28. "having the power of ſhortening the ſtrings by means of a neck, varied the ſound of the ſame ſtring, like ſeveral *magades*. Its form may be ſeen on an ancient vaſe, which is now in the *Giuſtiniani* palace at Rome; it was publiſhed by Boiſſard, tom. ii. p. 145. and in the laſt edition of Gruter, p. 816. It was played on ſometimes by the hand, and ſometimes with a plectrum. See Scalig. *in Manil.* p. 384."

Indeed, the ancients had, inſtead of a *Bow*, the *Plectrum*, but in all the repreſentations which painting and ſculpture have preſerved of this implement, it appears too clumſy to produce from the ſtrings tones that had either the ſweetneſs or brilliancy of ſuch as are drawn from them by means of the *bow* or *quill*. But notwithſtanding it is repreſented ſo maſſive, I ſhould rather ſuppoſe it to have been a quill, or piece of ivory in imitation of one, than a ſtick or blunt piece of wood or ivory. Indeed, Virgil tells us, Æn. vi. 647. that it was made of ivory. (See note *m*, p. 327.)

Third genus: Inſtruments of percuſſion. Among theſe it does not appear that the ancients had the long Cylindrical drum, ſuch as is now uſed in our armies; nor had they the Tymbal or Kettle Drum, an invention which came from the Turks. All the antique Drums ſeem of the flat *Tambour de Baſque* form; but the Side Drum is ſo inconvenient for ſculpture, that it may have exiſted without being copied by artiſts. Lampe *De Cym. Vet.* ſlightly glances at the ſubject, *lib.* ii. *cap.* 12. where he gives a curious paſſage from the Bacchæ of Euripides, to prove that antiquity aſcribed the invention of the *Drum* to the *Corybantes:* the deſcription he uſes is an exact definition of a Timbrel, or Tabor. He calls it βυρσοτονον κυκλωμα, "a circle with a ſkin or parchment ſtretched over it," which points out the Timbrel form as well as the drawing.

With

With reſpect to *Bells*, though ſmall ones were certainly known in very high antiquity, as frequent mention is made of them in the Bible; yet thoſe of a large ſize, hung in towers, and rung by ropes, were unknown till about the ſixth century. The modern Greeks have none in their churches, not from principle, but compulſion, having been prohibited the uſe of them by their conquerors, the Turks. A bell is called by Thucydides κωδων; by Diodorus Siculus and Suidas πλαταγη; Ariſtophanes has κωδωνιζω; *I ring*; and other Greek writers call it Ηχειον, a vaſe. Plautus, Ovid, Tibullus, Statius, and ſeveral other Latin writers mention bells under the denominations of *Tintinnabula*, and ſounding braſs. An account of the introduction of Bells into churches will be given in the ſecond volume.

A

LIST AND DESCRIPTION

OF THE

PLATES TO VOL. I.

PLATE I.

APOLLO and the Nine Muſes. To face the Title.

PLATE II.

Mercury preſenting the Lyre to Apollo, whom a Muſe is crowning. To face p. 276.

PLATE III.

Orpheus and Eurydice, to face p. 324. The inſtrument with a neck, in the hand of Orpheus, though delineated from fancy, very much reſembles that in an ancient painting, in the poſſeſſion of William Locke, Eſq, ſee p. 494.

PLATE IV.

No. 1, 2, and 3. Antique *Maſks*, deſcribed p. 148, Note *(c)*.

4. A Bacchanal playing on two Flutes of the ſame pitch, *Tibiæ Pares*. From an ancient vaſe in the Giuſtiniani palace, at Rome.

5. The figure of a Cupid playing on *two Flutes* with *Stopples*, or plugs. From an ancient painting in the *Muſeo* at Portici. The uſe of theſe ſtopples ſeems to have been to ſtop or open the holes of a Flute before a piece began, in order to accommodate the ſcale to ſome particular mode or genus. See further account of them, No. 2, Plate VI.

6. Pan playing on the Syrinx, from an ancient *Baſſo Relievo* of Greek ſculpture, in the Giuſtiniani palace at Rome, repreſenting the nurſing of Jupiter by Amalthea. This figure holds in one hand the Syrinx, and in the other a Horn, reſembling the *Shawm* repreſented upon the Arch of Titus, among the Hebrew inſtruments, ſuppoſed to have been copied from thoſe which this emperor had brought from Jeruſalem.

7. A *Cithariſtria*, or female minſtrel, from an ancient picture repreſenting a marriage, in the Aldobrandini palace at Rome. The inſtrument is ſlung over the ſhoulder of the performer by a ribbon, and is played without a plectrum. This celebrated painting was found during the time of Pope Clement VIII. in the gardens of Mecænas.

8. The *Tuba*, or long trumpet, called by the Hebrews the *Trumpet of the Jubilee*. It may be ſeen in ſeveral pieces of ancient ſculpture at Rome, particularly on the Arch of Titus, and on Trajan's Pillar. The drawing, whence this was engraved, was made from a *Baſſo Relievo* at the Capitol, repreſenting the triumph of Marcus Aurelius.

9. A *Timbrel*, or *Tambour de Baſque*.

10. A

10. A double *Lituus*. The Lituus was a crooked military inſtrument, in the form of the augural ſtaff, whence it had its name. It was a ſpecies of Clarion, or octave Trumpet, made of metal, and extremely loud and ſhrill, uſed by the Romans for the Cavalry, as the ſtrait Trumpet was for the Foot. Horace diſtinguiſhes it from the *Tuba* or Trumpet:

Multos caſtra juvant, et Lituo Tubæ
Permiſtus ſonitus, —— Od. i. 1. 23.

as Claudian does from the Flute.

Tibia *prô* Lituis, *& pro clangore Tubarum*
Molle Lyræ, fauſtumque canant.

The two laſt inſtruments were taken from an ancient bas-relief in the Vitaleſchi palace at Rome, repreſenting a ſacrifice.

A genuine ancient metaline *Lituus* is now in the poſſeſſion of Sir Joſeph Banks, preſident of the Royal Society, ſee Plate IV, *. It was found with many other antiquities, both Roman and Anglo-Saxon, in clearing the bed of the river Withem, near Tatterſhall, in Lincolnſhire, 1761, and is perhaps the only inſtrument of the kind that is now extant. It is a long narrow tube, with a ſwelling curve at the end, like the double *Lituus*, Pl. IV. N° 10, and the double Flute, Pl. VI. N° 2, but reſembling ſtill more an inſtrument ſculptured on the baſe of Trajan's Pillar at Rome. It is neatly made of very thin braſs, in three parts or pieces, like German Flutes, and has been well gilt. Its length is upwards of four feet, though the end neareſt the mouth has been evidently broken off. This inſtrument frequently appears on ancient medals as a ſymbol of war, and is terminated by the head of a Boar, and ſometimes of a Snake. See Pl. IV. **, an ancient family medal of Albinus, ſtruck during the time of the Republic, between the firſt Punic War and the reign of Auguſtus.

11, 12, and 13, are all taken from the ſame piece of ancient ſculpture, or bas-relief, in the *Ghigi* palace at Rome, repreſenting a group of muſicians ſinging an epithalamium. Of theſe, 11 and 12 are Lyres or Harps of different conſtruction, but both furniſhed with too great a number of ſtrings to have been of very high antiquity. There is ſomething ſingularly animated and pleaſing in the poſition of the performer's right arm, No. 12; where it ſeems as if, after having touched a ſtring with ſome force, ſhe was carrying it round with a kind of flouriſh. The difficulty of expreſſing motion in a drawing is ſo great, that without ſuggeſting this idea, the action of the figure may be miſunderſtood, and appear aukward as a *fixed* attitude or poſition, though as a *tranſient* attitude and moving poſition, it is very eaſy, light, and graceful. 13, is a *double Flute*, or two tubes in uniſon with each other, blown with one mouth-piece. It may be neceſſary to apprize the reader that all the figures and inſtruments on this plate are, as uſual, *reverſed* in printing, and that the buſineſs which appears to have been performed by the right hand in the original, and drawings made from it, ſeems now to have been done by the left.

PLATE V.

No. 1, and 2, are repreſentations of the *Teſtudo*, or Lyre of Amphion, in front and profile, as it appears on the baſe of the celebrated *Toro Farneſe* at Rome. See page 272. This admirable work, conſiſting of four figures bigger than the life, beſides the *Toro*, or bull, was found in Caracalla's baths, where the *Farneſe Hercules* was likewiſe diſcovered; and, except the *Laocoon*, is the only piece of Greek ſculpture mentioned by Pliny, that is now remaining. The two projections near the bottom of No. 1. ſeem to have been faſtenings for the ſtrings, and to have anſwered the purpoſe of tail-pieces in modern inſtruments.

3. The *Lyre* held by *Terpſichore*, in the picture of that Muſe, dug out of Herculaneum.

4. The *Pſaltery*, as it is delineated in the ancient picture of the Muſe *Erato*, dug likewiſe out of Herculaneum. See p. 295. Don Calmet ſays the Pſaltery was played upon by a *Bow*, or plectrum: now, beſides the almoſt certainty of the bow being unknown to the ancients, the form of this *Pſaltery* is ſuch as makes it impoſſible to be played upon with a bow. The Hebrew *Pſaltery*, however, muſt have been an inſtrument of a different form from this. It had originally ten ſtrings, and is called frequently the Ten-ſtringed Harp, by David in the Pſalms. The Hebrew name for it is *Nebel*, or *Nebel Naſſor*, whence the Greek Ναβλιον, and Latin *Nablium*. *Vide* Bianchini *De Tribus Gen. Inſt. Muſ. Vet. Org.* p. 35. Kircher imagines it to have been a horizontal Harp, played with a plectrum, and that it furniſhed the firſt idea of a Harpſichord. But there muſt have been two kinds of *Pſaltery* in antiquity, as Athenæus, *lib.* v. *cap.* 25. mentions the ψαλτηριον ορθιον, the *upright Pſaltery*, of which kind muſt have been that under conſideration in the hands of the Muſe *Erato*.

5. A *Trigonum*, or *Triangular Harp*. It is taken from an ancient painting in the Muſeum of the king of Naples, in which it is placed on the ſhoulder of a little dancing Cupid, who ſupports the inſtrument with his left hand, and plays upon it with his right. The *Trigonum* is mentioned by Athenæus, *lib.* iv. and by Julius Pollux, *lib.* iv. *cap.* 9. According to Athenæus, Sophocles calls it a *Phrygian* inſtrument, and one of his Dipnoſophiſts tells us, that a certain muſician of the name of Alexander Alexandrinus was ſo admirable a performer upon it, and had given ſuch proofs of his abilities at Rome, that he made the inhabitants μεσομανειν, *muſically mad*. It may not be unworthy of remark, that this little inſtrument reſembles the *Theban Harp*, Pl. VIII. in the circumſtance of wanting one ſide to complete the triangle. The performer too, being a native of Alexandria, as his name implies, makes it probable it was an *Egyptian* inſtrument upon which he gained his reputation at Rome.

6. The *Abyſſinian Teſtudo*, or Lyre, in uſe at preſent in the province of Tigré. From a drawing of Mr. Bruce. See p. 210.

7. The *Cymbalum*, or *Crotalo*. This inſtrument is to be ſeen frequently in the Bacchanalian ſacrifices and proceſſions repreſented in ancient ſculpture. It is ſtill in general uſe in eaſtern countries, and has lately been introduced among the troops of almoſt all the princes of Europe, on account of its utility in marking the ſteps of the ſoldiers, with force and preciſion during their march. The preſent engraving was made from an ancient painting at Portici, in which it is placed in the hands of a *Bacchanté*, who beats time upon it to her own dancing. Though Crotalo is the modern Italian name of this inſtrument, κροταλον in Greek, and *Crotalum* Latin, implied one that was different from the *Cymbalum*; a kind of *Caſtanet*. *Vide Cic. in Piſon.* 9.

8. A *Hexachord*, or Lyre of ſix ſtrings, in the hand of a Grecian Apollo, in the Capitoline Muſæum, at Rome. The three openings at the bottom ſeem deſigned to anſwer the purpoſe of *ſound-holes* in the belly of the inſtrument.

9. A *Dichord*, or inſtrument of *two ſtrings*, with a neck, reſembling that upon the great Egyptian obeliſk in the Campus Martius at Rome. See page 196. and fig. VII. facing page 197. The preſent repreſentation was taken from an antique painting, which ſtill ſubſiſts in a ſepulchral grotto, near the ancient *Tarquinia*, and obligingly communicated to me for the uſe of this work by Mr. Byers of Rome, who intends publiſhing the antiquities of that city.

10. An *Etruſcan Lyre*, with ſeven ſtrings, in the collection of Etruſcan, Greek, and Roman Antiquities, publiſhed from the cabinet of the Hon. Sir William Hamilton, Vol. I. Naples 1766. Pl. CIX. With reſpect to this inſtrument, it is worthy of obſervation, that though the vaſe upon which it is repreſented is of ſuch indiſputable and remote antiquity, the tail-piece, bridge, belly, and ſound-holes have a very modern appearance

pearance, and manifeſt a knowledge in the conſtruction of muſical inſtruments among the Etruſcans, ſuperior to that of the Greeks and Romans, in much later times. The lower part of the inſtrument has much the appearance of an old Baſe-Viol, and it is not difficult to diſcover in it more than the embryo of the whole Violin family. The ſtrings lie round, as if intended to be played on with a *bow*; and even the croſs lines on the tail-piece are ſuch as we frequently ſee on the tail-pieces of old Viols.

11. The Tripodian Lyre of Pythagoras the Zacynthian, from a bas-relief in the Maffei palace at Rome, repreſenting the whole choir of the Muſes. Athenæus gives the following account of this extraordinary inſtrument, *lib.* xiv. *cap.* 15. p. 637.

"Many ancient inſtruments are recorded, ſays Artemon, of which we have ſo little "knowledge, that we can hardly be certain of their exiſtence; ſuch as the Tripod of "Pythagoras the Zacynthian, which, on account of its difficulty, continued in uſe but "a ſhort time. It reſembled in form the Delphic Tripod, whence it had its name. "The legs were equidiſtant, and fixed upon a moveable baſe that was turned by the "foot of the player; the ſtrings were placed between the legs of the ſtool; the vaſe at "the top ſerved for the purpoſe of a ſound-board, and the ſtrings of the three ſides of "the inſtrument were tuned to three different modes, the *Doric*, *Lydian*, and *Phrygian*. "The performer ſate on a chair made on purpoſe. Striking the ſtrings with the fingers "of the left hand, and uſing the plectrum with the right, at the ſame time turning "the inſtrument with his foot to whichever of the three modes he pleaſed; ſo that by "great practice he was enabled to change the modes with ſuch velocity, that thoſe who "did not ſee him, would imagine they heard three different performers playing in three "different modes. After the death of this admirable muſician, no other inſtrument of "the ſame kind was ever conſtructed."

12. A Lyre in the famous ancient picture dug out of Herculaneum, upon which Chiron is teaching the young Achilles to play. See p. 316.

13. The *Siſtrum*, an Egyptian inſtrument of ſacrifice; and one that is ſtill uſed in religious ceremonies by the inhabitants of Abyſſinia. See p. 208. This repreſentation was drawn from an ancient *Siſtrum* preſerved in the library of *St. Geneviève* at Paris. It has been diſputed by the Abbé Winckelmann whether the *Siſtrum* was of very high antiquity in Egypt, becauſe it did not appear in the hands of ſuch Egyptian ſtatues as he had ſeen at Rome; but as there is one in the hand of a very ancient ſtatue of Iſis which Doctor Pococke brought into England from Egypt, it puts that point of muſical hiſtory out of all diſpute. The *Siſtrum* appears in the *Iſiac Table*; and Apuleius makes an old Greek invoke an Egyptian prieſt "by the ſtars in the firmament; by the infernal divinities; by the elements which compoſe the univerſe; by the ſilence of the "night; by the ſanctuary in the temple of Coptos; by the increaſe of the Nile; by the "myſteries of Memphis; and by the *Siſtrum* of Pharos." By *Pharos*, an Egyptian iſland, was here figuratively meant, all Egypt.

14. A *Lyre* richly ornamented: it is placed on the ſtump of a tree, by the ſide of an antique ſtatue of Apollo, formerly in the Salviati collection at Rome, but now in the poſſeſſion of General Valmoden, in Germany. The Apollo leans on the *Lyre*.

PLATE VI.

No. 1. The head of a *Tibicen*, or *Flute-player*, to ſhew the φορβεια, *Capiſtrum*, or *Bandage*, uſed for the purpoſe of augmenting the force of the wind, and for preventing the ſwelling of the checks of the performer. See p. 281. Theſe Flutes are equal in diameter and length, and as no holes are viſible in them, they muſt have been of the Trumpet kind. The drawing of this number was made from a vaſe in Sir William Hamilton's collection of Etruſcan antiquities, Vol. I. Pl. 124.

2. A *double Flute*, of an uncommon kind, on a *Bas-relief* in the *Farneſe* collection at Rome. Theſe tubes of different lengths and keys or ſtopples, are blown at once by a female

female bacchanal. Voſſius, *De Poemat. Cant.* p. 110. ſays from Proclus, that every hole of the ancient Flute furniſhed at leaſt three different ſounds, and if the παραπτυπηματα, or ſide-holes, were opened, ſtill more than three. Arcadius Grammaticus ſays, that the inventors of the holes of the Flute contrived a method of ſtopping and opening them at pleaſure, by certain horns, or pegs, which, by turning them in and out, and moving them up and down, multiplied ſounds, according to Voſſius, like different ſtrings upon a Lyre. But that could not be the caſe in this inſtrument, at leaſt *during performance*, as moſt of the plugs or ſtopples were out of the reach of the muſician's hand; beſides, the hands were employed in ſupporting the inſtrument; and though, in our Baſſoon, and even Hautbois and German Flute, we are able, by means of keys, to open and cloſe holes which the fingers cannot reach, yet as no ſuch expedients appear in the repreſentations of ancient wind-inſtruments, it is difficult to aſſign any other uſe to theſe plugs or ſtopples than that already mentioned, of adjuſting the ſcale to ſome particular mode or genus before performance, as our Trumpets or Horns are tuned to keys of different pitch by means of *crooks*, and our Flutes by *middle pieces* of different lengths. It ſeems as if the longeſt of the two tubes in this number had a Horn joined to the end of it, which gives it the form of a *Lituus*. Bartholinus, *De Tib. Vet.* makes this curvature at the end the characteriſtic of the Phrygian Flute. P. 48, he gives two Flutes of this kind, with plugs; one ſtrait and the other curved, and tells us, from Ariſtotle's *acouſtics*, that *loudneſs* and *clearneſs* were acquired by the addition of the Horn: *Cornua reſonando inſtrumentorum ſonos reddunt clariores.* It is moſt likely too that it rendered the tube to which it was added an octave lower than the other.

3, and 4, are both taken from the beautiful Sarcophagus in the *Campidoglio*, or Capitoline Muſeum, at Rome, where each of them is placed in the hand of a Muſe. It is neceſſary, however, to inform the reader that, by a miſtake, they are engraved in this plate with the wrong end uppermoſt. The three rows of holes in No. 4, it is probable, were for the three *Genera*, or, at leaſt, for three different modes, which both Pauſanias and Athenæus tell us Pronomus firſt contrived to expreſs by one and the ſame Flute. See p. 57. This inſtrument has a mouth-piece with a Fipple like our common Flute, which ſeldom appears in repreſentations of ancient inſtruments.

5. *Tibia Utricularis*, or Bag-pipe, taken from a bas-relief in the court of the *Santa Croce* palace at Rome. This inſtrument appears not to have been wholly unknown to the Greeks, who, according to Montfaulcon, called it ασκαυλος. I ſaw the repreſentation of one in marble, of ancient Greek ſculpture, in the poſſeſſion of Mr. Morriſon, at Rome. It ſeems, however, to have been a Roman invention to which a Greek name was given; a piece of affectation that was generally practiſed upon every occaſion, about the time of Nero. Greek was the *French* of the Romans. The term does not occur, however, in H. Stephens, Scapula, Meurſius, Suicer, nor in Scott. In Faber's and Martin's Latin Dictionaries, *Aſcaules* is to be found, with a reference to Seneca, Vopiſcus, and Martial, x. 3. The two former uſe *Pithaules*, the one in Epiſt. lxxvi. and the other in the life of Carinus, Vol. II. p. 819, *ed. Varior.* where the word is explained and illuſtrated by an elaborate note of Salmaſius. Martial, *lib.* x. *ep.* 3. gives *Canus Aſcaules*. From the ſilence of Lexicographers we may conclude, that the word appears in no Greek author. Iſaac Voſſius ſtrenuouſly denies that *Utricularius* means a player on a *Bagpipe*: the inſtrument in queſtion was, according to him, an Organ blown by Bellows, as diſtinguiſhed from the Hydraulic, or Water-Organ; "but to ſuppoſe," ſays he, "that the *Utricularius* was like our wretched mendicants that ſtroll about—*Cubito excutientes ſonum*—is moſt ridiculous!" p. 99. A paſſage, however, in Dion Chryſoſtom, clearly proves this enthuſiaſtic admirer of ancient Muſic to have been miſtaken. For, ſpeaking of Nero, the Greek writer ſays, that he played on the Flute *with a bladder*, or leathern bag of wind, *under his arm*: αυλειν—Ταις μασχαλαις ασκον ὑποβαλλομενα. And for this he aſſigns a reaſon, which is curious: "that he might avoid

making the ugly faces with which Minerva was ſo much offended." Nothing can deſcribe a modern *Bagpipe* more deciſively.

On an ancient gem, in the poſſeſſion of Signor Cav. Lellari, at Cortona, of which an impreſſion has been lately ſent to Joſ. C. Walker, Eſq. of Dublin, who has favoured me with a drawing of it. (See *, Pl. VI.) There is engraved an Apollo, crowned, after vanquiſhing Marſyas, with a Lyre in his hand, and a Cornamuſa, or *Bagpipe*, behind him. The name of the artiſt appears on the gem, an uncommon circumſtance, as the workmanſhip is not of the firſt claſs.

It is probable that the union of the Bagpipe with the Syrinx ſuggeſted the firſt idea of an organ. According to Suetonius, when Nero heard of the revolt by which he loſt his empire and life, he made a ſolemn vow, that if it ſhould pleaſe the Gods to extricate him from his preſent difficulties, he would perform a public —— on the *Bagpipe*. *Suet. in Nerone*, 54.

6. The *Concha*, *Tromba Marina*, or Sea-Trumpet, ſounded by a Triton on a frieze, likewiſe, in the court of the *Santa Croce* palace at Rome. Athenæus, *lib.* iii. p. 86. mentions a kind of ſhell, which was called κηρυξ, the ſhell of the cryer or herald, perhaps, from its ſonorous quality. It is tranſlated *Buccina*, and Caſaubon ſays it was the ſhell of the *Murex*.

7. A *Tambour de Baſque*, *Tabret*, or *Timbrel*, from the picture of a *Baccante*, or female Bacchanal, dug out of *Herculaneum*. This inſtrument is of very high antiquity, having been in uſe among the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans. To the rim were hung bells or pieces of metal.

8, and 9. *Tibiæ pares*, or *equal Flutes*, placed in the hands of the young Olympus, who, in a picture likewiſe dug out of Herculaneum, is learning to play upon them of Marſyas. There are only two holes in each of theſe inſtruments; and in another antique picture upon the ſame ſubject, from the ſame place, each of the Flutes is repreſented with two *paxilli*, or *ſtopples*, inſtead of *foramina*, or holes.

10. An ancient inſtrument, as yet inedited, among the antiquities of Herculaneum; it is of a very peculiar kind, lately dug out of *Pompeia*, a city that was deſtroyed by an eruption of Mount Veſuvius at the ſame time as Herculaneum. It is a Trumpet or large tube of bronze, ſurrounded by ſeven ſmall pipes of bone or ivory, inſerted in as many of metal. Theſe ſeem all to terminate in one point, and to have been blown through one mouth-piece. The ſmall pipes are all of the ſame length and diameter, and were probably uniſons to each other, and octaves to the great Tube. There is a ring to faſten a chain to, by which it was ſlung over the ſhoulder of the performer, which chain is likewiſe preſerved. The inſtrument was found in the *Corps de Garde* of this ſubterraneous city, and ſeems to have been the true military *Clangor Tubarum*.

FIG. VII.

This is not a plate, but a wooden cut, of the exact ſize of the Egyptian muſical inſtrument of two ſtrings repreſented on the broken obeliſk in the *Campus Martius* at Rome; to face p. 196, which ſee, for the deſcription.

PLATE VIII.

The *Theban Harp*, to face p. 222, where it is already deſcribed.

FIG. IX.

Hebrew Chants, to face p. 257.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

DIRECTIONS to the BOOK-BINDER.

PLATE I. To face the Title.

II. To face page 276.

III. To face page 325.

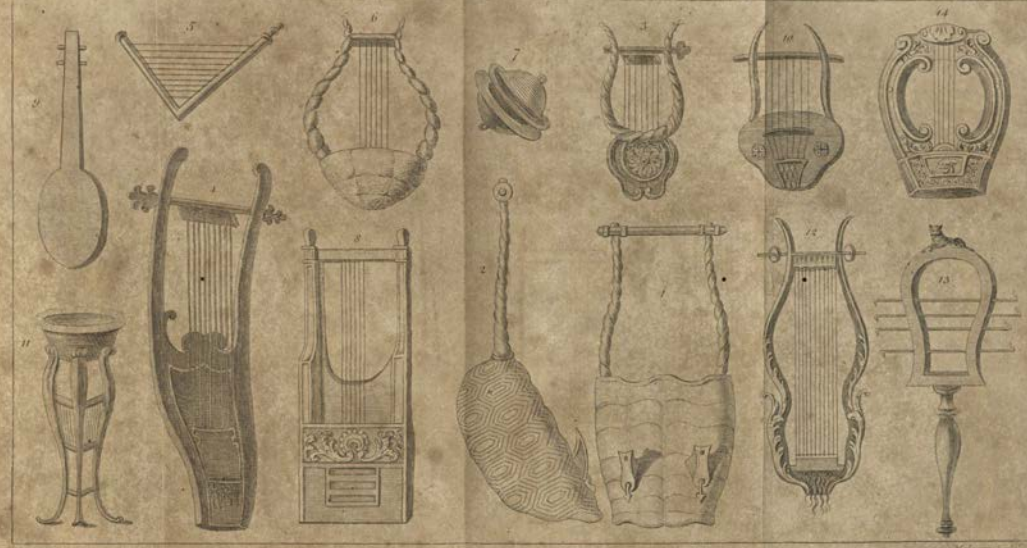
IV. and V. being *double*, muſt be folded, and faſtened by a guard at the end of the Volume.

VI. To be placed after plate V.

FIGURE VII. This is not a plate, but a wooden cut, which is to be folded, and placed, facing page 196.

PLATE VIII. To face page 212.

IX. *Hebrew Chants*, to be placed between page 256, and 257.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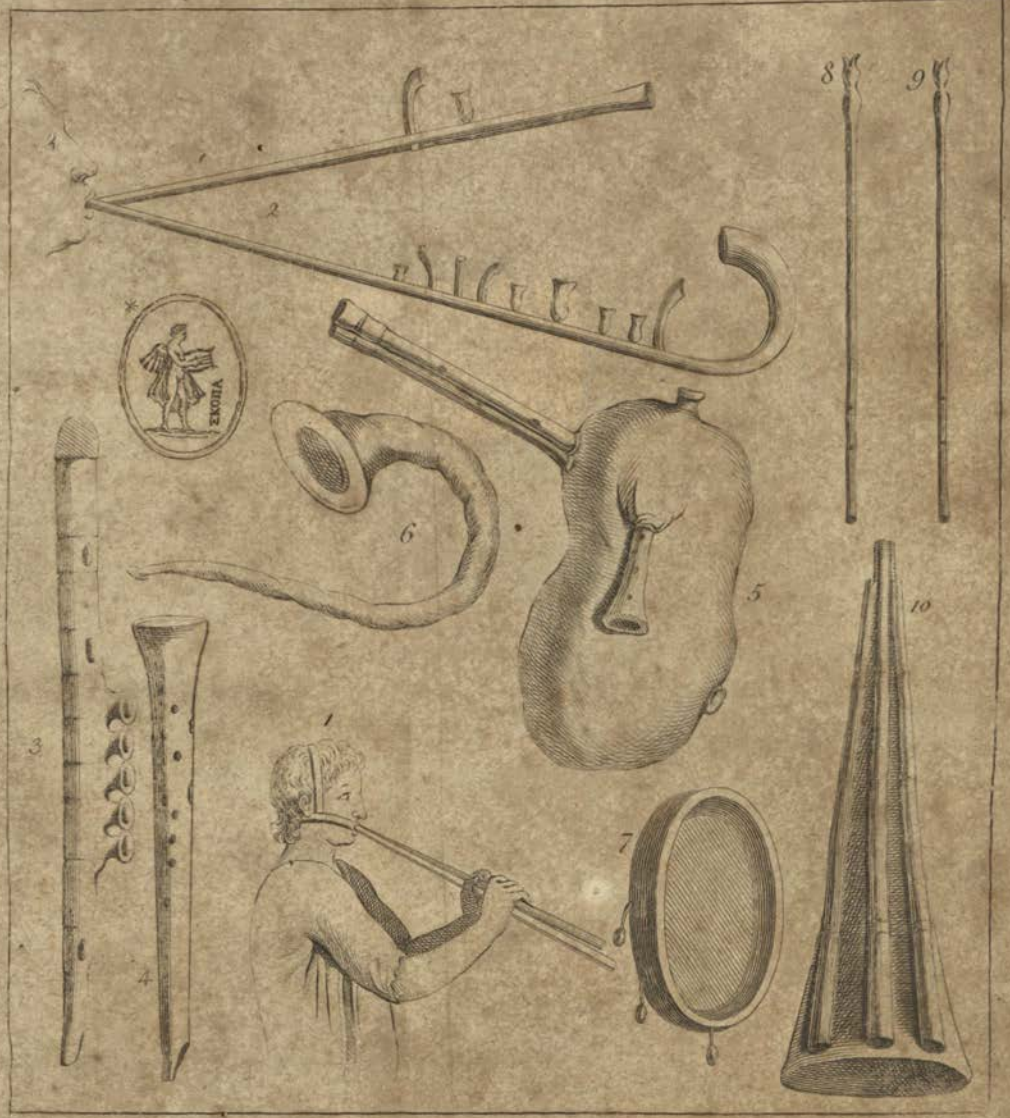

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